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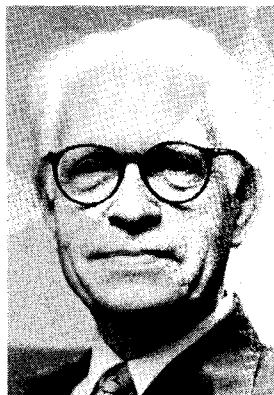
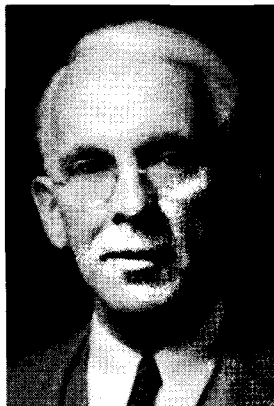
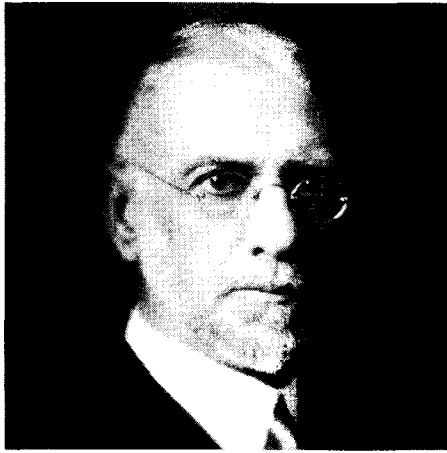
supervision of Fred Harvey Harrington. LaFerber's publications include *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1865 to 1898* (1963), which won the AHA's Albert J. Beveridge Prize; *America, Russia, and the Cold War* (7th edn., 1993); *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (2d edn., 1993); and *The American Age: U.S. Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750* (2d edn., 1994).

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awarded the Harold J. Grimm Memorial Prize. With Guido Ruggiero, he has edited *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective* (1990), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (1991), and *History from Crime* (1994). Muir has recently completed *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (forthcoming from Cambridge).

Bonnie G. Smith is co-author with Lynn Hunt, Thomas H. Martin, Barbara R. Rosenwein, and R. Po-chia Hsia of *The Challenge of the West: Peoples and Cultures from the Stone Age to the Global Age* (1995) and co-editor and translator with Donald R. Kelley of P.-J. Proudhon's *What Is Property?* (1994). Smith has written books and articles in European, U.S., and women's and gender history, such as *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (1981). The article in this issue is part of a manuscript on gender and historical writing in the West since 1800.

The Principal Editors of the *American Historical Review* in Its First Hundred Years



Frontispiece: (top) J. Franklin Jameson (1895-1901, 1905-28), (across from left) Andrew C. McLaughlin (1901-06), Henry E. Bourne (1929-35), Robert Livingston Schuyler, not pictured (1936-41), Guy Stanton Ford (1941-53), Boyd C. Shafer (1953-63), Henry R. Winkler (1965-68), R. K. Webb (1968-75), Otto Planze (1977-85), David L. Ransel (1985-95).

Summing Up

DAVID L. RANSEL

THIS SECOND ISSUE DEVOTED TO THE CENTENNIAL of the *American Historical Review* is also the final issue to appear under my editorship. The new editor, Michael Grossberg, will set the course of the *AHR* in the first years of its second century. The intellectual and technical environments in which historical editing and publication operate have been changing rapidly in recent years, offering at once exciting possibilities and daunting challenges. I know that my colleagues at Indiana University, the members of the American Historical Association, and the many other historians who work with the *AHR* are eager to assist Michael Grossberg in meeting those challenges and in advancing historical publication.

I would like to add a personal note of appreciation to the members of the Association for having given me the opportunity to serve the profession as editor of this journal. The work has furnished me a wide-ranging education in historical studies and in the governing institutions of our profession. It has put me in frequent contact with the best scholars in our discipline and in this way enormously enriched me personally and intellectually.

I came to the job in August 1985 with several objectives. First of all, I wanted to move intellectual history and historiography to center stage. These fields were just then reemerging with renewed vitality and excitement, and I knew that the discussions going on in them would be of interest to most of our readers. Second, I wanted to move women's history farther into the mainstream. This field is of special interest to me, and it had been too long treated, in the *AHR* and elsewhere, as something apart. Third, I hoped to continue an already initiated focus on race relations; this is the core problem of American society and also a key to tying together much of the history of the modern world. I tried to maintain a regular menu of articles on race relations and, furthermore, to do as much as possible on this issue from a comparative and multi-continental perspective. Fourth, and in line with the previous objective, I wanted to broaden coverage and remove the stigma of the *AHR* as the so-called *NATO Historical Review*. We made progress on the first three of these objectives and have also included more essays on Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We now run an article on a Third World area in nearly every issue. Still, more could and should be done in this regard.

An innovation that I was happy to support (but which had not been one of my initial objectives) was the Film Review section. Natalie Zemon Davis and others encouraged us to move into this area. We decided to begin with an *AHR Forum* on what happens to written history when it is rendered in film. The *Forum* convinced

us that reviews of films could be every bit as instructive and intellectually engaging as reviews of books. Moreover, the undeniable importance of film as a vehicle for much of today's history learning provided a compelling reason for historians to be involved in evaluating the products of this medium. The Film Review section appears annually in the October number and can be found in this issue immediately following the article section.

It is an especially great pleasure to be able to end my term as editor on the one hundredth anniversary of the *AHR* and to have had the opportunity to commission a large number of essays on the state of various fields of history at the close of the twentieth century. The first centennial issue, the June number of this year, featured (with a couple of exceptions) essays by specialists on U.S. history. In this second centennial issue, the focus is primarily on European and world history. But, again, the angle of vision is American. Our authors are most interested in analyzing the work of U.S. historians and the American intellectual climate in which writing about the history of other countries, the world, or international relations was produced. As was the case in the June issue, our contributors were asked to look first at what the founding generation of specialists in their fields were writing in the pages of the *AHR*, to consider how these pioneers defined historical questions and how they chose to address them. The authors were then to jump ahead to our own time and consider the state of their fields in recent work, that is, the definition of historical issues today and the approaches scholars are taking toward them. Some authors chose to write sweeping surveys of changes in their fields rather than to leap directly from the turn of the last century to the turn of ours. But the end product is the one we hoped for: a measure of how historians have been changed by (a) the extent of engagement of U.S. historians with the rest of the world, (b) the altered mix of sex, social background, and education among practitioners, and (c) a radically different intellectual climate.

THE FIRST ESSAY is by **Walter LaFeber**, a specialist in American foreign policy and international relations history. He begins with a comment on the inaugural essay for the *AHR* in which William M. Sloane criticized the prevailing, narrowly defined political history and called for an American history that included the nation's rapid expansion and its place in the larger international and social order. After remarking on the views of the founders, LaFeber surveys the work of several generations of writers on international relations and assesses their contributions. The progressive inclusion of social, economic, and, more recently, linguistic approaches has, according to LaFeber, made U.S. foreign affairs history one of the most comprehensive fields of historical studies. Following this survey, LaFeber congratulates the profession on its success in meeting the first generation's standards in regard to accuracy and balance in our historical writings, but he also reminds us of the prescience of Henry Adams, who predicted in his AHA Presidential Address of 1894 that thorough and balanced accounts of history would incite the kind of attacks recently visited on the Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum and the *National Standards for United States History*.

Michael Geyer and **Charles Bright** discuss the return of world history. They observe that professionalization of our field in the first half of this century pushed the study of world history to the side yet did not remake the powerful images of the world as an extension of Western history. Historians on the margins of this established view have stressed difference and resistance to show that Western analytic categories do not produce a history of the world. Teaching and, more recently, research on world history have had to develop in this environment of contention. The principal approaches have been either a comparative history of power as manifested in great empires or an effort at a unified view by tracing trade and migration. According to the authors, neither approach is satisfactory, and they propose another, which acknowledges global integration while recognizing that it has not homogenized the whole. What has occurred, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, they write, is an integration built on a series of regional appropriations and renewals. People everywhere meet challenges from outside by finding accommodations that enable them not only to survive but to preserve and in some ways even to accentuate difference. Writers of world history, they conclude, must learn to represent the world as a field of human contest in which local histories mingle to create a larger picture, and yet the process does not transform local societies into a single whole or even make them more alike.

Robin Fleming does something different from our other authors. Instead of starting with the first volumes of the *AHR*, she ends with them, noting the founding generation's important role in reforming the writing of medieval history. Fleming begins a few decades before the founding of the *AHR* with the mid-century cultural shift that transformed prosperous American neighborhoods into expressions of the medieval romantic. By the 1870s, Gothic and Romanesque-revival churches and city halls were dominating towns, and many houses were filled with Gothic-inspired furniture and bric-a-brac. The medieval history that came out of this era, Fleming emphasizes, fed on this romanticized Victorian sense of the medieval and was just as ahistorical and rooted in the present as was its corresponding decorative display. The writers of medieval history combined this romantic vision and current scientific ideas about race to concoct an ideology emphasizing race as the driving force of history. Henry Adams traced American federalism to England's pre-Norman government; others celebrated the discovery of America by their imagined Teutonic ancestors, the Vikings. The advent of the *AHR* brought a dramatic change in the writing of medieval history in America. Interestingly, it was book reviews more than articles that propelled the transformation. A young generation of *AHR* reviewers, writes Fleming, systematically dismantled the Picturesque History of the Middle Ages in reviews that lambasted the prevailing decorative narratives characterized by laborious chronicling of details, excessive length, inattention to recent scholarship, and racial determinism. The reviewers showed the way toward a history of the Middle Ages that was analytical rather than descriptive, moralizing, and racist.

Edward Muir, in looking at the work of several generations of historians of the Renaissance, finds that the most recent practitioners share a central concern of a distinguished interpreter of the era, William Roscoe Thayer. One of the last non-academic presidents of the AHA and an Italianophile, Thayer resisted the "Teutonic theorizing" of his day as well as a popular periodization that obscured the continuities in Italian history and culture in order to fit the Renaissance into a Western Civilization course that stressed its importance for the foundations of American democracy. But Thayer's position did not win adherents and was soon forgotten. Muir then considers the influence of Central European émigrés on postwar studies, in particular their conversion of the Americanism of the earlier generation into a preoccupation with the "civic" Renaissance. By the 1980s, this concept had spent its force, and the current generation moved to a varied research agenda with no single conceptual focus, except that some of today's scholars, in an unacknowledged return to Thayer's approach, have "Italianized" their understanding of Italy's history and broken free of the confining concept of the Renaissance.

Lynn Hunt starts her essay on the French Revolution by reviewing the impressive output of the founding generation of U.S. historians on this topic and especially the influential work of James Harvey Robinson. Hunt remarks on the characteristic forgetfulness of historians, who pay little attention to the work of predecessors more than a generation removed. The ideas of a writer like Robinson become muted in our thinking, even though his work staked out and defended a strong position on the importance of the French Revolution in the advancement of modern democracy. Hunt's comparison of Robinson's findings with present-day writings about the revolution is illuminating in several ways. As knowledge has expanded through increased research specialization, political perspectives have shifted, and the revolution is viewed much less favorably in 1995 than in 1895. Hunt regrets the loss of some earlier insights and regards the current stress on the linkage between the democratic principles of 1789 and the Terror and modern totalitarianism as too narrow. She sees merit in Robinson's broad view, which downplayed the Terror in favor of emphasizing the democratic consequences of the revolution and the importance of deep social and cultural changes as distinguished from short-lived political events. Another loss brought about by greater specialization, Hunt observes, is the contribution made by our predecessors to the dissemination of knowledge to the broader public and their role in shaping a democratic civic consciousness. The political stakes of the "new cultural history," she concludes, are not nearly so evident.

While **Terence Emmons** can write of one great promoter of Russian historical studies among the founding generation, this pioneer, Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University, had few immediate successors. It was not until the close of World War II that the field enjoyed a sustained life. This occurred in the context

of the Cold War and, at first, largely as a result of government and foundation-sponsored area studies programs. But, by the 1970s, Russian and East European studies had won a significant place in university and college curricula in the United States and represented a correspondingly important portion of the country's scholarly publication. The research agenda of historians of the region long centered on major political changes, especially the 1917 revolution, which were probed with the methods of both political and social history. More recently, Russian specialists have taken up the history of women, the socially marginal, mentalities, and identity politics, but they have lagged behind their most innovative colleagues in Western history in the adoption of new approaches such as the linguistic turn. The recent collapse of the Soviet Union prompted a rapid shift in emphasis toward postrevolutionary Soviet history and study of the causes of the collapse.

The founders of the *AHR* were much influenced by the German pioneers of modern historical studies, and they accepted their strong emphasis on archival study and the seminar. Indeed, the American Historical Association elected Leopold von Ranke as its first honorary foreign member in 1885. **Bonnie G. Smith** looks back at Ranke and the origins of modern historical work with an eye to the highly gendered character of the field in its initial constitution. Smith argues that historians described their work in seminars as part of a male, republican venture. Archival study, in contrast, was imagined romantically and even sexually, if solely in terms of the accepted heterosexual norms of the day. While this gendered and politicized stance of historians must be taken into account in considering the meaning of the work of this era, Smith argues that these imaginings of history as republican and conventionally gendered facilitated the development of historical scholarship by clothing innovative interpretations in acceptable metaphors.

Alfred W. Crosby reminds us that environmental change can often have far more important and lasting effects on human history than the political, social, or cultural transformations that most historians study. But he could find almost nothing in the early volumes of the *AHR* to launch his discussion of this subject. The field of environmental history as such did not exist at the time, even if some scholars were interested in aspects of the changing landscape. (The third volume of the *AHR* contained an article on romantic scenery.) Crosby observes ironically, for instance, that even the need to call off the AHA's annual meeting in 1918 because of the influenza epidemic of that year, the deadliest plague in modern history, failed to prompt an interest in environmental history. Only after World War II was there a gradual emergence and then, more recently, a rapid development of this field of historical study. Crosby chronicles the growth of the field and stresses its important transnational and even global perspective. His article returns us to the concerns expressed in the first essays of this issue, namely,

that the history of the United States must be viewed in the context of world history and with an awareness of our interdependence with the rest of the creatures of the planet.

The eighteen essays of our June and October centennial issues sum up the contributions of several topical and regional subdivisions of historical studies. Had space and finances permitted, dozens more could have been included. The need for many essays and for the talents of authors highly trained in subspecialties to survey a field of study that one hundred years ago was adequately summed up in a single inaugural essay by William M. Sloane is a rough measure of how much we have learned in the intervening century. While some people complain that this gain has been bought at the price of coherence, every active field of inquiry in the sciences, social sciences, and humanities has experienced the same flood of knowledge, which necessarily streams off into diverse channels of subspecialization. In any case, the earlier sense of harmony (to the extent that it actually existed and is not an intellectual imposition of our own day) was the result of a narrow view of historical studies imposed by writers representing a social and ethnic elite. Even were it possible to return to that era, who would choose to silence the new voices and exclude the fresh perspectives that have been added to the writing of our history?

The World and the United States

WALTER LAFEBER

IN 1985, PETER N. STEARNS, THE EDITOR OF THE *Journal of Social History*, worried that his vibrant, rapidly growing field was dangerously separating itself from the field of foreign relations. He warned that unless the widening gap was narrowed, “we risk a harmful division of interest between a fascination with domestic matters and an apathy or resignation toward crucial questions of war and peace.”¹

Stearns’s warning was only a variation on themes in the first essay in the first issue of the *American Historical Review* ninety years earlier, William M. Sloane’s “History and Democracy.” Sloane, a member of Columbia University’s department of history and the *AHR*’s initial board of editors, worried that because historians in the 1890s were focusing on narrow national history (in this case especially, stressing “the importance of the United States”), they were violating “the doctrine of the unity of history,” which most professed to believe in, and—more important—were reluctant to admit “that no country is more than one wheel in the series which moves the hands on the dial-plate of human progress.” Sloane prefaced this emphasis on employing an international framework with words that sound uncomfortably familiar a century later: historians were finding in their “society a widespread discontent with the results of historical study as pursued today.” He believed that the scholars of his time were to blame, for by stressing aspects of national history they had ended up emphasizing “American history . . . in deference to patriotic but unintelligent public opinion.” With considerable prescience, Sloane identified several of the pivotal points scholars would have to debate in the future if they hoped to broaden their work. “More political history . . . will no longer suffice for a public hungering after information”; it would have to be supplemented by accounts of “social, industrial, commercial, aesthetic, religious, and moral conditions of the common man.” Historians would notably have to come to terms with the impact of technology and the nation’s awesome mixture of races. For “our history has not been one of origins, but exactly the contrary”—that is, it had been continually transforming as the people of the United States met, mixed, and often forcefully collided with other peoples. After all, comparing maps of 1756 and 1895 “will show what proportion of the earth’s surface we have pre-empted for our civilization in

¹ Peter N. Stearns, “Social History and History: A Progress Report,” *Journal of Social History*, 19 (1985): 319–33, esp. 329.

something more than a century and a quarter." With that observation, Sloane identified the central theme of the history of U.S. foreign relations.²

Sloane's emphases on the need for understanding global rather than only national contexts, non-political as well as political approaches, ethnicity and immigration rather than only "Anglo-Saxon" origins, and, perhaps above all, how the new nation's incredible expansionism "pre-empted" a continent anticipated major categories of study that shaped the writing of so-called international history a century after the first *AHR* appeared. Sloane, however, was questioning the past as well as anticipating the future. The American Historical Association had not begun by emphasizing these ideas. Its president in 1885, George Bancroft, declared that the organization devoted itself "to the affairs of the United States of America" as it promoted "American history and . . . history in America."³

The new association further made clear its purposes by inviting Leopold von Ranke to be its first honorary foreign member and by frequently invoking the great German scholar's name. Ranke, it turned out, could be invoked for a number of causes, not all of them consistent. He had called for the primacy of foreign relations, which found few echoes among even enlightened Americans of the 1880s and early 1890s, but his stress on the importance of politics and the need for a scientific history did fit the agenda of many historians. Just how scientific Ranke meant to be when he declared that he wanted to write history "wie es eigentlich gewesen [ist]" is a complex question because, as Felix Gilbert observed, "eigentlich" could have been translated as either "essentially" or "actually."⁴ Ranke could nevertheless be invoked by the Association's first president, Andrew Dickson White, to justify a supposedly scientific approach that allowed White and his colleagues to use history—in White's words—"for the checking of popular unreason, and for the spreading of right reason."⁵ White, a co-founder of Cornell University and the U.S. minister to Germany between 1878 and 1881, was a cosmopolitan person (although as a young student in Germany, he had given up trying to follow Ranke's lectures), but he worried more about the post-1873 domestic crisis, which, in the view of White, other AHA founders, and

² William M. Sloane, "History and Democracy," *American Historical Review*, 1 (1895): 1–7, 12–15, 18–19. In recent years, the field under discussion has been given various names, including International History, United States Foreign Relations, and the older United States Diplomatic History. Akira Iriye has given a useful definition of international history as an approach that "has sought to go beyond the national level of analysis and to treat the entire world as a framework of study. In addition to examining the behavior of each nation, historians have proposed various conceptions of the world system, or the international system, a structure that establishes conditions for the existence of individual nations and to which their policies are responses. Thus scholars have written of 'the concert of Europe.'" Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *AHR*, 94 (February 1989): 4. As noted below, Thomas Paterson and others have favored "foreign relations" because international history is too broad in conception, while "'Foreign relations' can be used to explain the totality of interactions—economic, cultural, political, and more—among peoples and states." "Writing the History of U.S. Foreign Relations: A Symposium," *Diplomatic History*, 14 (1990): 585 n. "Diplomatic History" and "Foreign Policy" have largely fallen out of use because they too narrowly focus on official diplomacy and not on that diplomacy's social, economic, intellectual, and political origins.

³ Bancroft's remark is quoted and critiqued in Iriye, "Internationalization of History," 1–2.

⁴ Felix Gilbert, *History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 33–36.

⁵ Dorothy Ross, "On the Misunderstanding of Ranke and the Origins of the Historical Profession in America," in Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell, eds., *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1990), 159.

many Americans, threatened the republic. Caused by massive overproduction in both the agricultural and industrial sectors, as well as by corruption in the banking system, the quarter-century economic depression of 1873 to 1897 triggered massive unemployment, bloody protests and riots in major cities, and the nation's first general strike. In this context, foreign relations seemed to be of small concern.

In 1895, the younger generation of historians that led the effort to found the *American Historical Review* held a quite different view about the role of foreign relations and how it should be studied. This new group carried out a mini-rebellion against White and his colleagues, a revolt that also held up Ranke—but now as a target of some ridicule. Harvard's Albert Bushnell Hart told the Association that historians should adopt the empirical method until “the mind is led to the discovery of laws,” but history could never truly be a science because it had to deal with the human mind. Ranke might say, “I will simply tell you how it was,” Hart warned, but this really meant he would tell “how it was seen through the mind of Ranke.”⁶ The younger historians were affected not only by the domestic crises that shook White but by a series of episodes—accelerated immigration, confrontations with Great Britain in Latin America during 1894–1895, the announced closing of the “frontier,” the widely noted publications of Alfred Thayer Mahan warning of the need for overseas empire and a powerful navy to defend that empire—that made a study of the nation's international history to be of importance.

Sloane underlined this importance of foreign relations in the *AHR*'s first article. Three years later, the war with Spain provided violent evidence for Sloane's argument. Hart spelled out the implications in a paper to the Association in late 1898. Because of Americans' “disregard, almost an ignorance, of the past,” they looked upon “the war, its causes and results, as sudden and unexpected.” But this view demonstrated the ignoring of the “Spanish question” during the past “four hundred years.” Historians who should have been studying and explaining foreign relations had been off on less important pursuits: “If there be a fault,” Hart declared, “it is not that of the makers of history, but of the historians, who have failed to set clearly before their countrymen the course of our diplomatic policy; and of historical teachers, who have not imbued their students . . . with the sense of the sequence of historical events.”⁷ That “sequence,” the younger historians believed, was not necessarily continuous but often broken and disjointed. Events were to be understood no longer as a glorious millennial-long progress toward the realization of an ideal republic but as an evolutionary trend that had its setbacks as well as advances. Events had to be understood in their own particular contexts. Foreign relations, moreover, were shaped not only by politics and the military but by economics, geography, and—of special note—the histories and more recent acts of nations other than the United States. In an *AHR* article of October 1898, George L. Rives echoed Hart's warning that studying only U.S. history would no longer do: since the nation's founding, “it is profoundly true that events in Spain have exercised, as they are now exercising, an immense

⁶ Ross, “On the Misunderstanding of Ranke,” 162–63.

⁷ Albert Bushnell Hart, “The Historical Opportunity in America,” *AHR*, 4 (1898): 1–2.

though intermittent influence upon our life." The Spanish, Rives observed, shaped much of the foreign and domestic history of some ten states that now occupied the area between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi.⁸

Other scholars important enough that they were later given credit for establishing particular schools of history joined Rives in emphasizing the larger, non-United States theater in which the nation's development occurred. Three of the most influential works in the 1890s by authors of imperialism—Brooks Adams's *Law of Civilization and Decay*, Mahan's *Influence of Seapower upon History, 1660–1783*, and John Fiske's essay "Manifest Destiny"—used non-American history to explain and justify U.S. expansionism. All three authors, moreover, ranged outside political and the usual what-one-clerk-said-to-another kind of diplomatic history to drive home their theses. Mahan and especially Adams emphasized economic motives (and noted how those motives evolved over long durations), while Fiske employed an interesting if simplistic Social Darwinian interpretation.⁹ Charles McLean Andrews founded an "imperial" school that provided a large Atlantic context for understanding the development of the colonies and the American Revolution. The early history of the United States, for Andrews and his followers, could only be comprehended when placed in the trading and political relationships of the entire British empire. This was an international history that opened fresh, highly important insights into the American character.¹⁰

THE PROGENITOR of arguably the most famous school of American history also explored international perspectives but for nationalistic purposes. Frederick Jackson Turner followed his epochal 1893 thesis about the frontier's closing with an essay in 1895 that viewed the eastern part of the American continent as "the West of Europe." However, Turner then dropped this insight to concentrate on the thesis that "it is the fact of unoccupied territory in America that sets the evolution of American and European institutions in contrast."¹¹ International relationships were replaced by American exceptionalism. Old World realism gave way to New World optimism. But not even Turner's happy story of Darwinian evolution in the "unoccupied territory" could match Theodore Roosevelt's joy

⁸ Ross, "On the Misunderstanding of Ranke," 166–67; David D. Van Tassel, "From Learned Society to Professional Organization: The American Historical Association, 1884–1900," *AHR*, 89 (October 1984): 945–56; George L. Rives, "Spain and the United States in 1795," *AHR*, 4 (1898): 62–79, esp. 62.

⁹ Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilization and Decay* (London, 1895); Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Seapower upon History, 1660–1783* (Boston, 1890); John Fiske, "Manifest Destiny," *Harper's Magazine*, 120 (1895): 578–90. These and similar accounts are discussed in Jerald A. Combs, *American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 62–67; and Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963), 80–101.

¹⁰ Charles McLean Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government, 1652–1689* (New York, 1904); Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution: Four Essays in American Colonial History* (New York, 1924); and the comments in Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR*, 96 (October 1991): 1040–41.

¹¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," *AHR*, 1 (1895): 70–71.

over Indians eliminated and European holdings displaced in *The Winning of the West*. In an *AHR* review, Turner praised the “graphic vigor” with which Roosevelt “portrayed the advance of the pioneer into the wastes of the continent,” but the reviewer drew the line at the author’s rough and unalloyed condemnation of Thomas Jefferson’s and James Madison’s diplomacy: regrettably, “Mr. Roosevelt does not find it possible to regard history as a more jealous mistress, and to give more time, greater thoroughness of investigation, particularly in foreign archives, and more sobriety of judgment to his work.”¹² By 1905, Turner was taking some of his own advice. He utilized French and Canadian archival materials to argue that, during the 1780s and 1790s, the Mississippi Valley became the prize in an intense, often violent international rivalry between France and Great Britain over the remains of the Spanish empire. But again, the cause of progress was served in Turner’s account. The Europeans were checked, and the United States emerged “as the arbiter of North America and the protector of an American system for the New World.”¹³

The greatest historian of the time doubted the existence of such happy endings. Or, more accurately, Henry Adams’s relative lack of optimism during the 1880s as he penned his magisterial *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* turned into raging pessimism after he watched his close friends John Hay and Theodore Roosevelt try to manage the far-flung empire seized and pacified between 1898 and 1902. In his *History*, Adams exploited archives in London, Madrid, and Paris, as well as Washington. He built his account, moreover, on both his personal knowledge of Washington politics and an intimate knowledge of post-1100 Europe. Adams ruthlessly criticized Jefferson’s and Madison’s diplomacy and, in an interpretation that Roosevelt later echoed, even berated Jefferson for the president’s greatest triumph, the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. Adams believed that Jefferson had narrowly escaped disaster: he was unprepared to use force, if necessary, for the seizure of New Orleans. The great-grandson of John Adams also pointedly spelled out how war and organizing for war undermined many Jeffersonian principles (especially the hatred of debt, centralized government, and investment of scarce resources in the military), yet Jefferson and Madison repeatedly put themselves in situations where war seemed to be the only alternative.¹⁴ Adams dissected the contradictions of Jeffersonian politics and diplomacy with a cynicism that was finally, but effectively, blunted by the author’s use of social history. Two sections that formed bookends for the *History*, “The United States in 1800” and “American Character” in 1817, apotheosized the mass of Americans for their naturalness, pragmatism, non-European qualities, and ability to prosper at the local level despite Jefferson’s and Madison’s mistakes in national policies.¹⁵

By 1903, not even the optimistic results of his pioneering social history could

¹² Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, 6 vols. (New York, 1889–96); the Turner review is in *AHR*, 2 (1896): 174–76.

¹³ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams,” *AHR*, 10 (1905): 259–79.

¹⁴ Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, 9 vols. (New York, 1889–91), 4: 276–78, 9: 226.

¹⁵ Adams, *History of the United States*, 1: 1–74, 156–84; 9: 219–42, esp. 234–36.

prevent Adams from turning deeply pessimistic. He immersed himself in studying international money exchange (which convinced him that Western Europe was in decline and becoming dangerously unstable), Russia (which convinced him that the United States could counter the tsar's ignorant but inexorably moving empire only at the cost of global chaos), Asia (which convinced him that ultimately the West would be bankrupted by Asian competition), and the new U.S. empire (which convinced him that while its benefits would be short-lived, its net effect would be to accelerate the decline of the eighteenth-century system his ancestors had put in place). He incorporated these views as themes that unified *The Education of Henry Adams*, a privately published book that is simultaneously an international history of Adams's era, the finest (if incomplete) autobiography in American literature, and the most relentless onslaught in that literature against the idea of progress.¹⁶

For Adams, the complex story of the rise and fall of empires revealed marvelously entertaining ironies, but none was more instructive than the belief of White, Turner, and other founders of the AHA and AHR that Rankean scientific history could lead to a better administered republic and empire ("historico-politics," as Dorothy Ross has labeled this belief¹⁷) and that such scientific history would buttress the American faith in progress and exceptionalism. For Adams, real scientific history drew not on Ranke's thinly disguised paeans to a German empire but on Madame Curie's discovery of "the metaphysical bomb she called radium" and on the Second Law of Thermodynamics.¹⁸ This history fatally undermined the idea of progress and brought down American exceptionalism among the ruins of earlier international empires.

Adams had indeed said as much in his AHA Presidential Address of 1894. He went to great trouble so he would not have to deliver the address personally, perhaps because he hated speaking before large audiences, perhaps because he knew that his distinguished listeners would not enjoy hearing that their scholarly German emperor had no clothes. A true "Science of History" could become an explosive device that would soon blow up the new historical association and politically disfigure its members, Adams implied. Such a history would first anger the "Church," since "Science, by its definition, must exclude the idea of a personal and active Providence." Such a history would also alienate the "State," since the state's "hostility . . . would be assured toward any system or science that would not strengthen its arm." Adams thus wondered aloud whether historians would pursue scientific history if it turned against them those "few immense forces" that actually ruled their society.¹⁹

Ten years later, Adams had followed his own scientific history to the point that he was on uneasy terms with his always optimistic friend, President Theodore Roosevelt, and was warning other close friends who would listen that "the last struggle for power" was bound to occur in Asia. Roosevelt's own study of "the

¹⁶ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, Ernest Samuels, ed. (1918; rpt. edn., Boston, 1973), esp. chaps. 1, 15, 22–27, 31–33.

¹⁷ Ross, "On the Misunderstanding of Ranke," 154–59.

¹⁸ Adams, *Education*, 452–561, 474–98.

¹⁹ J. C. Levenson, Ernest Samuels, Charles Vandersee, and Viola Hopkins Winner, eds., *The Letters of Henry Adams*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 4: 231.

West” had helped lead him to the conclusion that his nation could dominate a Pacific century. But Adams concluded from his own history, and especially his study of quantitative data, that “we can never compete with Asia, and Chinese coal and labor, organized by a Siberian system. In that event I allow till 1950 to run our race out.”²⁰

For obvious reasons, Adams was no longer a welcome guest in either the White House or the American Historical Association. Other historians who had fewer doubts and a less developed sense of irony wrote widely noted accounts of *America as a World Power, 1897–1907* (as John Latané titled his volume in Albert Bushnell Hart’s *American Nation* series). While not entirely uncritical, Latané’s work and Archibald Cary Coolidge’s *United States as a World Power* neither threatened the state with a debate over fundamentals of policy nor threatened the historical profession with new methodologies. Both Latané and Coolidge (whose book enjoyed six printings between 1908 and 1919) fully endorsed the U.S. acquisition of empire after 1898. Coolidge was especially determined to demonstrate that economic motives had little to do with this empire building. The system, in his view, fully deserved the spoils. The first American diplomatic history textbook, Carl Russell Fish’s *American Diplomacy*, went along with this interpretation. Fish’s text dominated the college market until Latané published his own textbook in 1927.²¹

Written, to paraphrase Carl Becker, without fear of contradiction from their society and without research in non-American sources, Latané’s, Coolidge’s, and Fish’s books ushered in the age of nationalism in the writing of American foreign relations. After Adams died in 1918, his *Education* was finally published for the public market and, in the dark reaction to the broken promises and enormous bloodshed of World War I, became an unlikely best seller. Scott Nearing and a number of so-called “revisionists,” led by Charles Callan Tansill, raised central—and up to that point usually avoided—questions about the origins of the war and the U.S. intervention in 1917. These accounts were largely orthodox, top-down diplomatic history, with little Adams-style social or quantitative analysis except in the revisionists’ important use of trade and loan statistics to demonstrate how the United States became economically tied to the Allied cause well before 1917. More striking, however, was the revisionists’ use of British, German, and French records (as well as the files of negotiations leading up to the secret treaties in which the Allies divided their hoped-for empire—files that Lenin helpfully released from the assassinated tsar’s archives). Woodrow Wilson’s actions between 1914 and 1917, and again at Paris in 1919, took on quite different meanings when analyzed in this international context rather than interpreted, as Latané and Fish had done, in the context of Wilson’s rhetoric and announced intentions. The revisionists ultimately helped shape the Neutrality Acts of 1935 to 1937, which (depending on how President Franklin D. Roosevelt chose to interpret them) passed for U.S. diplomatic principles of the time. But the revisionists enjoyed

²⁰ Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Major Phase* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 314.

²¹ John H. Latané, *America as a World Power, 1897–1907* (New York, 1907); Archibald Cary Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power* (New York, 1908); Carl Russell Fish, *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1915); a succinct analysis of these and similar accounts published at the time is in Combs, *American Diplomatic History*, 82–83, 92–93.

much less success in shaping the writing of the most important scholarly histories in the interwar years, the histories that structured much classroom teaching and helped form the historical consciousness of the post-World War II generation.²²

THE NATIONALIST SCHOOL was led by four distinguished scholars: Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale, Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester, Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University, and Julius Pratt of the University of Buffalo. In the histories of Bemis and Perkins, the promises of Woodrow Wilson left no room for the pessimism, or the social history, of Henry Adams. Bemis ransacked West European archives to write *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* and *Jay's Treaty*.²³ Both remain standard on their subjects more than a half-century later. His two-volume biography of the nation's greatest secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, is a classic top-down treatment; Bemis even included a set of American diplomatic principles that he derived from the study—partly as a conclusion for the work, partly for instruction to post-World War II U.S. diplomats, who as a group he considered quite inferior to those of the 1776 to 1824 era. Bemis's books were usually praised for their multi-archival research but criticized for their intense nationalism and anti-European (especially anti-British and anti-Soviet) animus that culminated in a belief that U.S. expansionism and interventionism, particularly in Latin America, were praiseworthy. Bemis focused entirely on the elite that formulated and carried out the state's foreign policies. As for the non-elite, he asked in his 1961 Presidential Address to the AHA: "Have not our social studies been tending overmuch to self-study—to what is the matter with us rather than to perils and strengths that test our liberty? Too much self-study, too much self-criticism is weakening to a people as it is to an individual . . . A people's culture . . . begins to decay when it commences to examine itself."²⁴

Bemis proved that international research did not necessarily produce international history. His Presidential Address was a last, all-out attempt to stop the growing criticism of Cold War policies by historians who had moved outside the perspective of Washington, D.C. Dexter Perkins was also completing his long and distinguished career in early 1960s and, like Bemis, had exploited foreign archives while employing a top-down approach as he explored diplomacy through the eyes of elite officials. But Perkins's chauvinism and intolerance of criticism (and historical revisionism) never approached Bemis's, perhaps in part because of Perkins's personality and *joie de vivre* and in part because his classic studies of the Monroe Doctrine had examined in some depth the causes and consequences of U.S. armed intervention. The Monroe Doctrine had become a popular subject for scholars in the aftermath of the 1898 war. Some of those scholars suggested that

²² Scott Nearing, *The American Empire* (New York, 1921); Charles Callan Tansill, *America Goes to War* (Boston, 1938); an analysis is in Warren I. Cohen, *The American Revisionists: The Lessons of Intervention in World War I* (Chicago, 1967).

²³ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution*, 3d edn. (Bloomington, Ind., 1957); Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New York, 1923).

²⁴ Samuel Flagg Bemis, "American Foreign Policy and the Blessings of Liberty," *AHR*, 67 (1962): 304; see also Gaddis Smith, "The Two Worlds of Samuel Flagg Bemis," *Diplomatic History*, 9 (1985): 295–302, for a discussion of the private Bemis, who at times had reservations about the public Bemis.

the famous principles were justification for expansionism. As Hart phrased it, as early as the 1840s the Doctrine meant that "it is the duty of the United States to annex American territory lest it be annexed by European countries."²⁵

Perkins did his major work in the 1920s and 1930s, an era resembling the immediate post-1898 years, when U.S. foreign policy focused on Latin America. Unlike earlier scholars, however, Perkins concluded that the European threats to intervene in the New World (especially the Russian danger in the 1820s) had been greatly exaggerated. The work of Perkins and Alfred Vagts could be used as a basis for post-1960 scholars to provide a multinational perspective that came to terms with the social and economic, as well as political, consequences of the long history of interventionism in Latin America.²⁶ As Perkins published an important part of his work in the early 1930s, Herbert E. Bolton triggered intense debate by suggesting that nationalistic American history had "helped to raise up a nation of chauvinists." Bolton argued that North American foreign policies (he specified the Monroe Doctrine) had to be understood by examining the common characteristics that shaped the entire Western Hemisphere. Bolton's thesis was harshly attacked, but some of his insights—especially his injunction to study the "borderlands" where different civilizations met—pointed to some of the most fruitful areas of study in the 1980s and 1990s.²⁷

Unlike Bemis and Perkins, Julius W. Pratt was interested in larger social movements that shaped foreign policy. He was not reluctant to explore a foreign-policy "ideology" that simply by its formulation raised fresh questions for researchers and teachers. Pratt delineated broad, sectionally based landed and commercial interests as he worked out the causes of the War of 1812 and analyzed the business community, as well as the impact of Social Darwinism and public opinion, in tracing the causes of the 1898 war. "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny'" in the *AHR* of 1927 and his later elaboration remain seminal analyses of expansionist ideology, although the historical research in this work far outstripped Pratt's understanding of what the use of an "ideology" might mean for analyzing the fundamentals of a foreign policy too often seen as opportunistic and reactive.²⁸

Like Pratt, Thomas A. Bailey did little work in foreign archival materials and left largely unexplored foreign perspectives, unless those perspectives were in the form of quotable newspaper or magazine observations on U.S. policies. In his best-selling textbooks (Bailey privately claimed that his *Diplomatic History of the American People*, 1940, actually created the demand for courses in the subject at some colleges), he raised the question of how public opinion in a complex

²⁵ Albert B. Hart, "The Monroe Doctrine and the Doctrine of Permanent Interest," *AHR*, 7 (1901): 77–91; and see as well the especially important study by Worthington C. Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine," *AHR*, 7 (1902): 676–97.

²⁶ Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823–1826* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927); Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1867–1907* (Baltimore, Md., 1933); Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigte Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935).

²⁷ Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *AHR*, 38 (1933): 448–74.

²⁸ Julius W. Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1925); Pratt, *The Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, Md., 1936); Pratt, "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny,'" *AHR*, 32 (1927): 795–98; Pratt, "The Ideology of American Expansion," in Avery Craven, ed., *Essays in Honor of William E. Dodd* (Chicago, 1935).

democracy shaped foreign policy. It was a question he elaborated on with prodigious research in periodicals, but it was not one he took time to answer systematically or theoretically. Bailey's *Man in the Street* was among several widely noted books published on American opinion between 1948 and 1952. The subject interested official and non-official foreign-policy experts who were beginning to realize that fighting the Cold War would require a long-term commitment to sacrifice from a people these experts viewed as mercurial, culturally and economically divided, and traditionally isolationist.²⁹ Although Bailey's use of public-opinion materials could be read as suggesting that the public was influential in shaping foreign policy, he greatly doubted Americans' ability to understand foreign policy on any consistent basis, and his evidence that the public shaped decision making was, to say the least, sporadic. One especially devastating attack on Bailey's thesis by Bernard Cohen concluded that the elite officials, not social groups, were the necessary focus for the study of foreign relations.³⁰

DESPITE THE CRITICISM leveled at Pratt's and Bailey's works, they had opened possibilities for research into non-elite groups that affected diplomatic decision making. Unfortunately, by the 1950s, these hints of division and fundamental debate were being lost among the outpourings of a dominant "consensus school" of American history that deemphasized the importance of class and cultural conflict. Some members had joined the consensus school in reaction to the Progressive historians, who during the interwar years had stressed the divisions in the society. Charles A. Beard had notably incurred the ire of nationalist historians such as Bemis and Samuel Eliot Morison, not only by his emphasis on debates between economic classes that raised questions about who had most benefited from the nation's development, but also because he had condemned President Roosevelt's diplomacy and questioned his honesty during the 1937 to 1941 road to war. Beard, along with Edward S. Corwin, a distinguished constitutional scholar, argued that the often secret conduct of foreign policy could corrupt and weaken constitutional guarantees at home.³¹ Beard and Corwin raised questions in the 1940s that were to become central points of public debate in the late 1960s and 1970s. A difference was, however, that while criticisms of executive power in the later years were too often linked only to the Vietnam war policies, Beard and Corwin suggested that the questionable and possibly dangerous exercise of presidential prerogative could be endemic as the United States exerted its power globally.

Beard died in 1948, but his intellectual legacy became a major reason why after

²⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, *The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy* (1948; rpt. edn., Gloucester, Mass., 1964); Gabriel Almond, *The American People and Foreign Policy* (New York, 1950).

³⁰ Bernard Cohen, *The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1972); Bailey's later views are in his autobiography, *The American Pageant Revisited: Recollections of a Stanford Historian* (Stanford, Calif., 1982), 166–67. Raymond G. O'Connor, "Thomas A. Bailey: His Impact," *Diplomatic History*, 9 (1985): 303–09, is a good evaluation of Bailey's influence.

³¹ Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (New Haven, Conn., 1948); Edward Samuel Corwin, *The President, Office and Powers, 1787–1948: History and Analysis of Practice and Opinion* (New York, 1948).

1960 the writing of American foreign relations entered its most productive era—and played a role in ending “consensus history.” As John Higham later phrased it, “An intellectual revolution, the kind of upheaval that postwar historians had tried to disprove, overturned their work.”³² Beard’s legacy dominated the writing and teaching of American history at the University of Wisconsin, especially in the seminars of Fred Harvey Harrington. Out of those seminars came new perspectives on isolationism, Wilsonian and New Deal foreign policies, and U.S. expansionism. Most significant, Wisconsin produced William Appleman Williams, who became the seminal figure in the development of a history of foreign relations that broke sharply with the nationalists. By employing the open-door policies of John Hay issued in 1899–1900 (all that Americans wanted as they sought to develop the vast China market, Hay declared, was “a fair field and no favor”), Williams provided radically different insights into the nation’s foreign-policy ideology. He argued that open-door imperialism not only led to the United States becoming one of the great powers after the 1890s but led to the nation’s entry into two world wars, its opposition to post-1919 anti-colonial revolutions, and its distortion of domestic society for the sake of overseas power. He developed another kind of consensus history, but this one portrayed elites and social groups (including business, religious, and academic communities) joining together in a commitment to an ideology that they thought embodied their country’s values but that, too often, corrupted the values of community at home and self-determination abroad.³³

Williams did not write international history as the term was later understood.³⁴ He explored no foreign archives, used few foreign-language sources, and was less interested in the views of overseas capitals and the newly emerging people on the periphery than in demonstrating how Americans had to rethink the use of their enormous power abroad. Influenced by Marx, Weber, and personal experiences with British Socialists, Williams was shaped less by these theorists than by his own religious roots in the Midwest, service in the Pacific during World War II, work with the civil rights movement, and the reading of Charles Beard, Henry Adams, Brooks Adams, and Frederick Jackson Turner in Harrington’s seminar. Having considered Beard’s and Carl Becker’s views on historical relativism, Williams ignored Henry Adams’s confidence that scientific history could be discovered, but he committed himself to Adams’s conclusions that the nation should be studied as an evolving system and that the checking of state power in this system required historians who were not of the “historico-politics” school but were willing to stand outside the society in order to critique it—especially critique its intellectual

³² John Higham, “The Future of American History,” *Journal of American History*, 80 (1994): 1298.

³³ William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1959); Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Cleveland, 1961); Part One of Lloyd C. Gardner, ed., *Redefining the Past: Essays in Diplomatic History in Honor of William Appleman Williams* (Corvallis, Ore., 1986); and for the Harrington seminar, “Fred Harvey Harrington,” in Thomas McCormick and Walter LaFeber, eds., *Behind the Throne* (Madison, Wis., 1993).

³⁴ Christopher Thorne, “After the Europeans: American Designs for the Remaking of Southeast Asia,” *Diplomatic History*, 12 (1988): 208; “Writing the History of U.S. Foreign Relations: A Symposium,” *Diplomatic History*, 14 (1990): 554–605.

assumptions and economic leadership, or, in other words, to question the nation's understanding and uses of history.³⁵

Another critical viewpoint, less radical than Williams's but, like his, questioning intellectual assumptions that directed the use of U.S. power, emerged from Norman Graebner's writings and teaching. Resembling Williams, Graebner neither explored foreign archives nor wrote from an international perspective, but his work was shaped by the so-called "realist" school led by theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, political scientist Hans Morgenthau, and diplomat-historian George F. Kennan. The realists viewed the nation-state as the pivotal political unit, were concerned about the international balance of power, emphasized the importance of measurable military and economic power to protect the "national interest" (usually singular) rather than "ideals" (usually associated with Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric), and stressed that the means of power must be adequate for realizing the ends of diplomacy. Graebner made important contributions to understanding the nation's seizure of California and Oregon in the 1840s and the North's successful diplomacy during the Civil War, but his most noted work criticized isolationist currents in U.S. foreign policy and especially the excessive anti-communism and overcommitment of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's policies during the 1950s.³⁶ The most widely read and influential "realist" history was Kennan's *American Diplomacy 1900–1950*.³⁷ The argument of that small book, however, rested on a highly doubtful reading of the 1890s, when modern American foreign relations began, and of Wilson's supposed "idealism" and Franklin D. Roosevelt's politics. Graebner, in both his publications and popular lectures, gave "realism" a needed scholarly historical basis.

By the early 1960s, the amalgamation of Americans' obsession with the Cold War, the nationalist scholars' research and textbooks, Williams's radical, broad theme that held out possibilities for new syntheses, and Graebner's and the other realists' dissent within the old consensus all made the history of American foreign relations an exciting field for research and teaching. One of the field's leading practitioners, Ernest R. May, noted in 1962 how the subject "has engaged an increasing number of American historians. Nearly every major college and university in the United States offers a semester or a year-long course on this special subject. The number of surveys or textbooks for such courses outnumbers those for economic, social or intellectual history." May worried, however, that "works on American foreign relations can . . . be described as either national or multi-national in approach and also as either Rankean or Actonian in intent. The

³⁵ These themes are explored in William Appleman Williams, *The Great Evasion: An Essay on the Contemporary Relevance of Karl Marx and on the Wisdom of Admitting the Heretic into the Dialogue about America's Future* (Chicago, 1964); Williams, *History as a Way of Learning* (New York, 1974); Williams, "Thoughts on Rereading Henry Adams," *Journal of American History*, 68 (1981): 7–15. The personal background is delineated in William G. Robbins, "William Appleman Williams: 'Doing History Is Best of All: No Regrets,'" in Gardner, *Redefining the Past*.

³⁶ These themes can be glimpsed in Norman Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific* (New York, 1955); especially in Graebner, *The New Isolationism: A Study in Politics and Foreign Policy since 1950* (New York, 1956); and Graebner, *Ideas and Diplomacy: Readings in the Intellectual Tradition of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1964). Jerald A. Combs has surveyed Graebner's importance in "Norman Graebner and the Realist View of American Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History*, 11 (1987): 251–65.

³⁷ George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy 1900–1950* (Chicago, 1951).

writers . . . have had either Ranke's aim of finding out what actually happened or Acton's of sitting as a hanging judge."³⁸ Acting as a "hanging judge" was neither unpopular nor unneeded by the mid-1960s (nor was such a position necessarily neutralized by the use of foreign archives and perspectives). Williams and other members of the Harrington seminar, as well as Graebner and dissenting "realists" and leading revisionists such as Gabriel Kolko, had published influential work well before President Lyndon Johnson escalated the U.S. involvement in Vietnam during 1964–1965. The war, and especially Eisenhower's, John F. Kennedy's, and Johnson's justifications for the commitment—and the secrecy and deception with which the commitment was sometimes carried out—only verified and further popularized the Actonian arguments.

THE NEW SCHOLARSHIP IN U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS thus provided a historical basis from which pre-1945 events and themes could be reevaluated and an informed, nonviolent revision of the nation's Cold War policies undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s. The scholarship offered an understanding of the nation's antirevolutionary policies, a greater knowledge of the new societies with which Americans had to deal, and an argument for circumscribing governmental, and especially executive, powers. In short, the study of American foreign relations was going off in two different but reconcilable directions. The first was an inner direction that took as its objective the examination and protection of the democratic processes on which the viability of the American constitutional system depended and which foreign policies could (and did) corrupt. These inner-directed studies focused on, among other subjects, bureaucratic national-security managers, the core values held by the national security state, a psychology that shaped elite officials' world views, the corporatist groups of officials and private-sector leaders who shaped policy along acceptable capitalist lines, and the price extracted from the Constitution for the waging of a global, often militarist, foreign policy. The state was usually at the center of these studies.³⁹

The second path followed an outer direction that had as its goal, as May

³⁸ Ernest R. May, "Emergence to World Power," in John Higham, ed., *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York, 1962), 180–81.

³⁹ The national-security managers are discussed in Richard Barnett, *The Roots of War* (New York, 1972); James Chace and Caleb Carr, *America Invulnerable: The Quest for Absolute Security from 1812 to Star Wars* (New York, 1988); Lloyd C. Gardner, *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in Foreign Policy, 1941–1949* (Chicago, 1970). For the national-security ideology, Melvyn Leffler, "National Security," *Journal of American History*, 77 (1990): 143–52; Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War* (Stanford, Calif., 1992). For psychology, see Alexander L. George and Juliet L. George, *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study* (New York, 1964); Richard H. Immerman, "Psychology," *Journal of American History*, 77 (1990): 169–80. For corporatism, Michael J. Hogan, "Corporatism," *ibid.*, 153–60; Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947–1952* (New York, 1987). For the Constitution, Louis Henkin, *Foreign Affairs and the Constitution* (Mineola, N.Y., 1972); Louis Fisher, *Presidential War Power* (Lawrence, Kan., 1955); the collection of essays titled "The Constitution and Foreign Affairs," *Diplomatic History*, 11 (1987): 303–53; Walter LaFeber, "The Constitution and United States Foreign Policy: An Interpretation," in David Thelen, ed., *The Constitution and American Life* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). Influential analyses, other than Iriye's, that examine cultural sources of foreign policy include Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); and Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1939–1950* (New York, 1981).

insisted, multi-archival, multinational perspectives. Dorothy Borg at Columbia University and Ernest May and John King Fairbank at Harvard developed programs that produced scholars equipped to study Asian cultures and use Asian languages. The results included both highly important revisionist accounts of how Chinese officials tried to save their empire before World War I by manipulating foreign diplomats and fresh, revealing analyses of U.S.–Communist Chinese relations.⁴⁰ Graduates of these programs helped sponsor innovative scholarly conferences that invited participants from Japan, China, and other Asian or West European nations. These conferences produced landmark work on the American and Japanese diplomacy that led to World War II, American-Chinese relations during the post-1945 era, and Asian and American perspectives on the international history of Asia during the Cold War. (A similar conference of scholars utilized perspectives from a number of nations and archives to give a stimulating analysis of the Suez Crisis in 1956.)⁴¹ Several of the conferences revealed highly important materials on the origins of the Korean War in 1950. For this subject, however, nothing surpassed Bruce Cumings's two-volume history. It exploited Asian sources and framed the material in a regional perspective and through the use of theory in a way that carried the importance of Cumings's work far beyond the war and Asia itself.⁴² In a series of works that utilized cultural comparisons to open fresh multinational insights, Akira Iriye forced historians to rethink their views of U.S.–Asian relations and intra-Asian affairs as well.⁴³

The scholars who followed these two directions went beyond the nationalist historians in their breadth of research, and they fulfilled Sloane's request of 1895 that a more inclusive and useful history be written. Their work would have probably pleased even Henry Adams, especially given their critiques of the state and fuller understanding of Asia. By the early 1980s, however, not even the successes of the 1960s and the breakthroughs to truly international perspectives in the 1970s seemed sufficient. Many inner-directed analyses were criticized for focusing too much on elites and the state, being too confined to American culture, and using unimaginative political approaches that were supported by limited archival material or no theoretical bases.⁴⁴ But neither were outer-directed

⁴⁰ Michael Hunt, *The Making of a Special Friendship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York, 1983); Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949–1950* (New York, 1983); Warren I. Cohen, *America's Responses to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, 3d edn. (New York, 1990); Cohen, "The History of American–East Asian Relations: Cutting Edge of the Historical Profession," *Diplomatic History*, 9 (1985): 101–12.

⁴¹ Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto, eds., *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations, 1931–1941* (New York, 1973); Akira Iriye and Yonosuke Nagai, eds., *The Origins of the Cold War in Asia* (New York, 1977); Akira Iriye and Warren I. Cohen, eds., *The United States and Japan in the Postwar World* (Lexington, Ky., 1989); Iriye and Cohen, eds., *American, Chinese and Japanese Perspectives on Wartime Asia, 1931–1949* (Wilmington, Del., 1990); Cohen and Iriye, eds., *The Great Powers in East Asia, 1953–1960* (New York, 1990); William Roger Louis and Roger Owen, eds., *Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences* (New York, 1989); also see Lawrence Kaplan, Denise Artaud, and Mark Rubin, eds., *Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations, 1954–1955* (Wilmington, 1990).

⁴² Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1981–90).

⁴³ Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American–East Asian Relations* (New York, 1967); Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Iriye, *China and Japan in the Global Setting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992). A somewhat different perspective of World War II cultures is John Dower, *War without Mercy* (New York, 1986).

⁴⁴ Charles S. Maier, "Marking Time: The Historiography of International Relations," in Michael

scholars immune from criticism. Many were questioned because they used comparative approaches that continued to focus on the nation-state instead of moving into truly international history that used the world as the arena for the study of, for example, the environment, immigration, or capital movements.⁴⁵ John Higham thought such criticism went too far: "national comparisons [are] one of the means of crossing national boundaries," and thus transnational and national history had "complementarity."⁴⁶ Michael McGerr acknowledged virtues in the transnational approach but worried that it "seems to offer another means of avoiding the realities of nationalism and national power. The potential costs include an incomplete history and an estrangement from our audiences."⁴⁷

Historians of foreign relations were further challenged by the fast-growing field of social history, which tended to ignore the state and political processes, focus substantially on groups out of power yet having the capacity to shape change, and stress patterns of culture rather than a sequence of events.⁴⁸ Peter Stearns, as noted at the beginning of this essay, worried that these characteristics divided social history from the field of foreign relations. He feared that "many social historians might have opted for their topics and approach because of an ideological aversion to diplomatic stratagems and military establishments." This aversion was "understandable," Stearns concluded, but it "cannot be allowed to set the agenda for the whole historical discipline."⁴⁹

Foreign-relations scholars had anticipated Stearns's warning. Learning from pioneering studies in social history, and adding innovations of their own, they worked at the newly mapped intersection of women's history and foreign relations to produce important work that, for example, demonstrated how the large numbers of women missionaries were pivotal in Asian-Western cultural interchanges, how other women shaped the anti-imperialist and peace movements after the 1890s, and how some—long ignored by scholars—were members of the elite who shaped foreign policy. Quoting Katherine Anthony in 1915 that "the man without a country was a tragic exception; the women without a country was the accepted rule," Ian Tyrrell suggested that because of hostility to their political participation at home, many women reformers established international networks, whose history could give fresh insights when studied in transnational analyses.⁵⁰

Kammen, ed., *The Past before Us* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), esp. 355–56; Sally Marks, "The World According to Washington," *Diplomatic History*, 11 (1987): 265–82.

⁴⁵ Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism," 1031–55; Iriye, "Internationalization of History," 4.

⁴⁶ Higham, "Future of American History," 1303.

⁴⁷ Michael McGerr, "The Price of the 'New' Transnational History," *AHR*, 96 (October 1991): 1056–57, esp. 1066.

⁴⁸ See Stearns, "Social History and History," 319–33.

⁴⁹ Stearns, "Social History and History," 329; see also Charles R. Lilley and Michael H. Hunt, "On Social History, the State, and Foreign Relations: Commentary on 'The Cosmopolitan Connection,'" *Diplomatic History*, 11 (1987): 243–50, for its discussion of "non-state actors"; McGerr, "Price," 1065.

⁵⁰ Jane Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, Conn., 1984); Patricia R. Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870–1920* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1985); Judith Papachristou, "American Women and Foreign Policy, 1898–1905: Exploring Gender in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History*, 14 (1990): 493–509; Edward P. Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy* (Westport, Conn., 1987); Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism," 1053–54; Emily S. Rosenberg, "Gender," *Journal of American History*, 77 (1990): 116–24.

A few scholars began to suggest that they could learn how policy options were eliminated without discussion in decision making by doing a "close reading of the diction, syntax, and tropes used by policymakers," in Frank Costigliola's words.⁵¹ Costigliola demonstrated how in the famous "Long Telegram" that spelled out containment policy, George Kennan employed rhetoric "based on powerful metaphors of gender, pathology, and race" that were "grounded in assumptions about the meaning of masculinity and femininity," which powerfully appealed "to emotions and anxieties" of U.S. officials in 1946 "in the name of reason."⁵²

Scholars also finally began investigating a most obvious vacuum in American history: the points at which American Indian history and foreign relations met.⁵³ Important analyses appeared as well of the interrelationship of race and foreign relations.⁵⁴ Philip D. Curtin and David Brion Davis demonstrated how the slave trade and debates over racial issues were fruitful topics for comparative cultural and international history.⁵⁵ William O. Walker III used a comparative cultural approach to understand critical (and overlooked) foreign-policy problems that resulted from the international drug trade.⁵⁶ Scholars were following Herbert Bolton's suggestion about the importance of "borderlands" with significant results.⁵⁷

As the new vistas opened with horizons that Sloane and Turner had not glimpsed in the 1890s, some scholars even explored developing a global framework. By analyzing the linkage of regions in various phases of development, these historians sought to identify the ways and means of hegemonic power, examine how the less powerful regions protected themselves against such hegemonic forces, depict the nature of the economic and cultural linkages among regions, explain the rise and fall of hegemonic power over time, and—when taken a further step—relate these changes to the development of domestic groups in each region. Such "world-system" approaches, in different variations, made major contributions to studies of the Cold War, imperial rivalry in Central America, and

⁵¹ Frank Costigliola, "Kennedy, the European Allies, and the Failure to Consult," *Political Science Quarterly*, 110 (1995): esp. 117, 123.

⁵² Frank Costigliola, "Gender, Pathology, and 'Reality' in the Formation of the Cold War: George Kennan's Long Telegram," unpublished paper in author's possession, 44–45; see also Anders Stephanson, *Kennan and the Art of Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and David Green, *Shaping Political Consciousness: The Language of Politics in America from McKinley to Reagan* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987).

⁵³ An exemplary essay is Walter L. Williams, "U.S. Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippines Annexation," *Journal of American History*, 66 (1980): esp. 819–26.

⁵⁴ Alexander DeConde, *Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy: A History* (Boston, 1992); Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (New York, 1993); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens, Ga., 1992).

⁵⁵ Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (New York, 1990); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975).

⁵⁶ William O. Walker III, "Drug Control and the Issue of Culture in American Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History*, 12 (1988): 365–83.

⁵⁷ Early works pointing the way included Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1948); David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Annexation: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War* (Columbia, Mo., 1973), the standard account based on multi-archival sources; Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, "Spanish Texas and Borderlands Historiography in Transition: Implications for United States History," *Journal of American History*, 75 (1988): 393–416.

the effects of war and "Third World" rebellions.⁵⁸ Among their virtues, moreover, was that world-system studies could revive the importance of class analysis.⁵⁹

Scholars who pursue many of these new approaches have to study—or, more accurately, in some instances revive—the role of the state. Such a revival ignores warnings that focusing on the state is a natural retardant on the development of new approaches (or ideologies).⁶⁰ By necessity, however, the state—with its control of the ultimate means of violence in most societies and its ability to engender constructive memory as well as devastating nationalism—remains a focal point for most of the influential work in the field.⁶¹

This view of the state, with its immense power and ability to play many roles, is radically different from the weaker state that was at the center of the work of Sloane, Hart, and Mahan. The century-long transformation, especially in the United States, where a great power became the world's sole (if relatively declining) superpower, allowed Thomas Paterson to suggest that the term "international history" should be dropped as too vague and replaced with "United States foreign relations." Emily Rosenberg observed that "international history is not a methodological description but, to switch the metaphor, a vast empty plain with undetermined borders and topography."⁶²

The field, whichever adjectives are used to specify it, has become as encompassing as any area of historical study. A century after Sloane's appeal in 1895, Melvyn Leffler observed that the practitioners of foreign relations dealt with central issues: power, politics, state, and social groups; "myths, symbols, images," and "collective identity"; multinational and transnational corporate, labor, and philanthropic organizations. "We deal with the transmission abroad of our consumer culture and our ideas of personal freedom and a private market economy."⁶³ Moreover, a good part of the important scholarship is international in perspective because it is done by distinguished colleagues in Germany, Russia, Australia, Japan, and Great Britain, among other countries.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Thomas J. McCormick, *America's Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After*, 2d edn. (Baltimore, Md., 1995); McCormick, *The United States as a World Power, 1893–1993: Reinventing the Nineteenth Century* (forthcoming); Gabriel Kolko, *Century of War: Politics, Conflict, and Society since 1914* (New York, 1994); Thomas D. Schoonover, *The United States in Central America, 1860–1911: Episodes of Social Imperialism and Imperial Rivalry in the World System* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

⁵⁹ Higham, "Future of American History," 1307.

⁶⁰ Higham, "Future of American History," 1299–1300; Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (New York, 1985), esp. 4–5, 8–9, 13, 18, 214–15, and also 286–87, where Clifford Geertz's "thick description" is necessarily subordinated to the importance of the state in a case study.

⁶¹ Two leading historians with different interpretations of American and international development, for example, continue to focus on the state: John L. Gaddis, who uses insights from political science in books including *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar National Security Policy* (New York, 1982); and Lloyd C. Gardner, who has evaluated various strands of Western liberalism that tried to bring order out of twentieth-century revolutions; see Gardner's *Safe for Democracy* (New York, 1984).

⁶² "Writing the History of U.S. Foreign Relations: A Symposium," 566–67, 585 n.; also see Richard Immerman's comments, 577–78.

⁶³ Melvyn P. Leffler, "New Approaches, Old Interpretations, and Prospective Reconfigurations," *Diplomatic History*, 19 (1995): 175–77.

⁶⁴ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Der Aufstieg des amerikanischen Imperialismus: Studien zur Entwicklung des Imperium Americanum, 1865–1900* (Göttingen, 1974), important for its innovative "social imperialism" thesis; Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, *The Beginnings of Russian-American Relations, 1755–1815*, Elena Levin, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), which started a series on the subject written by the leading Russian

By 1995, as Henry Adams had warned, historians received angry criticism from parts of the national government and certain groups in the society when these scholars offered a history based on archival documents and from a comprehensive multicultural and international perspective. The plan of the Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the atomic age, and the end of World War II, was to feature a text that provided the historical framework for 1945. Written by leading scholars, the text proved unacceptable to such veterans' groups as the American Legion, the Air Force Association, or their friends in Congress. Opposition persisted even though the material was increasingly modified until it finally compromised crucial issues (such as the probable number of U.S. casualties if Japan had been invaded) and totally ignored other parts (such as an extensive Japanese perspective). In the end, the text was discarded and the head of the Air and Space Museum forced to resign. As *The Chronicle of Higher Education* emphasized, "Historical scholarship took a beating."⁶⁵ More precisely (to adapt William Sloane's words of 1895), when foreign-relations scholars used systematic archival research and assumed an international perspective by assuming that "no country is more than one wheel" that "moves the hands on the dial-plate of human progress," they encountered the fierce opposition that Henry Adams foresaw.⁶⁶ Another heated controversy arose when *The National Standards for United States History*, written by a group of experienced, highly qualified teachers and researchers at the University of California, Los Angeles, provided a multicultural and often international framework for interpreting how the United States (in Sloane's words) "pre-empted" a large part of the "earth's surface" in little more than "a century and a quarter."⁶⁷ The field of United States foreign relations is necessarily at the center of public debate a century after Sloane's scholarly call to action initiated the *American Historical Review*. The field has evolved into a discipline that utilizes all other

scholar; Joseph M. Siracusa, "American History in Australia," *OAH Newsletter*, 23 (1995): 11; and among a number of important British scholars, Christopher Thorne stands out, in part because his writing helped trigger debates over "international history" and in part because of his distinguished scholarship, most notably, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain and the War against Japan, 1941-1945* (New York, 1978). Japanese scholarship is marked by the respected works of Chihiro Hosoya, for example, *Ryotaisenkan no Nihon gaiko* [Japanese diplomacy between the two world wars] (Tokyo, 1988), which stresses the importance of the Washington Conference treaty system; and the prize-winning account by Sadao Asada, *Ryodai Senkan no Nichi-Bei kankei: Kaigun to Seisaku kettei katei* [Japanese-American relations between the wars: Naval policy and the decision-making process] (Tokyo, 1993). I am indebted to Mark Anderson for translation of the Japanese-language work.

⁶⁵ Karen J. Winkler, "50 Years Later, the Debate Rages over Hiroshima," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (April 21, 1995): A10; also useful on the scholarly controversy are Robert P. Newman, "What New Consensus?" *Washington Post* (November 30, 1994): A27; Gar Alperovitz, "Enola Gay: A New Consensus," *Washington Post* (February 4, 1995): A17; Mike Wallace, "The Battle of the Enola Gay," *Radical Historians Newsletter*, 72 (May 1995): 1-12; and an influential Japanese view, Saito Michio, "The Ghost of the Enola Gay Returns from the Land of the Dead," *Chuo Koron* (January 1995), in Japanese.

⁶⁶ Sloane, "History and Democracy," 1-5, 18-19.

⁶⁷ Sloane, "History and Democracy," 6-7, 12-15; National Center for History in the Schools, University of California, Los Angeles, *National Standards for United States History: Exploring the American Experience*, expanded edn. (Los Angeles, 1994), esp. 92-100, 159-62, 214-19; National Center for History in the Schools, University of California, Los Angeles, *National Standards for World History: Exploring Paths to the Present*, expanded edn. (Los Angeles, 1994), esp. 213-17, 248-83; a brief overview of the debate is John Elson, "History, the Sequel," in *Time* (November 7, 1994): 64.

historical approaches (including social, economic, political, and intellectual) in a necessarily international, cross-cultural framework to study the “crucial questions of war and peace,” as Peter Stearns called them, and also the ultimate questions involving the preservation of individual liberty, the definition of the national identity, the sources of economic prosperity, and the need for constitutional balances in a global society that over the past century has become simultaneously interdependent and pluralistic, if not fragmented. The field, that is, has become as central to the purposes of the society and as expansionist in its approach as its subject.

World History in a Global Age

MICHAEL GEYER and CHARLES BRIGHT

"I am writing a history of the world," [Miss Hampton] says. And the hands of the nurse are arrested for a moment; she looks down at this old woman. "Well, my goodness," the nurse says. "That's quite a thing to be doing, isn't it?" And then she becomes busy again, she heaves and tucks and smooths—"Upsy a bit, dear, that's a good girl—then we'll get you a cup of tea."

A history of the world. To round things off. I may as well—no more nit-picking stuff about Napoleon, Tito, the battle of Edgehill, Hernando Cortez . . . The works, this time. The whole triumphant murderous unstoppable chute—from the mud to the stars, universal and particular, your story and mine. I'm equipped, I consider; eclecticism has always been my hallmark. That's what they've said, though it has been given other names. Claudia Hampton's range is ambitious, some might say imprudent: my enemies. Miss Hampton's bold conceptual sweep: my friends.

Penelope Lively, *Moon Tiger* (1987).

So IT WAS for as long as any American academic can remember. While world history never quite vanished from the curriculum of universities and colleges, it was an illegitimate, unprofessional, and therefore foolish enterprise. It was for dilettantes. World history was abandoned as a scholarly project long before its evident Eurocentric biases became the subject of academic critique.¹ It fell victim to the relentless professionalization that this journal helped to foster. To be sure, there were a few scholars in every generation who were not easily contained by specialization and the objectivity it promised. They remained attracted to traditions of universalist thought and spun them out to considerable public acclaim.² More important, a universalist horizon gave even the most circum-

¹ Oron Ghosh, "Some Theories of Universal History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8 (1964–65): 1–20; Gilbert Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," *AHR*, 87 (June 1982): 695–725; and Allardyce, "Toward World History: American Historians and the Coming of the World History Course," *Journal of World History*, 1 (1990): 23–76; William H. McNeill, "A Defense of World History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5, 32 (1982): 75–89; McNeill, *Mythistory and Other Essays* (Chicago, 1986); Walter A. McDougall, "'Mais ce n'est pas d'histoire': Some Thoughts on Toynbee, McNeill, and the Rest of Us," *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986): 19–42.

² W. Warren Wagar, *Books in World History: A Guide for Teachers and Students* (Bloomington, Ind., 1973); Paul Costello, *World Historians and Their Goals: Twentieth Century Answers to Modernism* (De Kalb, Ill., 1993), is right to emphasize the anti-modernist turn of many world histories in the twentieth century. He points to: (a) Christian, especially Catholic, visions of a post-lapsarian world (Christopher Dawson), to which one might add Carroll Quigley, *The Evolution of Civilizations: An Introduction to Historical Analysis*, 2d edn. (Indianapolis, Ind., 1979); and Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* (New York, 1966); (b) mythical revivals exemplified in the notion of a cyclical return (Arnold Toynbee), which resurface in a stunning critique of modernity in Robert Calasso, *The*

scribed scholarship some depth and contemporary public relevance without which scholarship could not have flourished. But even in the heyday of progressivist universalism, the main current of social science scholarship and of historiography was anti-universalist.³ “Miss Hampton,” the world historian, as portrayed by Penelope Lively, is in all respects a figure of condescension for academic professionals; she is the proverbial outsider—an unattached female, a writer, and a traveler of mixed fortunes.⁴

Despite the demise of world history as an academic discipline, powerful Western images of the world continued to flourish. In so many pictures, words, and concepts, the West—and its succession of actual and would-be hegemon—became the one civilization with both global ambitions and the wherewithal to realize them. A naturalized “imperial” feel for “the world” replaced world history. During the twentieth century, these world images had the qualities of the Cheshire cat, presences that lingered long after the actual body had vanished.⁵ World history ceased to be of scholarly concern, and once lively and contentious

Ruins of Kash, William Weaver and Stephen Sartarelli, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1994); (c) the idea of world unity modeled on a (medieval) ecumene (Pitirim A. Sorokin, Nikolai Berdiaev), to which one might want to add a considerable list of Russian world historians concerned with Eurasia; (d) the powerful German and, for that matter, Spanish (José Ortega y Gasset) tradition that sets a “moral” culture against the expansion of civilization (Oswald Spengler), to which one might add Louis R. Gottschalk, Loren C. MacKinney, and Earl H. Pritchard, *The Foundations of the Modern World*, 2 vols. (= History of Mankind: Cultural and Scientific Development, vol. 4) (London, 1966). The common core of this tradition is explored in Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History* (Chicago, 1949); and subtly undercut by Siegfried Kracauer, *History: The Last Things before the Last*, Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed. (1969; Princeton, N.J., 1995). None of this accounts for efforts to theorize the expansion of (technical, material) civilization, which may be conceived as catastrophic (H. G. Wells) but may as well be optimistic, as much of the progressivist American tradition sees it; Charles A. Beard, ed., *Whither Mankind: A Panorama of Modern Civilization* (1928; Westport, Conn., 1972); Ernst A. Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago, 1993); Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York, 1980). Contemporary exponents of this tradition (which requires a careful look at the German critique of a globalizing techné by Hans Freyer, Alfred Weber, Martin Heidegger, and Karl Jaspers among others) are William H. McNeill, *A World History* (New York, 1967), on the one hand and Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vols. 1–3 (New York, 1974–89), on the other.

³ Typically, the special issue “The Historian and the World of the Twentieth Century,” *Daedalus*, 100 (1971): 301–19, never mentions world history.

⁴ Lively, *Moon Tiger*, 1–2: “‘Was she someone?’ enquires the nurse. Her shoes squeak on the shiny floor; the doctor’s shoes crunch. ‘I mean, the things she comes out with . . .’ And the doctor glances at his notes and says yes, she does seem to have been someone, evidently she’s written books, and newspaper articles and . . . um . . . been in the Middle East at one time . . . typhoid, malaria . . . unmarried (one miscarriage, one child he sees but does not say) . . . yes, the records do suggest she was someone, probably.”

⁵ Thomas C. Holt, “Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History,” *AHR*, 100 (February 1995): 1–20, has pointed to the power of racial inscriptions in contemporary everyday practices. His approach may be taken as an example for an extensive and global literature on the subject. The reconfiguration of European thought in the context of expansion has been the subject of Anthony Grafton (with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi), *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), which elucidates the deep structure of European imaginaries that emerged from the remaking of biblical and Greek traditions in the transition to the modern age. More commonly, interpretations point to European discoveries, especially of the “New World,” and their impact on European thought, such as Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991). Last but not least, Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993), has pointed to the attractions of the aesthetic programs, while showing “the involvements of culture with expanding empires” (p. 7). The more common fare of *Ideologiekritik* is found in Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London, 1990).

universalist ideas—veritable “world pictures”⁶—rotted into the commonplace platitudes and general prejudices that all reasonable historians had discarded. These traces of a world historical imagination, which continued as scholarly bias, notwithstanding claims of objectivity in narrating the history of civilizations, have in turn come under sustained attack, principally since Edward Said’s brilliant and contentious evocation of Orientalism.⁷ This critique of Western images has itself become an academic industry of considerable magnitude.

Despite the abuses of historiographic fashions, this has had a liberating effect, especially in an emergent non-Western scholarship and for a growing number of scholars from East and South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. Yet there is no context within the world historical tradition to position these new histories, because world history, especially in its truncated form, has remained intimately linked to totalizing Western world images and stereotypes. The very act of mapping and thinking the world implicated historians from around the world in a nexus of histories of imperial power from which their “other” worlds and histories were either excluded entirely—subaltern to the point of nonexistence—or rendered subordinate.⁸ Saul Bellow’s oft-quoted comment about the Zulus having no Shakespeare was meant to be maliciously evanescent but was in fact paradigmatic. The effortlessness with which Western world images prevailed and the exertion it took to escape them was (and is) scandalous, for while ever less thought went into imagining the world and historians abandoned the field of world history almost entirely, enough prejudicial world historical imagining was left to seriously inhibit scholarly efforts to retrieve the history of the world’s pasts from the margins. These margins in turn came to resemble mountain redoubts, as non-Western and non-white historians fell back toward “local” histories as a site of contention, developing a veritable romance of the locality, politically charged as identity politics.⁹ The border zones between cultures, and explorations across cultures, turned into battlegrounds of difference.

Scholars in and of the West were no less stymied. Their century began with the expectation of a modern and thoroughly homogeneous world that would become one as a result of the expansion of the West and the consolidation of its power at the center of an integrated human experience.¹⁰ It ends with people asserting

⁶ Martin Heidegger, “The Age of the World Picture,” in *The Question Concerning Technology, and Other Essays*, William Lovitt, trans. (New York, 1977).

⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

⁸ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982).

⁹ Alan Liu, “Local Transcendence: Cultural Criticism, Postmodernism, and the Romanticism of Detail,” *Representations*, 32 (1990): 75–113. This identity-producing power of the “local” is commonly studied as a politics of space—and it is not uncommonly (as in Afghanistan, the former Yugoslavia, or on the West Bank) practiced as a politics of space, though rarely with the kind of emancipatory expectations that some scholars have come to associate with it. Despite his canonic stature in the debate, Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans. (Oxford, 1991), knew better and is not one of them. While representing different disciplinary debates, others do express such emancipatory hopes: Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York, 1989); Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991); Michael Keith and Steve Pile, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London, 1993); James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation* (London, 1993); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1994).

¹⁰ W. Warren Wagar, *The City of Man: Prophecies of a World Civilization in Twentieth-Century Thought* (Boston, 1963). The changing nature of discussions on this subject is reflected in Frank C. Darling,

difference and rejecting sameness around the world in a remarkable synchronicity that suggests, in fact, the high degree of global integration that has been achieved. What we have before us as contemporary history grates against the familiar explanatory strategies and analytic categories with which scholars have traditionally worked. These do not “add up” to a history of the world as we find it, nor do they any longer account for the patterns of difference that proliferate within it. This is a crisis, above all, of Western imaginings, but it poses profound challenges for any historian: the world we live in has come into its own as an integrated globe, yet it lacks narration and has no history. Historians, like everyone else, must make do with narrative residues from previous eras—expectations of a unified world, conventions of international relations and world-systems theory, paradigms that divide the world into the West and the rest, rich and poor, core and periphery, and narratives that are framed in terms of national histories—all of which are rapidly being trumped by something very different. This “something” is not an exotic invasion; it is the world as it has come to be and now becomes history. World history at the end of the twentieth century must therefore begin with new imaginings. It cannot continue to announce principles of universality, as if the processes shaping the globe into a materially integrated totality have yet to happen. Global integration is a fact, now part of the historical record; but, because it has little to do with the normative universalism of Enlightenment intellectuals or with the principled particularisms of *tier-mondists*, nothing is gained by spinning out ideas about the westernization of the world or the authenticity of non-Western cultures. The effects of globalization are perplexing, but the world before us has a history to be explained.

THIS REIMAGINING OF THE WORLD as history is under way. In the past decade or so, world history has become one of the fastest growing areas of teaching.¹¹ More slowly and hesitantly, a body of scholarly writing has been emerging, branching out from the discontents of Western Civilization surveys and addressing world historical issues.¹² While this turn, in part, may be explained by the economies of

The Westernization of Asia: A Comparative Political Analysis (Boston, 1979); Theodore H. Von Laue, *World Revolution of Westernization: The Twentieth Century in Global Perspective* (New York, 1987); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989); and, as the high end of a rapidly growing genre, Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: How the Planet Is Both Falling Apart and Coming Together—and What This Means for Democracy* (New York, 1995). It pays to return to one of the most thoughtful reflections on the integration of the human experience, Karl Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History*, Michael Bullock, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1953).

¹¹ William H. McNeill, “Beyond Western Civilization: Rebuilding the Survey,” in *Metahistory and Other Essays*; T. E. Vadney, “World History as an Advanced Academic Field,” *Journal of World History*, 1 (1990): 209–23; George E. Brooks, “An Undergraduate World History Curriculum for the Twenty First Century,” *Journal of World History*, 2 (1991): 65–81; Philip D. Curtin, “Graduate Teaching in World History,” *ibid.*, 81–89. See also the new and extensive coverage of world historical topics in *Perspectives*.

¹² Among others, Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens, eds., *Conceptualizing Global History* (Boulder, Colo., 1993); Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Edmund Burke III, ed., *Global Crises and Social Movements: Artisans, Peasants, Populists, and the World Economy* (Boulder, 1988); Frederick Cooper, et al., eds., *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World Systems in Africa and Latin America*

higher and secondary education (it is cheaper to hire one Third World generalist than five or six civilizations specialists) and, in part, may reflect the incandescence of the "world" on and for television, a nascent scholarship has set out to rethink the presence of all the world's pasts. It is still a hesitant and fledgling historiography, which remains mired in the old, unsure of its scholarly status, and with a tendency to service existing knowledge rather than create new knowledge. But a start has been made, and its impetus comes from many places, a great diversity of scholars, and a variety of disciplines. To present the world's pasts as history or, more likely, as a braid of intertwined histories is, once again, a shared concern; and, while not yet a viable academic program, it emerges, if only in the most general terms, as the agenda for world history today.

There are many ways to approach this agenda, including the most venerable and by all counts still-prevalent one, which imitates creation histories and proceeds "from the muck to the stars." The most interesting advances in historiographic knowledge, however, fall into roughly two camps. One of them has developed out of grand civilizational studies, with William H. McNeill and Marshall Hodgson as its godfathers.¹³ While McNeill had a strongly materialist and developmentalist bias and Hodgson leaned, in the manner of his time, toward an essentialist history of civilizations, recent initiatives are mainly concerned with the comparative history of ancient and medieval empires.¹⁴ The proponents of this approach aim, ultimately, at a comparative history of power, with the wider issue of "civilization" (what it is and what it does) lingering uneasily in the background. Perhaps, intellectually, the most intriguing venue of this research derives from the rarely acknowledged queries of Canadian scholar and theorist Harold Innis into the nature of empire.¹⁵ One effect of this kind of history is to position the West in the context of the world, especially Asia—both its unexceptional history on

(Madison, Wis., 1993). Last but not least, Eric Hobsbawm has become distinctly more global in the course of his four-volume history of the modern "world." See, most recently, Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York, 1994). This selection does not account for the burgeoning market in new textbooks. (For ongoing reviews, see the *Journal of World History*.) These textbooks do well in incorporating new historiography but tend to fall short in thinking of the world historically at the end of the twentieth century.

¹³ McNeill, *World History*; William H. McNeill, *The Ecumene: Story of Humanity* (New York, 1973); *The Human Condition: An Ecological and Historical View* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); *The Global Condition: Conquerors, Catastrophes, and Community* (Princeton, 1992); Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago, 1974); and Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, Edmund Burke III, ed. (Cambridge, 1993).

¹⁴ Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *The Political Systems of Empires*, 2 vols. (London, 1963); Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986, 1993), Vol. 1: *A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760*, Vol. 2: *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914*. See also two of the most successful recent textbooks by Peter N. Stearns, Michael Adas, and Stuart B. Schwartz, *World Civilizations: The Global Experience* (New York, 1992); and Richard L. Greaves, et al., *Civilizations of the World: The Human Adventure* (New York, 1990).

¹⁵ Harold A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Oxford, 1950); and Innis, *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto, 1951); Liora Salter, William Melody, and Paul Heyer, eds., *Culture, Communication and Dependency: The Tradition of H. A. Innis* (Norwood, N.J., 1981); Arthur Kroker, *Technology and the Canadian Mind: Innis/McLuhan/Grant* (Montreal, 1984); Judith Stamps, *Unthinking Modernity: Innis, McLuhan and the Frankfurt School* (Montreal, 1995); Jody Berland, "Space at the Margins: Critical Theory and Colonial Space after Innis," in Charles Acland and William Buxton, eds., *Harold Innis in the New Century: Reflections and Refractions* (Montreal, forthcoming).

a world historical scale and its truly exceptional late rise.¹⁶ The contemporary sequel of this history is the discussion of the rise and fall of great powers and the nature of large civilizational conflict in the manner of Friedrich Ratzel's and Karl Haushofer's geopolitics.¹⁷ The fact that this approach, as it focuses on the rise and fall of the American hegemon, promises also to historicize the United States, robbing this nation of its sublime presence as history entirely of and for itself, has made it a matter of political contention in historiographic debate but also a source of some fascination.¹⁸

The other strand of world history is somewhat less well sorted out but has attracted an altogether more adventurous crowd of scholars from around the world. It has its origins in the histories of discovery, maritime empires, and nomadic formations—including, not least, the histories of forced and voluntary migration.¹⁹ It is a history of mobility and mobilization, of trade and merchants, of migrants and diasporas, of travelers and communication.²⁰ It is a history,

¹⁶ K. N. Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean, from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1990); Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989); and her perspective on the world to come, *The World System in the Thirteenth Century: Dead End or Precursor?* (Washington, D.C., 1994).

¹⁷ Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York, 1987), follows in the tradition of Friedrich Ratzel, *History of Mankind* (London, 1896); Ratzel, *Politische Geographie* (Munich, 1923); Karl Haushofer, *Bausteine zur Geopolitik* (Berlin, 1928); and *Der Kontinentalblock: Mitteleuropa, Eurasien, Japan* (Munich, 1941).

¹⁸ Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR*, 96 (October 1991): 1031–55 and (reply) 1068–72; Michael McGerr, "The Price of the New Transnational History," *ibid.*, 1056–67. The assessment of the relative place of cultures, regions, and nations was the subject of Akira Iriye's Presidential Address, "The Internationalization of History," *AHR*, 94 (February 1989): 1–10. This short but pathbreaking essay points beyond a too narrowly conceived debate on hegemony in international relations to the study of the multiple, often contradictory, and always uneven imbrication of international actors across cultures. In terms of scholarly strategy, it is similar to the work of Arjun Appadurai (see n. 23 below), even if their styles of thought do not mix easily.

¹⁹ The Jewish and the African diasporas have been central for an elaboration of the problem of dispersal, homelessness, and homecoming as reflected in Arnold M. Eisen, *Galut: Modern Jewish Reflection on Homelessness and Homecoming* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986). However, scholars on both sides have largely stopped talking to each other in what one might perceive as a general trend toward the ethnicization of diaspora studies, just at the point when they are coming into their own. The study of the global African diaspora has become immense in the past two decades. One might begin with the scholarship of Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Graham W. Irwin, *Africans Abroad: A Documentary History of the Black Diaspora in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean during the Age of Slavery* (New York, 1977); and the new edition of Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, 2d edn. (Washington, D.C., 1993). The more recent literature is reflected in Aubrey W. Bonnett and G. Llewellyn Watson, eds., *Emerging Perspectives on the Black Diaspora* (Lanham, Md., 1989); Michael L. Conniff and Thomas J. Davis, eds., *Africans in the Americas: A History of the Black Diaspora* (New York, 1994); Winston James and Clive Harris, *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London, 1993); Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora* (New York, 1995); Ronald W. Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Detroit, Mich., 1993). The role of women and of female writers has emerged as a central concern. Key aspects of the new scholarship can be found in Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, et al., eds., *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Washington, D.C., 1987); Gay Alden Wilentz, *Binding Cultures: Black Women Writers in Africa and the Diaspora* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992); Susheila Nasta, ed., *Motherlands: Black Women's Writing from Africa, the Caribbean, and South Asia* (London, 1991). The most influential texts are by Paul Gilroy, "There ain't no black in the Union Jack": *The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London, 1987); and *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

²⁰ On trade: Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-modern Times* (Oxford, 1993); Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984); James D. Tracy, *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires* (Cambridge, 1991). On travel: Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton,

ultimately, of rootlessness with the more general issue of “nomadism” or its maritime equivalent, “piracy,” shadowing it. Key words for this history are “diaspora” and “borderlands,” both as the “privileged site for the articulation of [national] distinction”²¹ and as the site for hybrid and mixed identities, created at the crossroads of many histories. This history comes in many contemporary (Hong-Kong Chinese, Indian, Jewish, Palestinian, Chicano, Asian-American, and Caribbean) as well as ancient (Hellenism, Inner Asia) or localist (Silesia, the Alsace, Michigan’s Upper Peninsula) inflections. But in view of the cosmopolitan airs of diaspora scholarship, it must be said that this approach is also the most recent version of an old American dream that cherishes, against all parochialism, the moments of a new beginning and the freedom of movement and expression necessary to that end.²² It comes as no surprise that this history flows easily into contemporary literary concerns with diasporic cultures and into anthropological studies of hybrid spaces, as these are championed by scholars such as Homi Bhabha and Arjun Appadurai, the present avatars of an old Chicago tradition.²³

A renewed interest in the histories of the world has thus found discrete subjects for study and teaching that can be expanded through time and space without—and, in fact, in deliberate and scholarly correction of—the biases of older world imaginings. It is a history that avoids the trap of setting one’s own civilization against barbarisms everywhere else and deploys questions and frameworks in

N.J., 1988); Mary Louise Platt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992). On (South Asian) diaspora: Peter van der Veer, ed., *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora* (Philadelphia, 1995); Emmanuel S. Nelson, *Reworlding: The Literature of the Indian Diaspora* (New York, 1992); and see n. 19 above. On mobility: Mike Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London, 1990); or John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London, 1994). On migration, see nn. 60, 61 and on communication n. 39 below.

²¹ In an imperfect world of scholarship, it is not Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (1940; Hong Kong, 1988), or his *Studies in Frontier History* (London, 1962), and his successors in Chinese Inner Asian Studies, but Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Brian Massumi, trans. (1972; Minneapolis, Minn., 1987), who have inspired much of the more spirited debate. Historians are mostly concerned with boundaries and national identities rather than the fluidity of in-between spaces. For Europe, see Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), quote: 271. But there is a nascent literature (in all languages of the area) on borders and overlapping identities along the German, Polish, and Baltic boundaries. In U.S. history, see Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge, 1987). On the loss of maritime imagination, see the photo essay by Allan Sekula, “Fish Story: Envisioning the Economics of Contemporary Maritime Spaces,” in Faye Ginsburg and Terry Smith, eds., *Local World, Global Circuits* (New York, forthcoming), as well as Sekula, *Fiskhistoria* (Essen, 1995). Among anthropologists, boundaries and liminal spaces have been a traditional concern, which has partly been reinvented by the influential essay of Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” *Cultural Anthropology*, 7 (February 1992): 6–23; Victoria A. Goddard, et al., eds., *The Anthropology of Europe: Identity and Boundaries in Conflict* (Oxford, 1994). Among literary scholars: Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La Frontera* (San Francisco, 1987); Rey Chow, *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993); and Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading between West and East* (Minneapolis, 1991), are crucial.

²² Bharati Mukherjee, *The Holder of the World* (New York, 1993), is a cunning literary example. Hannah Arendt, “On Humanity in Dark Times: Thoughts about Lessing,” *Readings in Western Civilization*, Vol. 9: *Twentieth-Century Europe*, John W. Boyer and Jan Goldstein, eds. (Chicago, 1987), 561–82, serves as a reminder of the same.

²³ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994); Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” *Public Culture*, 2 (1990): 1–24.

which “local” history can flourish while becoming more aware of its global historicity. As with any fledgling historiography, there are clumsy moments and unhelpful turns, but none of this should detract from the fact that a viable general history of the world’s pasts is in the making, and we may hope that, at the next centenary, many more essays on world history will have been published in this journal.

TO FURTHER THAT END, let the contention begin. The central challenge of a renewed world history at the end of the twentieth century is to narrate the world’s pasts in an age of globality. It is this condition of globality that facilitates the revival of world history and establishes its point of departure in the “actually existing” world of the late twentieth century. While this assertion may raise alarms about undue presentism, it will also dramatize the new situation historians face, which is neither the fulfillment of one particular history nor a compendium of all the world’s histories. World history in the late twentieth century must be concerned with these conditions of its own existence.²⁴

Presentism only becomes a serious danger if the history of our world is constructed teleologically, as if all previous history leads to the present condition. But the grand meta-narratives of Western world history, grounded in an Enlightenment vision of universal humanity and a nineteenth-century practice of comparative civilizations, ceased to produce explanations at precisely the moment that a global history became possible and a history of our own age and of the condition of globality is necessary.²⁵ The project of universal history that sought to narrate the grand civilizations comparatively was always an implicit meditation on Western exceptionalism and, as the West moved (comparatively) “ahead,” a justification for Western domination. But it experienced increasing difficulty thinking beyond separate and “authentic” civilizations to the processes that were making a (new) world of sustained and deepening imbrication—that is, comprehending the kind of continuous and irreversible meshing of trajectories that dissolved autonomous civilizations and collapsed separate histories. World history, with Western history writ larger than others, did not turn out as the narrative prophesied, and historians, becoming perplexed by the present, turned away from the twentieth century and sought to make the early modern period look like the present ought to have looked if the teleologies of world history had worked out.²⁶ This effort to

²⁴ This was also the central thesis in Geoffrey Barraclough’s pathbreaking treatise *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (London, 1964).

²⁵ Ernst Schulin, “Einleitung,” in Schulin, ed., *Universalgeschichte* (Cologne, 1974), 11–65.

²⁶ This seems to us the major problem of world-systems theory as it was initially developed by Immanuel Wallerstein and since in an immense literature—mostly in opposition to the project. A good example of the debate is Steve J. Stern, “Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean,” *AHR*, 93 (October 1988): 829–72 and (reply) 886–97; and Immanuel Wallerstein, “Comments on Stern’s Critical Tests,” *ibid.*, 873–87, which goes to show—and this is not putting it too crudely—that Wallerstein is quite wrong but that area specialists have no good idea what could possibly be “right.” Recent efforts to “universalize” world systems have not really improved the concept. See Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London, 1993). It seems to us that world-systems theory, much like the literature on “the rise” or “the miracle” of the West, is infected by the problem

get a running start on the present by going back in time amounted to a refusal to think about the world actually being made in the course of the twentieth century, and it has left us, at the end of that century, with no pivot of analysis and no way of narrating this century.

But, while the world as it is has been orphaned by the collapse of world historical narratives, this is not a loss that can be remedied by a more all-in, encyclopedic approach, as if equal time for all the world's histories will make history whole.²⁷ Not only is a compendium of all histories likely to be bulky and unpresentable, something historians find distasteful and open to error and sloppiness, but it misses the nature of the break that constitutes world history in a global age. As such, it is compensatory history. World history in a global age proceeds differently. The recovery of the multiplicity of the world's pasts matters now more than ever, not for reasons of coverage but because, in a global age, the world's pasts are all simultaneously present, colliding, interacting, intermixing—producing a collage of present histories that is surely not the history of a homogeneous global civilization. Much hinges on the ability of historians to effect this recovery archivally, analytically, and intellectually. But, in bringing out this history, it is important to realize that the condition of globality that characterizes our age is no more the sum of all pasts than it is the fulfillment of a special (Western) past.²⁸ Indeed, if every past were for itself, and every history leaked over into its present, there would be no world history at all. It is precisely the rupture between the present condition of globality and its many possible pasts that gives the new world history its distinctive ground and poses the familiar historical questions, which do not, as yet, have clear answers: when and how was the history of our world, with its characteristic condition of accelerating integration and

of finding in the more distant past what did not quite happen in the twentieth century, even though "the West" did emerge as the most powerful agent of globalization.

²⁷ This has been the position of L. S. Stavrianos, who saw the inclusion of the "other" as a source of optimism to counter the increasing gloom surrounding Western-centered narratives. See *The Promise of the Coming Dark Age* (San Francisco, 1976); and *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (New York, 1981).

²⁸ The intense discussion on the nature and subject(s) of Indian historiography provides one of the best windows into this condition. One might want to take as a starting point Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*, 2 vols. (1934–35; London, 1962); and his autobiographical writing *The Discovery of India* (New York, 1964). Then see the reversal in Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986); and his recent *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Ranajit Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India: A Nineteenth-Century Agenda and Its Implications* (Calcutta, 1988); and Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York, 1988); Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford, 1990). Consider further the voices in an ongoing debate: Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies*, vol. 4 (Delhi, 1985), 338–65; Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32 (1990): 383–408; Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations*, 37 (1992): 1–26; Tejaswini Niranjana, et al., eds., *Interrogating Modernity: Culture and Colonialism in India* (Calcutta, 1993). Finally, note the globalizing effect of subaltern studies: Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *AHR*, 99 (December 1994): 1475–90; Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *ibid.*, 1495–1515; Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *ibid.*, 1516–45.

proliferating difference, torn off from the many histories of the world's pasts and set upon its separate course?

HOW AND WHERE to launch a specifically twentieth-century world history that is neither an archaeology of comparative civilizations nor the history of one region's past writ large? Academic debate in international relations would suggest that we begin with 1917 and make it a very short century of permanent crises and contestations over world leadership, running through the two world wars and the ups and downs of the Cold War, ending with the collapse of the Soviet empire and the reunification of Europe in 1989–1990 or with the break-up of the USSR in 1991.²⁹ This approach captures major aspects of twentieth-century development, to be sure, but it also presumes a world centered on a European-Atlantic core (ignoring East Asian politics altogether) and ends in a triumphalist note that not only effaces continuing contestation over world politics but reaffirms the notion that, at the end of the twentieth century, the “world revolution of westernization” is the only significant story.³⁰ Thus advocates of a “short” twentieth century converge with early modern specialists and world-systems theorists, who cannot start early enough and, turning their main attention to the emergent empires and the world economy of the Atlantic, treat the integration of the world as a culmination of the long rise of the West. Both these perspectives on the twentieth century end up writing world history in terms of a single region, when in fact it is the imbrication of all regions into a world at once more integrated and more fragmented that constitutes the specific problematic of world history in a global age.

An alternative view, pioneered by critics of Western imperialism and theorists of dependency, would anchor twentieth-century world history in world-wide patterns of resistance against the imposition of Western rule. Nationalism and communism were the confluent currents of this program, and the (re)constitution of autonomy was its end. In linking the Soviet challenge (a “Second World” break-out) with anti-colonial movements (a “Third World” renewal), this approach sought to counter Eurocentric world history with the assertion of subordinated peoples engaged in coordinated struggle.³¹ Yet this proved no more secure as a framework

²⁹ Bruce Cumings, “The End of the Seventy-Years’ Crisis: Trilateralism and the New World Order,” in Meredith Woo-Cumings and Michael Loriaux, eds., *Past as Prelude: History in the Making of a New World Order* (Boulder, Colo., 1993), 9–32. This is also the position taken for quite different reasons by Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*.

³⁰ The note of triumphalism is most resoundingly struck in Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History,” *The National Interest*, 16 (1989): 3–18; and more moderately put in his book *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992). See also Frank C. Darling, *The Westernization of Asia: A Comparative Political Analysis* (Boston, 1979); J. A. S. Grenville, *A History of the World in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

³¹ The classic formulation is in Andre Gunder Frank, “The Sociology of Development and the Underdevelopment of Sociology,” in *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution? Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy* (New York, 1969); on the background for this argument, see n. 41; Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1969); Peter Worsley, *The Three Worlds: Culture and World Development* (Chicago, 1984); James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 1976); and Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990), suggest a possible tra-

of world history than did Western triumphalism, and not simply because communism has collapsed and the nationalist project has fizzled. The century ends with the world being drawn together as never before but with peoples asserting difference and rejecting sameness on an unprecedented global scale. This is not a residuum of the past receding before a triumphant westernization, whatever the expectations that prevailed in the early 1980s, but it is not a renewal of autonomy either, whatever the promises of the Iranian revolution.³² Rather, the recent waves of racism, nationalism, fundamentalism, and communalism register, in the context of an accelerated global integration, the continuing irreducibility of the "local."³³ Here lies a key to world history in the global age: for the progress of global integration and the attending struggles among would-be hegemonies have persistently set loose contests over identity—or sovereignty, to use an old-fashioned but appropriate term—and for autonomy that, time and again, have renewed difference in the face of integration and thus continued to fragment the world even as it became one.

This history of world-wide contestations requires the perspectives of a "long" twentieth century. For as long as we continue to assume that the world is moving toward a homogeneous or westernized end, in which "traditional" and "other" societies take up modernizing paths toward a new global civilization, discrete regional histories are interesting only as a kind of "prehistory" specifying what went wrong with "others" and why the West won out. But once we acknowledge, reflecting on the conditions of the present world, that the processes of global integration have not homogenized the whole but produced continuing and

jectory of these studies. While there are intrinsic (scholarly) challenges to this set of arguments (see n. 42), there is also what one might call a "reality adjustment," which is only slowly followed by a "paradigm shift." In lieu of "localist" peasant uprisings, we find on the one hand (as in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Somalia) "globalist" insurgencies of groups that fit into a second economy of pillage and, on the other, ethnic politics that are keyed into world-wide networks of expatriate communities.

³² The discussion on ethno-nationalism has yet to achieve the level of sophistication and historiographic depth that has come to characterize the debate on religious and especially Islamic renewals. A recent overview of the varieties of these efforts is Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); but Said Amir Arjomand, *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam* (Albany, N.Y., 1984), remains most useful. A good survey of a divisive literature is Yvonne Y. Haddad, et al., *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography* (New York, 1991). Key insights on this subject have emerged from the scholarly debate on Shi'ism in Iran. See the evolution of a field in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500* (Berkeley, 1972); Keddie, *Religion and Politics in Iran: Shi'ism from Quietism to Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1983); Juan R. I. Cole and Nikki R. Keddie, *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven, 1986); and Keddie, ed., *Debating Revolutions* (New York, 1995). For a different set of interpretative strategies, see Edmund Burke III and Ira M. Lapidus, eds., *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, 1988); or Said Amir Arjomand, ed., *The Political Dimensions of Religion* (Albany, 1993).

³³ Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (London, 1994), argues this case against the notion of a "global consciousness" by Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London, 1992). Among historians, the most sophisticated debate on this issue concerns Japan. See Peter N. Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (New York, 1986); Harry D. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago, 1988); Masao Miyoshi and Harry D. Harootunian, eds., *Postmodernism and Japan* (Durham, N.C., 1989); especially the essay by Naoki Sakai, "Modernity and Its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism," 93–122. H. D. Harootunian and Tetsuo Najita, "The Japanese Revolt against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century," Peter Duus, ed., *The Twentieth Century* (= *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 6) (Cambridge, 1988), 711–74; Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago, 1995).

ever-renewing contestations over the terms of global integration itself, then the histories of all regions (and their changing spatial, political, and cultural composition) become immediately relevant to world history—and not simply for reasons of equity or to establish the “essential” qualities of their civilizations but as actors and participants in the very processes being narrated. This history begins in the nineteenth century, more specifically in the grand transitions of the middle decades of that century.

Until that point, global development rested on a series of overlapping, interacting, but basically autonomous regions, each engaged in processes of self-organization and self-reproduction. This is a reality represented very successfully in the narrative and analytic conventions of comparative civilizations and empire studies. One would not want to discount the remarkable expansion of European-Atlantic maritime empires nor forget the deepening connections and interactions between regions, nor ultimately the growing role of European merchants, mariners, scholars, and especially soldiers in forging these interactions.³⁴ But on a global scale and even within the maritime empires of the West, contacts between self-sustaining centers of power had more to do with keeping distance than with establishing relations. Contacts between regional centers extended *relationally* across space from one center to its margins and through physical (ocean and deserts) and social (nomadic and piratical) zones of transition to adjacent centers and distant others. Distance, hence space, remained crucial in governing the conduct of commerce and in the exercise of power. Moreover, on all sides, distance shaped global imaginings as regional *imaginaires* that went outward to envelop the world from distinct regional centers.³⁵ Politically, economically, intellectually, and militarily, these patterns of regional autonomy, maintained by spatial distantiation and linked by specialized mediators and interlopers, organized the world at least until the middle of the nineteenth century.

A dramatic and rapid alteration took place during the course of that century, however. We cannot understand this transition if we focus exclusively on Europe or the surge of European and, for that matter, Japanese industrial and military power after mid-century, as undoubtedly important as these became. The crucial watershed inaugurating twentieth-century world history consisted in a series of parallel, simultaneous crises in the organization of power, production, and culture—that is, in the autonomous reproduction—of virtually every region of the world. A simple recitation of the wars and revolts that registered deeper systemic crises—the Taiping rebellion and civil war in China, which led to a revamping of imperial administration (and the regional breaking away of Japan toward industrialization), the Crimean War along the Eurasian seam, which provoked regime crises in both the Russian and Ottoman empires (with regional breakaways in

³⁴ John E. Wills, Jr., “Maritime Asia, 1500–1800: The Interactive Emergence of European Domination,” *AHR*, 98 (February 1993): 83–105; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

³⁵ The classic, if by now contested, statement on this world view is by John K. Fairbank, *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago, 1957); and Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). On the changing perspective, see Teng Ssu-yü and John K. Fairbank, eds., *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839–1923* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954). See also Stevan Harrell, ed., *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers* (Seattle, Wash., 1995).

Poland and Egypt), the multi-layered revolt against British rule in India, the war of extermination against Paraguay in Latin America, the Civil War in the United States, the white and black (re)settlement wars in southern Africa, the crisis of the post-Napoleonic concert, and the spate of wars for national unification (Italy, Germany, Spain, and Serbia) in Europe—may seem a random selection. They were, above all, crises of regional power and stability, reflecting autonomous trajectories of development. There was no single cause or prime mover at work, for they arose from indigenous causes and had their own chronologies. What made these violent crises transitional for world history was that, in every case, they were played out in the context of deeper and more competitive interactions among regions, the competitive driven largely (but not exclusively) by more vigorous European interventions. The result everywhere was that solutions to regional crises came to involve not simply efforts at restoration or conservation but strategies of self-renewal and self-improvement: the famous Chinese strategy of “adopting the ways of the barbarian in order to defeat the barbarian.”

These interactions had “globalizing” effects. Solutions to regional crises involved a sustained recourse to interregional adaptations and appropriations. Regional development—that is, the self-preservation of imperial regimes—thus became predicated on quickly growing, interregional, and, quite literally, “globalizing” exchange, ending an era of self-sufficiency. Whether efforts at self-improvement succeeded or not, they began as proactive responses to specific regional crises, and they developed a competitive synchronicity that lifted regional interactions to a new global level, to a sustained, continuous, competitive, and often violent contact. The margins and peripheries that had assured distance evaporated, and the spaces between regions of once-autonomous development collapsed. Old ideas, expressed in the many ways of imagining the world, world space, and interregional relations across distance, gave way to new global imaginations.³⁶ Again, the difference is tangible though rarely explored. For this imagination saw every part of the world (including one’s own) in its relationships to others, and all engaged in a dangerous game of mutual imbrication; and, while this nascent “global” imagination saw the world as an interconnected whole, it saw these connections differently from every vantage point.³⁷ In this way, processes of global integration were inaugurated, not simply by an expansionist Europe unilaterally superimposing itself on a passive world ripe for victimization but in a scramble of autonomous power centers, each struggling to mobilize its resources

³⁶ This is the historical moment for what Roland Robertson describes as “global consciousness” in *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. We are rather more skeptical about the emergence of a global consciousness as a corollary to globalization and in this respect side with Janet Wolff, “The Global and the Specific: Reconciling Conflicting Theories of Culture,” in Anthony D. King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-System* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 161–73. However, the absence of a universalist *Welt/Geist* (which, after all, is the idealist reference point of this debate) does not presume the absence of globality—not in the twentieth century.

³⁷ Global imaginings aside, it is a longstanding debate in international relations whether the European system simply expanded or was pieced together anew in the process of globalization. We argue for the latter, which is why we think that the non-hegemonic, transitional periods in international relations (1840–1880 and 1980–) are of crucial importance in understanding global development. The theory and history of international relations suffer from their single-minded concentration on hegemonic periods (1910–1960) and their pitfalls. A primer on this issue is Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford, 1984).

in the face of internal crisis and intensified interactions with other regions.³⁸ This situation constitutes the rupture that marks the beginning of world history in a global age.

THE PROCESS OF GLOBALIZATION was not simply an acceleration along a continuum of European expansion but a new ordering of relations of domination and subordination among all regions of the world. This fact captures the revolutionizing quality of the European departure at mid-century. Unlike other regions in crisis at the mid-century passage, Europe alone resolved its regional crisis by turning outward, externalizing its quest for solutions in projections of power overseas, and it did so not by conquests in the old manner of empire building, through spatial expansion and occupation, but in a new effort, with new capabilities, to synchronize global time and coordinate interactions *within* the world.³⁹ This development—the metaphors matter here: this was no longer quite a “thrust” or “projection” of force but an exercise in “webbing” or “enveloping”—was sustained by new technologies, especially the telegraph and, later on, radio and telephones, but it was fully articulated in transnational regimes of power made possible by the formation of communications-based systems of control (the gold standard, the global deployment of maritime force, or the futures markets) that began to envelop the world in global circuits of power by the end of the century.⁴⁰ These systems of control, which proliferated throughout the long

³⁸ As an example of both the forgetfulness of historians and the historiographic consequence of this argument, one might point to the century-long confrontation between the Russian and Ottoman empires, which came to a head between the 1850s and the 1870s. This was by far a “greater game” than that between Great Britain and Russia, because it made Russia a global power in the century between the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji (1774) and the Berlin Congress (1878), irrespective of the ups and downs of its European entanglements. German Werth, *Der Krimkrieg: Geburtsstunde der Weltmacht Russland* (Erlangen, 1989); Rumiana Mikhneva, *Rossii i Osmanskaia imperiia v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniakh v seredine XVIII veka, 1739–1756* (Moscow, 1985); N. A. Sotavov, *Severnyi Kavkaz v russko-iranskikh i russko-turetskikh otnosheniakh v XVIII v.: Ot Konstantinopol'skogo dogovora do Kiuchuk-Kainardzhiiskogo mira, 1700–1774 gg.* (Moscow, 1991); David MacKenzie, *Imperial Dreams, Harsh Realities: Tsarist Russian Foreign Policy, 1815–1917* (Fort Worth, Tex., 1994); David Gillard, *The Struggle for Asia, 1828–1914: A Study in British and Russian Imperialism* (London, 1977); Matthew S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774–1923: A Study in International Relations* (London, 1966).

³⁹ As general texts: David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989); James Carey, *Communications as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston, 1989); Roger Friedland and Deirdre Boden, eds., *NowHere: Space, Time and Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994). As historical introduction: Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981); and Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851–1945* (New York, 1991). See also Catherine Bertho-Lavenir, *L'état et les telecommunications en France et à l'étranger 1837–1987* (Geneva, 1991). The most detailed case studies are on the United States: Edwin N. Asmann, *The Telegraph and the Telephone: Their Development and Role in the Economic History of the United States; The First Century, 1844–1944* (n.p., 1980); Menahem Blondheim, *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844–1897* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).

⁴⁰ A good starting point for discussion is Susan Strange, *States and Markets* (New York, 1988). While these circuits of power are not generally well researched, there has been a great deal of study on the workings of the gold standard. Arthur I. Bloomfield, *Monetary Policy under the International Gold Standard, 1880–1914* (1959; New York, 1978), remains valuable. More recent treatments are Marcello De Cecco, *Money and Empire: The International Gold Standard, 1890–1914* (Oxford, 1974); Barry Eichengreen, ed., *The Gold Standard in Theory and History* (New York, 1985); Ian Drummond, *The Gold Standard and the International Monetary System, 1900–1939* (Basingstoke, 1987); Giulio Gallarotti, *The*

twentieth century, were the key that enabled a “new” European imperialism to exploit the self-improving strategies of all other regions, adapting the dynamics of competitive interaction among regions to move beyond mere extensions of power “over” others to the direct, sustained organization “of” others in global regimes of control. In this way, the European-Atlantic world became “the West” and gained its status as the centering axis of an integrating world.

As the dynamics of regional crisis drove Europe outward along externalizing paths, European initiatives collided, overlapped, and interacted with the dynamics of parallel crises in other regions and with strategies of competitive self-improvement that were devised to shore up regional power and to fend off or contain external pressures. Historiographic attention focuses on East Asia, but elements of these struggles can be observed in the Indian, Persian, Arab, African, and Latin American worlds as well. As regional power centers moved to defend autonomy, Europeans found in these self-improvement efforts the pathways and the allies for further and deeper intervention. This was a profoundly disruptive, extremely violent, and often callous process, but it was never simply the plunder of compradors. Instead, Western expansionism picked up and amplified regional and local processes of self-mobilization, permeating and transforming them in the course of using them. The projections of Western power were thus locally articulated as self-mobilizations and absorbed into the very fabric of local affairs—causing wider ramifications of change, much of it beyond the view, let alone the control, of European powers, but also beginning processes of utterly dependent integration that deepened as self-improvement strategies took hold.⁴¹

Anatomy of an International Monetary Regime: The Classical Gold Standard, 1880–1914 (New York, 1995). A recent study of the British managers of the system that focuses on personalities and players is now in its second volume: David Kynaston, *The City of London*, Vol. 2: *Golden Years, 1890–1914* (London, 1995).

⁴¹ The comparison between Canada and Argentina is most instructive for this development. D. C. M. Platt and Guido Di Tella, *Argentina, Australia, and Canada: Studies in Comparative Development, 1870–1965* (New York, 1985); Jeremy Adelman, *Frontier Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890–1914* (Oxford, 1994); Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1987); Roberto Cortes Conde, *Some Notes on the Industrial Development of Argentina and Canada in the 1920s* (Buenos Aires, 1985). The debate on Argentina is first of all significant for intrinsic reasons, the conjunctures of the Argentine economy, and their consequences for national identity. See the debate between Andrew Thompson, “‘Informal Empire’: An Explanation in the History of Anglo-Argentine Relations, 1810–1914,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24 (1992): 419–36; and A. G. Hopkins, “Informal Empire in Argentina: An Alternative View,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 26 (1994): 469–84; Tulio Halperín-Donghi, “Un cuarto de siglo de historiografía argentina (1960–1985),” *Desarrollo económico*, 25 (1986): 487–520; Juan C. Korol and Hilda Sabato, “Incomplete Industrialization: An Argentine Obsession,” *Latin American Research Review*, 25 (1990): 7–30, with the pertinent literature. On the political consequences, see José Carlos Chiaramonte, *Nacionalismo y Liberalismo económicos en la Argentina, 1860–1880* (Buenos Aires, 1971); and Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991). But this debate is perhaps even more important for its paradigmatic character in the controversy about development/underdevelopment and export-led growth versus import substitution and theories of dependency. For the latter, see the key studies of the Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL), *Análisis y proyecciones del desarrollo económico*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1958); Aldo Ferrer, *La economía argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1963); and Raul Prebisch, “El desarrollo económico de la América Latina y algunos de sus principales problemas,” *Desarrollo económico*, 26 (1986): 479–502. See the assessment by Kathryn Sikkink, “The Influence of Raul Prebisch on Economic Policy Making in Argentina, 1950–1962,” *Latin American Research Review*, 23 (1988): 91–114, and the subsequent commentaries and debate: 115–31.

Global integration was thus not a set of procedures devised in the West and superimposed on the rest as if a compliant world waited for its victimization, but, for this very reason, neither was global integration flatly or consistently rejected. Rather, integration was carried forward, asymmetrically and unevenly, on a global scale. India and Egypt, as well as Argentina, China, Persia, and Africa, became victims of Western expansionism and of outright aggression. But imperialism was also able to exist because Indians, Egyptians, Argentines, Chinese, Persians, and Africans helped make it happen, and not simply as lackeys and dupes but pursuing strategies of renewal that synchronized in the web of European-dominated global regimes. Running at full tilt themselves, they engaged Western power in complex patterns of collaboration and resistance, accommodation and cooptation, as they tried (often against great odds but also, we may add, with remarkable success) to reproduce and renew local worlds, using imperialists to shore up or to create positions of power, using sites of indigenous power to make deals, using the European and American positions as interlopers in order to selectively appropriate the ways of the conquerors to local ends. In this way, *they* were the ones to produce the resources for global integration, creating in the process a more integrated world, albeit not exactly as Western imperialists had intended.⁴² Global integration was built with this kind of labor.

The surpluses of this labor forged an ever tighter (if always competitive and contested) concentration of power within the West. That is, military power was projected everywhere, but nowhere was it more concentrated and lethal than within the European region. State power was extended as colonial regimes throughout Asia and Africa, even as state power became concentrated and coordinated in Europe. Western communication and transportation systems reached into every corner of the world, yet nowhere were the linkages denser or their impact more far-reaching than in the European-Atlantic region. Industrial goods were available and traded everywhere, but both trade and production were

⁴² The debate on the practices of domination and subordination is currently one of the more exciting historiographic debates, with a stake for every part of the world, including Europe and the United States. This debate developed out of "resistance" studies on the one hand and the critique of the discourse of national liberation on the other. Its current main opponent is world-systems theory (see Cooper, *Confronting Historical Paradigms*), and its often unacknowledged crossover in literary studies is postcolonial literary theory: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (London, 1995). The finer points of debate are represented by John Comaroff, "Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa," *American Ethnologist*, 16 (1989): 609–21; Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985); John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Identity in an Age of Revolution* (Chicago, 1994), on the one hand, and on the other, Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler, "Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule," *American Ethnologist*, 16 (1989): 609–84; Ann Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in South East Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34 (1992): 514–51; Nicholas B. Dirks, ed. *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992). Sexual politics have long been a central concern: Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (London, 1995). Achille Mbembe, "The Banality of Power and the Aesthetics of Vulgarly in the Postcolony," *Public Culture*, 4 (1992): 1–30, has raised a storm (*Public Culture*, 5 [1992]: 47–145), putting sexual *politics* right back into the state. Religious practices as a site of opposition have also emerged as a central area of study. See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *L'invention religieuse en Afrique: Histoire et religion en Afrique noire* (Paris, 1993); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991). Finally, on the powers of nationalism and socialism: Frederick Cooper, *The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar Africa* (Ann Arbor, 1992).

most heavily concentrated and grew most rapidly in the core region. The intensification and concentration of capitalist production went hand in hand with its global extension, binding the world together in tighter, if always uneven and unequal, global circuits of power, capital, and culture.⁴³

Within this integrating world, Europeans and Americans increasingly drew the lines of demarcation that defined an emergent global center over and against the rest. Global integration entailed a spatial reorganization of human and capital mobility that came to the fore in a rush of imperial imaginings by travelers, expatriates, civil servants, and armchair enthusiasts. These were elaborated into universal knowledge in a set of new imperial sciences: geography, ethnology, and biology being pioneer disciplines of the day. It was also toward the end of the nineteenth century that barriers were erected to control the movements of non-European peoples and a more rigid racial segregation was devised to define white privilege and to ensure control over racial "others," not only in colonial and semi-colonial environments but very much at the centers of power as well. Racism became deeply entrenched in legal, social, and cultural practices.⁴⁴ This division of people underwrote a new global division of labor that separated, world-wide, capital-intensive industrial production from handicrafts and extraction, agriculture from industry, and was further reinforced by new procedures for allocating and controlling the movement of wealth, grounded in the international acceptance of the gold standard and of financial rules enforced, primarily, by the Bank of England. Across an integrating world, new lines of segregation and distinction were thus drawn and powerfully imagined in racist world views that set the white European-Atlantic region and its dispersed settlements around the world apart from the rest and ensured their privilege.

The deepening chasms that divided an increasingly integrated world, together with the proliferating distinctions between "us" and "them" that were handed down as social sciences (modern/traditional, advanced/backward) and consti-

⁴³ This, at last, is an operating "world system" whose outlines just barely come into view—and whose polemical as well as scientific literature on the very phenomenon of world systems is part and parcel of its working. Both are discussed in Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*. We have sketched out the operations of this hegemonic period in Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "For a Unified History of the World in the Twentieth Century," *Radical History Review*, 39 (1987): 69–91, and will return to the subject.

⁴⁴ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, new edn. (New York, 1966), is one of the most powerful reminders of this universality of (Western) racism. However, her argument about South Africa is also one of the most troubling of the book, suggesting persistent difficulties of a powerful strand of Western political thought to address the subject of race and race-making (as Thomas Holt has called it). In Arendt's case, this may well be not a matter of getting the facts wrong or of having incomplete information, as historians might suggest, but of getting the wrong "canon" in approaching the issue. Bonnie Honig, "Arendt, Identity, and Difference," *Political Theory*, 16 (1988): 77–98. In any case, the new separations were deftly captured by E. M. Forster in his novel *A Passage to India* (1924) and have been studied closely for South Africa by Charles van Onselen, "Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Sharecropping Economy of the South-Western Transvaal, 1900–1950," *AHR*, 95 (February 1990): 99–123; and for Indonesia by Ann Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989). George M. Fredrickson drew important distinctions between Jim Crow in the United States and the developing system of racial separation in South Africa, in *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York, 1981), but the centrality of racial demarcations in both systems between the 1890s and the 1940s remains salient. Joel Williamson explored the nexus of sexual imagery and racism in white imaginings in *The Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York, 1984).

tuted Western discourse about the rest, swallowed up the older, enlightened imagination of “humanity” that had previously informed world history narratives. As difference and distinction grew within an integrating world, the overarching simplicities of universal history were supplanted by naturalized histories of the “rest”—studied as the grand traditions of world civilizations in the humanities—and by a specialized and instrumental knowledge about progress—pursued as development and modernization theories in the social sciences. The West (in fact, a few core European states, subsequently enlarged to a European–North Atlantic world and only belatedly extended to the Pacific rim) *gained* in this process a new intellectual identity as a discrete region. Europe was constituted as the West in the context of forging a unified, scientific narrative for an integrating world.⁴⁵ This was, one might add, a secular West that in the science of modernizing the world found a counter to and a strategy for surpassing its older religious identity as the site of (Latin) Christianity in juxtaposition, internally, to Judaism and, externally, to Islam.⁴⁶ That Islam became a powerful and modernizing global imagination in its own right during the course of the long twentieth century (and not merely in the last two decades or so) is commonly forgotten.

The paradigm of global modernization was powerful knowledge with an unequivocal vision of the world to come. It underwrote a new narrative of world history, which left behind the pieties of Enlightenment thought. This history of a world being integrated predicted, first, that in dominating the world through its mastery of the technical and material means of global integration, the West would actually control the world and be able to shape the course of global development, and, second, that in shaping the world, the West held secure knowledge, positive empirical proof in its own development, of the direction and outcome of world history. The world would become more like the West in a protracted process of modernization, and, as the rest of the world moved toward uplift and progress, the division between “the West” and “the rest” would diminish.

IT DID NOT HAPPEN THIS WAY. First, efforts to establish global order proved notoriously unstable and short-lived. The two most powerful ventures, the *pax britannica* in the first half and the *pax americana* in the second half of the long twentieth century, came and went quickly as world-ordering efforts. Neither was able to transform a staggering superiority in force into lasting political order—that is, into a consensual global politics as opposed to domination and the threat of violence. This proved to be the single most abiding limitation on the West’s ability to realize global control. Second, it did not happen this way because Western mastery of the powers of production and destruction (and of the

⁴⁵ Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991); Daniel Lerner, James S. Coleman, and Ronald P. Dore, “Modernization,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), 10: 386–409; Robert A. Nisbet, *Social Change and History: Aspects of the Western Theory of Development* (New York, 1969); Carl E. Plutsch, “The Three Worlds, or the Division of Social Scientific Labor, circa 1950–1975,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23 (1981): 565–90; Leonard Binder, “The Natural History of Development Theory,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 28 (1986): 3–23. For Europe: Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Modernisierungstheorie und Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1975).

⁴⁶ Vassilis Lambropoulos, *The Rise of Eurocentrism: Anatomy of Interpretation* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

scientific knowledge that underwrote it) never imparted a sure capacity to shape and mold the world into a homogeneous global civilization.⁴⁷ What Western exertions produced instead was a disorderly world of proliferating difference, a world in which the very production of difference was lodged in the processes of globalization that the West had presumed to control. Even where difference was partially overcome by non-Western efforts to emulate and surpass Western productivity—a path taken by Japan and, later, others in the northeast Asian region, for example⁴⁸—the power of the Western narrative, with its presumption of control and its racist exclusions, masked emergent dynamics of integration.

Thus not only did the destination remain cloudy but emergent realities in the global age ground powerfully against available images and expectations—creating a profound dissonance and proliferating fissures in the narration of the present. These are the signatures of accelerated times or, as Jacob Burckhardt called them, “world historical crises.”⁴⁹ This is, or should be, an exhilarating moment for historians, for it is now possible to set the *res gestae* of the origins of our actually existing world against the predictions and expectations of the past—no longer in order to announce the pending unification of the world or to criticize explanations and ideologies heretofore used but to account for the world as it is. Narrating world history in our global age means taking seriously (rather than fleeing from) the present. And it means recovering the spirit and intent of historical inquiry, as it is practiced in archival research, and adapting this to the task of writing contemporary history. For the basic operation of any modern *Historik* consists in teasing out the fissures and tensions between what happened (inasmuch as the sources allow us to tell) and what is said to have happened (in the lore, ideologies, imaginings, and general assumptions of contemporaries and memorialists).⁵⁰ For modern historians, archival research is “investigative” practice. It is in applying these procedures to the present condition that we can begin to explore the question of endings.

There are many aspects of the contemporary world that offer examples of narrative fissure, where the course of events disrupted expectations. Examining how these reversals came about, how the emergent condition of globality grated against the expectations or desires of available world views, can give insight into key aspects of twentieth-century development and pose the crucial problems for closer study. We choose four paradigmatic arenas, partly to demonstrate the procedure but also to suggest the tensions that run through processes of globalization. Rather than seeing them strictly in a dialectic of “the global” and “the local,” which belatedly has become quite fashionable, we would rather see these

⁴⁷ Dieter Senghaas, *The European Experience: A Historical Critique of Development Theory*, K. H. Kimmig, trans. (Leamington Spa, 1985). Frédérique A. Marglin and Stephen A. Marglin, *Dominating Knowledge: Development, Culture, and Resistance* (Oxford, 1990); Immanuel Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁴⁸ Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American–East Asian Relations* (New York, 1967); and Iriye, *China and Japan in the Global Setting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); see also the panoramic view by Walter A. McDougall, *Let the Sea Make a Noise: A History of the North Pacific from Magellan to MacArthur* (New York, 1993).

⁴⁹ Jacob Burckhardt, *Reflections on History* (1943; rpt. edn., Indianapolis, Ind., 1979).

⁵⁰ This Hegelian turn is well captured by Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, Keith Tribe, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

tensions as arising out of world-wide processes of unsettlement (the mobilization of peoples, things, ideas, and images and their diffusion in space and time) and out of the often desperate efforts both locally (by communities of various kinds) and globally (by regimes of varying composition and reach) to bring them under control or, as it were, to settle them. The outcome of these processes is a radically unequal but also radically de-centered world.

One of the most peculiar reversals of expectation that runs through the history of globalization concerns the expansion of industrial forms of production and destruction.⁵¹ The simultaneous process of diffusion and concentration of industrial capabilities was intimately associated with the project of subordinating the world to, and centering it on, the West. Integrating the rest into the economies of the West and subordinating non-Western warfare to Western command and control were key elements of modernization theory and of expectations about how global integration would proceed. Yet the diffusion of industrial production has actually eroded the boundaries of a global division of labor that, at the beginning of the century, delineated centers and marked them off from peripheries. The spread of industrial production to enclaves and export platforms (as, for example, in the Philippines) or the encapsulation of whole societies in processes of industrialization (as in the Republic of Korea) has, in recent years, shattered the fragile unity of the Third World. Rather than integrating regions and nations into a world economy of uplift, the progress of industrialization has re-segmented and re-divided the world, creating islands and belts of rapid and intense development beside productive wastelands—not just “out there” in Kinshasa, Dacca, or Rio de Janeiro but also in Liverpool, Detroit, and Los Angeles.⁵² Not only have these wastelands grown in tandem with expanding productivity, in a checkerboard of poverty and affluence, but the proceeds of industrialization, everywhere, have been turned to the production of violence. Despite the enormous concentration of violence in the two world wars and the nuclear stand-off between the United States and the Soviet Union in this century, the proliferation of small wars and major massacres—and the general diffusion of violence not controlled by any center of power—has been unprecedented in our time. And again, these wars—

⁵¹ There is surprisingly little comprehensive study of either issue. On destruction, see William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago, 1982); and Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* (Oxford, 1990). On production: W. W. Rostow, *The World Economy: History and Prospect* (Austin, Tex., 1978); Angus Maddison, *Phases of Capitalist Development* (Oxford, 1982); Paul Bairoch, *Economics and World History: Myths and Paradoxes* (Chicago, 1993); and the work of Tom Kemp, *Historical Patterns of Industrialization* (London, 1978); *Industrialization in the Non-Western World* (London, 1983); *The Climax of Capitalism: The US Economy in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1990).

⁵² Compare “world-systems” notions such as Cornelis P. Terlouw, *The Regional Geography of the World-System: External Arena, Periphery, Semiperiphery, Core* (Utrecht, 1992), with efforts to map the new dispersed geography of production in Allen J. Scott and Michael Storper, *Production, Work, Territory: The Geographical Anatomy of Industrial Capitalism* (Boston, 1986); or Juan R. Cuadrado-Roura, et al., eds., *Moving Frontiers: Economic Restructuring, Regional Development, and Emerging Networks* (Aldershot, 1994). About presumed consequences: Zaven N. Davidian, *Economic Disparities among Nations: A Threat to Survival in a Globalized World* (Oxford, 1994); and real ones in the former Yugoslavia and India: Milica Z. Bookman, *The Political Economy of Discontinuous Development: Regional Disparities and Inter-regional Conflict* (New York, 1991). Finally, the United States: John Agnew, *The United States in the World Economy: A Regional Geography* (New York, 1987); George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, eds., *America's New Market Geography: Nation, Region, and Metropolis* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988).

occurring underneath, in between, and in conjunction with the grand confrontations—do not simply happen out there, in rickety “Third World nations” (and when they do, they produce industrial-scale violence, as in the Middle East), they also occur as “low-intensity” violence in the West, in the former Yugoslavia and the streets of North America.⁵³ The mobilization of production and destruction thus turns out to be a globally unsettling process of unprecedented dimensions.

A second reversal of expectations concerns the constitution of regimes of order in a unifying world. At the beginning of the century, it seemed that empires would be the main agents of political order in the world and that corporate forms of capital would play analogous roles in ordering the world economy. The rivalry of empires set the rules of international relations, while the competition of monopoly forms, governed by the rules of the gold standard and subsequently by Bretton Woods, set the terms of survival for business.⁵⁴ The notion of “great powers” and “global companies” assumed a centering of politics and economics in Western forms and practices and carried as well the undertone of an omniscient “brain” or “overmind” that understood and ordered the whole. None of this has survived the actual integration of the world. Instead of institutions that preside over the whole and guarantee a regime of order in the manner of secular universal monarchies,⁵⁵ we face a proliferation of largely anonymous transnational practices, carried on in international organizations and networks of exchange, in banking and commerce, in information and communication, and, not least, in the interactions of states. The best scholarship on this matter coheres around metaphors of movement, flow, circuitry, following people, goods, and images in motion and seeking to specify the structural practices and imaginary “(land)scapes” that are created by and that sustain this movement.⁵⁶ Thickets of rules and regulations, most of them instrumental and self-made, as well as institutional structures, hold the myriad of transactions together, but these are not centrally administered, nor do they have more than limited accountability. They have hardly any publicity. Organized in information corridors and segmented circuits or webs of exchange, these systems are difficult to describe, let alone theorize. While they are enormously powerful, they slip our conceptual grasp because they are so unlike the images associated with global forms of order and settlement at the beginning of our century. It is not world government but regimes of mostly private regulations and practices that maintain and service the process of globalization.⁵⁷

⁵³ Martin van Creveld, *The Transformation of War* (New York, 1991).

⁵⁴ Best exemplified by Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of Great Powers*; and Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). In this tradition, see Robert J. S. Ross and Kent C. Trachte, *Global Capitalism: The New Leviathan* (Albany, N.Y., 1990).

⁵⁵ One might want to recall in this context Robert Maynard Hutchins, *St. Thomas and the World State* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1949); and more generally Oscar Handlin, *One World: The Origins of an American Concept* (Oxford, 1974); Wesley T. Wooley, *Alternatives to Anarchy: American Supranationalism since World War II* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988).

⁵⁶ Martin Carnoy, et al., *The New Global Economy in the Information Age: Reflections on Our Changing World* (University Park, Pa., 1993). The “site” for this global economy is the contemporary metropolis: Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Sassen, “The Urban Complex in a World Economy,” *International Social Science Journal*, 46 (1994): 43–62; Manuel Castells, *Technopolis of the World: The Making of Twenty-First-Century Industrial Complexes* (London, 1994).

⁵⁷ Scott Lash and John Urry, *The End of Organized Capitalism* (Cambridge, 1987); Alain Lipietz, *Mirages and Miracles: The Crisis in Global Fordism*, David Macey, trans. (London, 1987); Storper and

They may look brand-new, but, in fact, they have a history that accompanies the process of globalization from its beginning.⁵⁸

Migration, our third aspect of globalization, has also undergone dramatic reversals. The long twentieth century began with a massive out-migration of Europeans to the Americas, North and South, and in lesser numbers, to Africa, Asia, and Oceania. This movement was conceived both as an orderly expansion and as a way of maintaining order within Europe, because its populations remained one of the most dynamic well into the nineteenth century. Such emigration was closely associated with efforts to organize the overseas world in ways that sealed off "native" populations in enclaves or compartments, where their reproduction served the extended family of Europeans.⁵⁹ The global imaginings that were associated with these migratory processes have all been dashed. Not only has the direction of migration been dramatically reversed,⁶⁰ as the industrial nations become host to growing numbers of the world's poor, but the gaps between the West and the rest, once established by distance, are now transmogrified into transnational circuits of culture and exchange, wherein migrants move back and forth across borders (physically and by fax), keeping close touch with "home" and combining appropriated images and practices with

Scott, *Production, Work, Territory*; and Michael Storper and Allen J. Scott, *Pathways to Industrialization and Regional Development* (London, 1992); Robert Boyer, ed., *Capitalisme fin de siècle* (Paris, 1986).

⁵⁸ Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, "Historical Alternatives to Mass Production: Politics, Markets, and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Industrialization," *Past and Present*, 108 (1985): 133–76.

⁵⁹ The traditional interest in migration, especially among American historians, has focused on the "immigrant experience" and turned on the question of assimilation. Often engaged in debates over social mobility in the United States (Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* [Cambridge, Mass., 1975]) and, in recent years, increasingly sensitive to complex transatlantic patterns of movement and counter-movement (see Mark Wyman, *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1993]), this work has been fundamentally about white migration in the era of European expansion. Between 1800 and 1960, over 60 million Europeans were involved in intercontinental migration, mostly to the Americas and the Antipodes. While whites moved, however, non-whites were largely kept in place. In the same period, only about 5 to 6 million Asians and Africans migrated, and over half of these did so as slaves or indentured laborers. See P. C. Emmer and M. Mörner, eds., *European Expansion and Migration: Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (New York, 1992); Peter Richardson, "Coolies, Peasants and Proletarians: The Origins of Chinese Indentured Labour in South Africa, 1904–1907," in Shula Marks and Peter Richardson, eds., *International Labour Migration: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1984); and J. E. Inikori, ed., *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (New York, 1982).

⁶⁰ The great change of recent decades has been the accelerated movement of non-white poor peoples around the world, largely toward the industrial (white) regions but also, since 1973, to the Middle East and, more recently, Japan, seeking work and refuge. See Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (London, 1993); Saskia Sassen, "Economic Internationalization: The New Migration in Japan and the United States," *International Migration*, 31 (1993): 1–73; Göran Rystad, "Immigration History and the Future of International Migration," *International Migration Review*, 26 (1992): 1168–99; Reginald T. Appleyard, ed., *International Migration Today*, Vol. 1: *Trends and Prospects*; Vol 2: *Emerging Issues* (Paris, 1988). Because "host" countries remain deeply ambivalent, not to say outright hostile, to new migrants and have moved to erect various legal and police obstacles to their coming, non-white migrants tend to live on suffrance, temporary visas, and conditional permits. And because their migration continues in the context of a steady globalization of production and communication, many guest workers, "illegal" aliens, temporary residents, and refugees, facing exclusion, maintain close ties with places of origin and with fellow travelers in other places. On these circuits, see Anthony H. Richmond, *Global Apartheid: Refugees, Racism, and the New World Order* (New York, 1994).

a continuously renegotiated "authenticity."⁶¹ This process, combined with the slow dismantling of regimes of ethnic and racial segregation in industrial societies such as South Africa and the United States, has led to the collapse of the once-policed compartments of cultures and contributed to the formation of what Carol Breckenridge has called crossover "public cultures": new mass markets for consumption in which film, video, music, and sports spectacles become both contested and mediating terrains in the formation of communal and national identities.⁶² Again, the marketing of identities is not a new phenomenon. Moreover, its study has been ill-served by the single-minded concentration on the connection between the printing press and imagined communities, which is, as far as the twentieth century is concerned, an anachronistic assessment of what has happened.⁶³ The fact that these markets are frequented by religious fundamentalists (the Ayatollah Khomeini's famous audio tapes) as much as by secular capitalists (Coca-Cola), by producers of Hindu devotionals (with a huge market in East Africa), and by Brazilian, Mexican, or Taiwanese purveyors of soap operas (favorite pastimes in states of the former communist empire), as well as Hollywood conglomerates, should lay to rest the obsessive fear of homogeneity that has lately become a specialty of French intellectuals in their campaign against Americanization.⁶⁴ These public spaces of identity have led to a certain euphoria, especially among a younger generation of scholars. But if the balance of global development points toward an irreversible mixing of cultures and peoples, the cautious historian will also want to recall the staggering costs in ethnic violence and genocide that have accompanied the recurring efforts to salvage purity and authenticity in the face of global unsettlement.⁶⁵

A final arena in which the reversal of expectations helps illuminate patterns of globalization concerns the nation-state. Throughout the long twentieth century, the world-wide mobilizations of peoples and resources and their channeling into transnational networks of exchange were effected by, and contained within, emergent state structures. States flourished in the context of globalization, a fact that must qualify much of the commonplace concern about global integration and transnational regimes threatening the integrity or autonomy of the state.⁶⁶ They

⁶¹ Roger Rouse, "Mexican Migration and the Social Space of Postmodernism," *Diaspora*, 1 (1991): 8–23.

⁶² Carol A. Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai, "Why Public Culture," *Public Culture*, 1 (Fall 1988): 5–10; Miriam Hansen, "Foreword," in Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1993), ix–xli.

⁶³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

⁶⁴ Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London, 1994), is a remarkably circumspect survey of the emergent global media culture markets.

⁶⁵ The history of the former Yugoslavia is one of the many focal points for a more cautious approach: Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984); and Banac, "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Yugoslavia," *AHR*, 97 (October 1992): 1084–1104; Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*, updated edn. (New York, 1994); Bogdan Denitch, *Ethnic Nationalism: The Tragic Death of Yugoslavia* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1994); Sonja Biserko, ed., *Yugoslavia: Collapse, War, Crimes* (Belgrade, 1993); Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of "Ethnic Cleansing"* (College Station, Tex., 1995).

⁶⁶ Francis H. Hinsley, *Sovereignty*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1986); Theodor Schieder, *Der Nationalstaat in Europa als historisches Phänomen* (Cologne, 1964); Leonard Tivey, ed., *The Nation-State: The Formation of Modern Politics* (Oxford, 1981); Michael Mann, ed., *The Rise and Decline of the Nation State* (Oxford,

did so because the condition of globality has always been organized locally, in one place after the other, according to particular circumstances and conditions that happen to obtain. No matter how powerful or abstract the networks of global exchange or how remote their nodes of control, each transaction needs articulation in some particular place, in some meaningful idiom, under specific circumstances; processes of globalization must come to ground in concrete social, cultural, and political contexts that move people to purposive ends and thus allow them, in some fashion, to represent themselves. In the twentieth century, states have sought, in their own interests and in the promotion of national development, to negotiate these connections; indeed, it was the (relative) success of the state in managing the linkages with an integrating world that allowed "national" politics to flourish. This is why states have grown in tandem with globalization,⁶⁷ but it is also where powerful questions arise: for the process of global integration, while not destroying states, has had a tendency to bypass politics, short-circuit the formation of national agendas, and challenge the capacity of the state for political self-organization, that is, to constitute the nation and organize complex social relations.⁶⁸ The result of this development is not only growing disillusionment with politics, world-wide, but the proliferation and strengthening of family and kinship networks and, more generally, of identity-based (ethnic or religious) communities as substitutes for national politics in much of the world.⁶⁹ These go together with the proliferation of export platforms, para-states, "private" (family-based) states, and state satrapies. Here we find the key questions requiring closer examination for the whole of the long twentieth century—not in the collapse of the state but in the uncertainties of nations and in the crises of politics as popular representation.

1990), provide solid background for a discussion of the issue. The "crisis" of the nation-state is discussed in David Held, "The Decline of the Nation State," in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques, eds., *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s* (London, 1989); Joseph A. Camilleri and Jim Falk, *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World* (Aldershot, 1992); Michael Zürn, "Jenseits der Staatlichkeit: Über die Folgen der ungleichen Denationalisierung," *Leviathan*, 20 (1992): 490–513; Kenichi Ohmae, *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy* (New York, 1990).

⁶⁷ Craig Calhoun, "Imagined Communities and Indirect Relationships: Large-Scale Social Integration and the Transformation of Everyday Life," *Social Theory for a Changing Society*, Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Coleman, eds. (Boulder, Colo., 1991), 95–120; and "Indirect Relationships, Information Technology, and the Transformation of Everyday Life," *Social Change and Modernity*, Neil J. Smelser and Hans Haferkamp, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 205–36.

⁶⁸ Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge, 1990); Ronald M. Grant and E. Spencer Wellhofer, eds., *Ethno-Nationalism, Multinational Corporations, and the Modern State* (Denver, Colo., 1979); Mathew Horsman, *After the Nation-State: Citizens, Tribalism, and the New World Disorder* (London, 1994); Anthony G. McGrew, et al., *Global Politics: Globalization and the Nation-State* (Cambridge, 1992). The discussion on (West) Africa is rather different in that it raises the problem of states, as territorial and political organizations, being unsuited to organize society and a threat to survival. Michael Bratton, "Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa," *World Politics*, 41 (1989): 407–30; Jean-François Bayart, *L'état en Afrique: La politique du ventre* (Paris, 1989); Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (New York, 1990).

⁶⁹ This has been the crux of the issue of "multiculturalism" everywhere. See Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); and Taylor, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition": An Essay*, with commentary by Amy Gutmann, ed., et al. (Princeton, N.J., 1992). For reopening the debate on national history, see Partha Chatterjee (n. 28) for India and Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995), for China.

By charting these reversals, in which the course of global development disrupts expectations and settled narratives, we find the crosscurrents and fissures that define the parameters of a century of global development. The processes of globalization have promoted social fragmentation and disassociation, just as the struggles to define community and defend it in the context of social dissolution have necessitated coming to terms with global integration. Increasingly over the course of the twentieth century, struggles for autonomy have turned into contestations over the *terms* of global integration—not over whether the world should move together but by whom and under what terms the identities of individuals, social groups, and entire societies should be defined. As this point is reached and passed again and again, the former center loses particularity; the more globalization proceeds, the less any region or society can pretend to control the struggle over the *terms of integration*. Thus we arrive at the end of the twentieth century in a global age, losing our capacity for narrating our histories in conventional ways, outward from one region, but gaining the ability to think world history, pragmatically and realistically, at the interstices of integrating circuits of globalizing networks of power and proliferating sites of localizing politics. This is the new condition of globality.

“THE INFINITE LIES OUTSIDE OF EXPERIENCE, and experience is the sphere of history.”⁷⁰ At the end of the twentieth century, we encounter, not a universalizing and single modernity but an integrated world of multiple and multiplying modernities. As far as world history is concerned, there is no universalizing spirit, no *Weltgeist*, to be re/presented working its way out in history. There are, instead, many very specific, very material and pragmatic practices that await critical reflection and historical study. At the same time, there is no particular knowledge to be generalized or built up from these discrete practices into a general theory or global paradigm. Rather, there is general and global knowledge, actually in operation, that requires particularization to the local and human scale. Fundamentally, then, our basic strategies of historical narration have to be rethought in order to make sense of practices and processes of global integration and local differentiation that have come into play. Lacking an imagination capable of articulating an integrated world of multiple modernities, globality is enveloped in an eery silence, which, however, cannot mask its powerful effects; and contestations over the terms of globalization, lacking a language that can accommodate, even facilitate, difference, turn into implacably hostile rejections of otherness.

A reversal of this silence entails, above all, thinking and narrating the history of *this* existing world and how it has come about. This project must proceed with an understanding that, unlike the systems builders of the European past, who visualized the world and thought world history long before they could possibly experience the world as a whole, we contemporaries of the late twentieth century experience the world long before we know how to think it. The aim of this world history becomes a dual one: to shatter the silence surrounding global practices, by

⁷⁰ James T. Shotwell, “The Interpretation of History,” *AHR*, 18 (1912–13): 692–709, see 693.

tracking them, describing them, and presenting them historically and, at the same time—recognizing with Georg Simmel that, in an integrated world, we encounter only more strangers⁷¹—to facilitate public cultures as the free and equal marketplace of communication among the many voices of different histories and memories. The practice of world history in this conception does not refuse or jettison the findings of world-systems theories or of a comparative history of civilizations, inasmuch as they survive a rigorous critique and shed their respective nostalgias for autonomous regions and essentialist civilizations. But the practice of world history in a global age does reconfigure the field in which these paradigms are deployed. It proceeds from the recognition that the trajectory of this world cannot be extrapolated from anyone's particular past, because globality is without precedent in any one specific society, religion, or civilization—although it is not without precedent in more syncretistic ages and spaces.⁷² In recognizing that global development in the twentieth century has broken through all historiographic conventions, historians must attempt to find a representation of the world as the field of human contestation in which the histories of the world are mixed together, but societies and peoples are not thereby transformed into one, or even made more alike.

But here we confront a startling new condition: humanity, which has been the subject of world history for many centuries and civilizations, has now come into the purview of all human beings. This humanity is extremely polarized into rich and poor, powerful and powerless, vociferous and speechless, believers and non-believers. There are clusters of dense interaction and clusters of loose and distant encounters. There are liminal zones and there are areas of devastation—wastelands both in the actuality of the present moment and in lingering memory. This humanity, in short, does not form a single homogeneous civilization. But in an age of globality, the humanity that inhabits this world is no longer a universalizing image or a normative construct of what some civilization or some intellectuals would want the people of this earth to be. Neither is this humanity any longer a mere species or a natural condition. For the first time, we as human beings collectively constitute ourselves and, hence, are responsible for ourselves.

This condition of globality can no longer be represented by notions of earth/nature or cosmos/world picture, as has been the case in the past.⁷³ Instead,

⁷¹ See the reflection on Simmel's theme by Zygmunt Bauman, "Strangers: The Social Construction of Universality and Particularity," *Telos*, 78 (1988–89): 7–42.

⁷² Modern European historians can thus learn a great deal from Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284–430* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

⁷³ This is the starting point for an exchange between global history and environmental history. See William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976); Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); and Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe 900–1900* (New York, 1986), as older examples. The intellectual origins, temporary significance, and subsequent displacement of environmental history as well as its renewal in the present is remarkably similar to the ups and downs of world history and global studies. This holds true for the new departures as well: Kendall E. Bailes, ed., *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective* (Lanham, Md., 1985); Donald Worster, ed., *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (New York, 1988); "A Round Table: Environmental History," *Journal of American History*, 76 (1990): 1087–1147 (with contributions by Donald Worster, Alfred W. Crosby, Richard White, Carolyn Merchant, William Cronon, and Stephen J. Pyne); Antoinette M. Mannion, *Global Environmental Change: A Natural and Cultural Environmental History* (Harlow, Essex, 1991).

this condition of globality is the integrated global space of human practice. As a consequence, humanity no longer comes into being through “thought.” Rather, humanity gains existence in a multiplicity of discrete economic, social, cultural, and political activities. In the past, such humanity has been the dream of sages and philosophers and, not to be forgotten, of gods, but now it has become the daily work of human beings. This daily work needs imagination. To this end, world history makes explicit and visible—it traces—both practices of global regimes and the imbrication of local communities. Its task is to make transparent the lineaments of power, underpinned by information, that compress humanity into a single humankind. And it is to make accessible to all human beings the diverse human labors, splintered into so many particularities, that go into creating and maintaining this global condition. This conclusion underscores both the promise and the challenge of the twentieth century as an age of world historical transition—that, in forging a world in which “humanity” has become a pragmatic reality with a common destiny, we do not arrive at the end of history. World history has just begun.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ A century ago, John W. Burgess wrote in “Political Science and History,” *AHR*, 2 (April 1897): “When mankind shall have reached that fulness of experience which shall enable it to become completely conscious of itself, it may then be able to turn all of its knowledge into science, and history may then be said to have done its work” (p. 407). It now seems that the labors of human consciousness in a global age require historians more than ever, though their labors need not entail the kind of historiography that has dominated a passing age.

Picturesque History and the Medieval in Nineteenth-Century America

ROBIN FLEMING

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the handful of American men who produced medieval history, and the larger number of men, women, and children who consumed it, did so against a physical backdrop that was increasingly, self-consciously, and idiosyncratically medieval. A revolution in taste and culture in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s had transformed areas of prosperity in America from solemn settlements of saltbox meeting houses and neoclassical façades to flamboyant neighborhoods of carpentered Gothic and red-brick Romanesque. By the time Henry Adams sat down with his students in the 1870s to write America's first academic history of the Middle Ages, Gothic and Romanesque-revival churches and town halls were coming to dominate urban centers across the country, and many houses, including Adams's own, were being crammed with Gothic-inspired kerosene lamps, encastled teapots, and dangerously crenelated baby cribs.¹ I would argue that, from the time medieval history was first examined in America in the mid-nineteenth century until the 1890s and the founding of the *American Historical Review*, this world of medievalizing architecture and Gothic household goods exhibited exactly the same sensibilities as the medieval history written by Americans. This Picturesque History shared with the more general Victorian culture of medievalism a love of the Romantic, a notion that the external trappings of the medieval represented deep and profound virtues, a fascination with false origins and half-understood science, and a habit of collecting historical details and then pasting them together to form a grand, anachronistic whole. Within half a decade of the founding of the *AHR*, however, the look, the function, and the purpose of the medieval had been transformed. Its dramatic narrative had been curtailed, its lessons for the present were less clear, and its supposed virtues were deemed irrelevant. In order to appreciate the revolution in historical sensibilities spurred on by the *AHR*, one has first to come to grips with medieval history before the *AHR*. And to do this, one must understand the material culture of medievalism that shadowed and reflected the written history produced in late nineteenth-century America.

¹ For this revolution in taste and culture, see James Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture* (New York, 1965); and Clifford E. Clark, "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840–1870," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 7 (1976): 33–56. For the objects described, see Katharine S. Howe and David B. Warren, *The Gothic Revival Style in America, 1830–70* (Houston, Tex., 1976), nos. 120, 145, 98.

THE OUTWARD APPEARANCE OF THE HOUSES inhabited by prosperous families in the nineteenth century, the churches in which they worshiped, and the elaborate graveyards in which they chose to be buried were more than a matter of unreflective personal taste: these buildings were a self-conscious expression of the virtues of the well-heeled Protestants who built them. As Henry Ward Beecher wrote about domestic architecture in 1859: "A house is the shape which a man's thoughts take when he imagines how he should live. Its interior is a measure of his social and domestic nature; its exterior, of his esthetic and artistic nature. It interprets, in material form, his ideas of home, of friendship, and of comfort."² Thus the choice of medieval-inspired architecture was not seen simply as a decision dictated by fashion but was viewed instead as an indication of its patrons' values. Victorian buildings, of course, took many forms, and they were inspired by many historical models. The most fanciful of these—Egyptian, Greek, and Venetian—were all popular mid-century styles. But the medievalizing forms of America's leading architects, men such as Andrew Jackson Downing, Alexander Jackson Davis, James H. Dakin, and H. H. Richardson, were by far the most popular. An important reason for this was medieval architecture's impeccable Christian past. A number of mid-century Americans were discomfited by the popularity of "pagan" revival styles—in particular, Greek and Egyptian—believing that "heathen taste and anti-Christian usage in architecture . . . is, or should be unreal and unnatural everywhere."³ Medieval designs, in contrast, were deemed thoroughly Christian. That the great monuments of Romanesque and Gothic architecture were the products of a Catholic millennium, and that they were hailed in modern times by England's crypto-Catholics and ecclesiologists, seems not to have troubled the Protestant Brahmins who patronized the style.⁴ American architects and their patrons were able to ignore Gothic's "papist" beginnings by relying on a faulty and ahistorical memory of the style's origins. Although the typology of medieval architecture had been carefully worked out in the early nineteenth century in detailed volumes such as Thomas Rickman's study *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1817), many of America's Gothic popularizers elaborated and theorized on the faulty, if charming, notions of the eighteenth-century antiquarian James Hall, who believed that the pointed arch developed from a wicker Gothic style perfected by the early Anglo-Saxons.⁵ (See Figure 1.) American

² H. W. Beecher, "Building a House," *Star Papers* (New York, 1859), quoted in Clark, "Domestic Architecture," 56.

³ George Templeton Strong, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., 4 vols. (New York, 1974), 1: 229.

⁴ For the use of Gothic in English ecclesiastical architecture, see Clive Wainwright, "'Not a Style But a Principle': Pugin and His Influence," in *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright, eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 7–8; Roderick O'Donnell, "Pugin as a Church Architect," in Atterbury and Wainwright, 63–90; James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (London, 1990), 115–19. For the adoption of Gothic by American Protestant churches, see Peter W. Williams, "The Medieval Heritage in American Religious Architecture," in *Medievalism in American Culture*, Bernard Rosenthal and Paul Szarmach, eds. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989), 178–84; Early, *Romanticism and American Architecture*, 112–36.

⁵ Sir James Hall, *Essay on the Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1797), plate xi. Similar notions of Gothic's "Saxon" origins can be found in Batty Langley, *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved by a Great Variety of Useful Designs, Entirely New, in the Gothick Mode, for the Ornamenting*

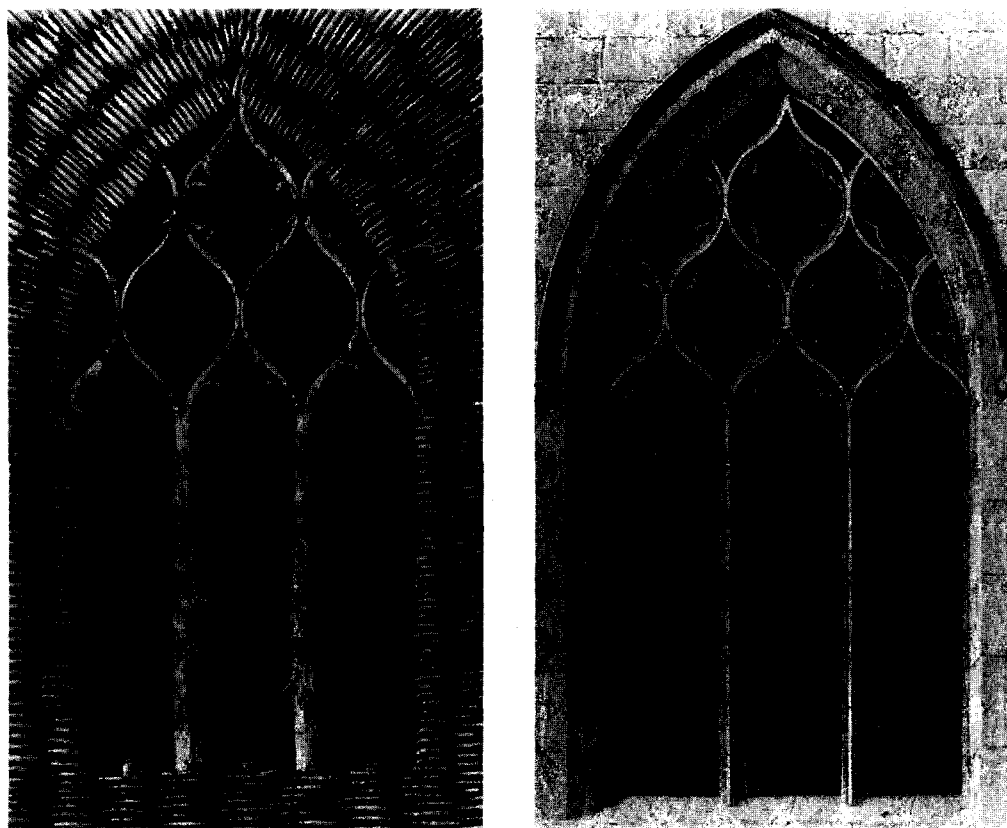


FIGURE 1: Illustration of a wicker Gothic window, in James Hall, *Essay on the Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1797).

writers gave weight to the belief that the pointed arches and delicate tracery of Gothic had their roots not in the twelfth century or the church but rather in the imitation of groves and bowers under which the Druids performed their sacred rites.⁶ According to advocates of this theory, Gothic was an authentic, Teutonic style, gradually tamed and civilized by pious Germanic Christians of unspecified denomination.⁷ Because the ancestry of Gothic was grafted onto the seductive myth of Anglo-Saxon origins, America's Protestant consumers of medievalizing architecture were less troubled than their English Low Church contemporaries by

of *Buildings and Gardens* (London, 1742); and *Gothick Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions* (London, 1747).

⁶ Arthur O. Lovejoy, "The First Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature," in *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, Md., 1948), 153–59.

⁷ Contemporary English examples of a similar leap from ax-swinging heathen to respectable modern Protestant, without the interim phase of medieval "Catholic," are legion. Charles Kingsley, for example, the popular novelist and Regius Professor of History at Cambridge from 1860 to 1869, believed that the Anglican church was a direct descendant of the Germanic past. As he wrote to his wife, "I say that the Church of England is wonderfully and mysteriously fitted for the souls of a free Norse-Saxon race, for men whose ancestors fought by the side of Odin, over whom a descendant of Odin now rules." *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life*, Fanny Kingsley, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1877), 1: 253.

the Catholic roots of the style. Such false genealogies, Protestant theorizing, and heavy-handed morality were at the core of all medieval products in nineteenth-century America, whether architectural or historical.

The mythic significance of medieval architecture and its honorable Teutonic pedigree made it particularly suitable, according to Victorian architects, for the houses of captains of industry and scions of old wealth. Andrew Jackson Downing, one of the leading lights of the American Gothic movement, argued (with not entirely disinterested vehemence) that Gothic architecture was the only style for industrialists, those “men of imagination . . . whose aspirations never leave them at rest—men whose ambition and energy will give them no peace within the mere bounds of rationality. These are the men for picturesque villas—country-houses with high roofs, steep gables, unsymmetrical and capricious forms.”⁸ Genius and imagination found a flamboyant outlet in the arches and crenelations of Gothic. Downing did not, however, limit himself or his wealthy clients to Gothic but worked in other medieval styles as well. In *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), for example, he provided plans for a Norman villa, complete with dog-tooth doorways and blind, round-arched arcading. Like all of Downing’s historical concoctions, his plan for this Norman residence is not an academic reproduction but rather an oddly stodgy interpretation of a genuine historical style, complete with a “Romanesque verandah” and detailed instructions for oak wainscoting. Downing waxed eloquently, if somewhat confusingly (since he was discussing a Norman house), about the “historical and poetic interest in a style which was common in the early times of the Anglo-Saxons.”⁹ By pasting elements of the remote past onto the surface of a plain old house, Downing was able to invest both the building and its owner with dignity, imagination, and a (sham) relationship with the antique.

Well-to-do Americans in the early years of the medieval revival held that the adoption of the outward forms of medieval style in churches, country villas, and public buildings was more than a reflection of personality, genius, and social standing; it promoted their class’s values: vigor, fear of God, and chivalry. Indeed, Downing, while praising the virtues of Gothic residences, wrote, “a good house (and by this I mean a fitting, tasteful, and significant dwelling) is a powerful means of civilization.”¹⁰ He began *The Architecture of Country Houses*, much of which is devoted to medieval styles, by stating:

⁸ Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York, 1850), 263.

⁹ Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses*, doorways and arcading, figs. 118 and 114; veranda and wainscoting, 281, 285; quote, 281.

¹⁰ Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses*, v. Not everyone was as enthusiastic about domestic Gothic. In 1846, one anonymous reviewer wrote: “It was quite pardonable in Horace Walpole and Sir Walter Scott to build gingerbread houses in imitation of robber barons and Bluebeard chieftains; they were poets and had written Gothic romances . . . But there can be nothing more grotesque, more absurd, or more affected, than for a quiet gentleman, who has made his fortune in the peaceful occupation of selling calicoes, and who knows no more of the middle ages than they do of him, to erect for his family residence a gimcrack of a Gothic castle . . . as though he anticipated an attack upon his roost from some Front de Boeuf in the neighborhood.” *New York Mirror*, October 17, 1846, quoted in Alice P. Kenney and Leslie J. Workman, “Ruins, Romance, and Reality: Medievalism in Anglo-American Imagination and Taste, 1750–1840,” *Winterthur Portfolio*, 10 (1975): 156–58.

there is a moral influence in a country home—when, among an educated, truthful, and refined people, it is an echo of their character—which is more powerful than any mere oral teaching of virtue and morality. That family, whose religion lies away from its threshold, will show but slender results from the best teachings, compared with another where the family hearth is made a central point of the Beautiful and the Good. And much of that feverish unrest and want of balance between the desire and the fulfillment of life, is calmed and adjusted by the pursuit of tastes which result in making a little world of the family home, where truthfulness, beauty, and order have the largest dominion. The mere sentiment of home, with its thousand associations, has, like a strong anchor, saved many a man from shipwreck in the storms of life. How much the moral influence of that sentiment may be increased, by making the home all that it should be.¹¹

These eccentric and anachronistic buildings, then, with their falsified origins and moral weight, were made both to represent their owners' worth and provide a means through which their hearts and their nation could be tamed and civilized.

Striving members of the urban classes, who remained outside the charmed circle of the Brahmin elite, rapidly joined their social betters in embracing the new Gothic aesthetic. With Downing's publication of *Cottage Residences* in 1842, descriptions, explanations, and architectural plans for modest Gothic dwellings, some as small as four rooms and as inexpensive to build as \$330, were available to shopkeepers and schoolteachers and to men and women who lived in places without architects.¹² The designs provided by Downing were less opulent than the grand medieval villas he would produce for the very rich, but they were also more comfortable and more practical, and some plans were even offered for households without servants. Such pattern books brought about the popularization of a kind of inexpensive and industrially produced Gothic for the middle classes, and they democratized the style. Over one hundred different pattern books, which included plans for Gothic houses, were in circulation in America by the second half of the nineteenth century, illustrating the enormous popularity of medieval domestic architecture.¹³ Some of these books were produced by professional architects, following in the footsteps of Downing, such as Gervase Wheeler with his *Rural Homes*; and, like their inspiration, they included original floor plans and thoughtful essays on the Goodness and the Beauty of Gothic.¹⁴ Other pattern books, however, available in penny editions, were knocked off by amateur authors for a mass audience. Representative of this latter class of manuals is Daniel Harrison Jacques's *The House: A Pocket Manual of Rural Architecture*. Jacques had written a series of other handbooks, including *How to Behave* and *Domestic Animals*, and his publisher, Fowler and Wells, was most famous for its bulky list of volumes on phrenology, mesmerism, and hydropathy.¹⁵ Jacques, like the original high

¹¹ Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses*, v–vi. For further examples of the link between Gothic domestic architecture and the institution of morality in society, see Clark, "Domestic Architecture," 43–46.

¹² Andrew Jackson Downing, *Cottage Residences: or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas* (New York, 1842), figs. 18–20.

¹³ *American Architectural Books: New Expanded Edition*, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, ed. (New York, 1976), index under "House Pattern Books," 126–27.

¹⁴ Gervase Wheeler, *Rural Homes or Sketches of Houses Suited to American Country Life* (New York, 1852).

¹⁵ Daniel Harrison Jacques, *The House: A Pocket Manual of Rural Architecture: or, How to Build Country*

priests of Gothic style, asserted that a house was emblematic of the society that produced it, and he began his little volume with a semi-plagiarized discourse on the history of the house, beginning with the "wigwam of the North American Savage" and ending with a lengthy exposition on the laudable "Saxon Hall."¹⁶ Thus, within two decades of its origins, high-cant medievalism was opened up to Americans of all social classes through the conduit of cheap, illustrated books.¹⁷ The moral content of the medieval and its transformative powers were, by the 1850s, within the grasp of large numbers of Americans.

In their pattern books, Downing and others not only provided floor plans and cost estimates for Gothic dwellings, but they made suggestions for relatively inexpensive Gothic furnishings as well. Indeed, they provided blueprints for an entire domestic life fashioned along medievalized lines. Downing himself, for example, suggested that the owners of Gothic villas have in their hallways Gothic-style hat and cloak stands and that they furnish their libraries with Gothic bookcases designed with room at the top for the "busts of distinguished men."¹⁸ The high arbiters of medieval taste believed strongly that even the modest owners of tiny Gothic houses should decorate the interiors of their homes in a "Gothic" manner and that this would lead, automatically, to uplift and self-improvement. One architect, for example, admonished "every cottager . . . to possess a general encyclopaedia and to take a newspaper." Harper and Brothers, as a result of the rising demand from modest cottagers, published a series of inexpensive didactic books, the bindings of which were decorated with Gothic designs.¹⁹

The transformation of a taste for the medieval among the wealthy and educated few into a design with mass appeal led to the large-scale production of medieval-style objects by the factories of an industrializing America. From the 1840s onward, medieval-inspired objects were increasingly produced and consumed by rich and poor alike. Absurdly commonplace and modern objects, such as ketchup bottles, creamers, and cast-iron stoves (see Figure 2), were produced in Gothic form and brought into the households of all social classes.²⁰ The 1840s and 1850s also saw the birth of mass-produced, factory-made furniture, much of which was created in wildly imaginative medieval forms.²¹ So, although the medieval revival had its origins in America among the nation's wealthiest families, it rapidly took on a common currency among America's other classes. Indeed, the medieval had

Houses and Out-Buildings (New York, 1859). The author's other works are listed before the title page. A list of Fowler and Wells's other publications is printed in twelve pages of advertisements after the index.

¹⁶ Jacques, *House*, 9–12.

¹⁷ For the role of cheaply produced books in the popularization of medieval history, see Roy Strong, *Recreating the Past: British History and the Victorian Painter* (London, 1978), 33–34.

¹⁸ Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses*, 441, 445–46.

¹⁹ J. C. Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (London, 1839), 353, quoted in Edgar de N. Mayhew and Minor Myers, *A Documentary History of American Interiors from the Colonial Era to 1915* (New York, 1980), 173.

²⁰ Robin Fleming, "Nineteenth-Century New England's Memory of the Middle Ages," in *Memory and the Middle Ages*, Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinburg, eds. (Boston, 1995), no. 73; Howe and Warren, *Gothic Revival Style*, nos. 121, 155–58.

²¹ Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression* (Philadelphia, 1964), 298.



FIGURE 2: Gothic cast-iron stove, by Jagger, Treadwell, and Perry (New York, 1846). Old Sturbridge Village photo by Thomas Neill. Courtesy of Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts, acc. no. 2.77.68.

become one of the central products of America's growing mass and consumer cultures.

The mass production and domestication of the medieval led nineteenth-century consumers to have a highly eccentric and anachronistic relationship with the medieval past. It was at once exotic and familiar, and the spirit of the age was more important than any empirical truth about it.²² Representations of Gothic churches, for example, could be found at the center of elaborate sets of mantel decorations that were, as objects, Rococo-revival in style and made from cast and then gilt metal, marble, and cut-glass crystals. As hideous as Las Vegas, these

²² For notions of Victorian eclecticism, see Michael Bright, *Cities Built to Music: Aesthetic Theories of the Victorian Gothic Revival* (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), 48–58.

garnitures were also available with other “historically” inspired bases: Ivanhoe, Pocahantas, and Daniel Boone.²³ History in the decorative arts had a kind of paste-on quality, one in which any number of quasi-historical motifs would do. A range of periods and artistic elements were often found jostling together on the surface of the same object. In the charmingly anachronistic household products churned out in the Gothic style for large markets in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, pressed glass and molded ceramics were the sites of wild historical infelicities. The Gothic arches on pressed-glass goblets were sometimes filled with classically draped figures. Gothic molasses jugs were enlivened with acanthus leaves and classical heads or figures of the Apostles dressed in Renaissance garb; and cast-iron stoves, laced with a web of Gothic window-paning, were decorated with impressions of Jacques Louis David’s *Napoleon on Mont Saint-Bernard*.²⁴ This embrace of the historically inaccurate was not only true for glass and pottery manufacturers but even for professionally trained architects. Around 1845, the notable architect James H. Dakin designed a glorious church—a staid, stolid thirteenth-century building from the tower down and a lacy, onion-domed wonder at the top. (See Figure 3.) The next year, Joseph Collins Wells began the Bowen House in Woodstock, Connecticut, a wooden Gothic villa that included on its grounds a pink Gothic bowling alley.²⁵ Three decades later, one of America’s most famous architects, H. H. Richardson, built Boston’s Trinity Church. On the outside, this church is streaky-bacon Romanesque, pierced by a Gothic rose, and topped with a Salamancan tower; on the inside, it is adorned with the Gothic, Renaissance, and Japanese-inspired murals of John La Farge.²⁶ Richardson, about the time he was designing this extraordinary building, sat for a series of formal portraits for photographer George Collins Cox. (See Figure 4.) Dressed as a medieval monk, he apparently envisioned himself and his wholeheartedly anachronistic designs as legitimate heirs to the medieval past. It seems, therefore, that for both producers and consumers of Victorian *medievalia*, a variety of past styles, motifs, and images were all equally evocative of the Middle Ages, all equally uplifting, and any one would do.

The domestic application of medieval styles in America was always dogged by presentism as well as anachronism, and in both houses and household objects nineteenth-century sentiments were often seen lurking beneath a Gothic façade. Solid Federal houses overlooking New Haven harbor, for example, were stripped in the 1850s of their classical porticoes and newly decorated with Gothic verandas.²⁷ In Kennebunkport, Maine, a brick Federalist mansion, originally built

²³ Fleming, “Nineteenth-Century New England,” nos. 83a–c; *Nineteenth-Century American Furniture and Other Decorative Arts: An Exhibition in Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970), no. 111; Howe and Warren, *Gothic Revival Style*, nos. 114–15.

²⁴ Fleming, “Nineteenth-Century New England,” no. 79, nos. 80–81; Howe and Warren, *Gothic Revival Style*, no. 155.

²⁵ William H. Pierson, *Technology and the Picturesque: The Corporate and Early Gothic Styles* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), 413–16.

²⁶ For Richardson’s plans and drawings of Trinity Church, see James F. O’Gorman, *Selected Drawings: H. H. Richardson and His Office* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 42–51. For a complete catalog of Richardson’s works, see Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson, Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982). For his eclecticism, see James O’Gorman, *Three American Architects* (Chicago, 1991), 13–34.

²⁷ Julius Trousdale Sadler, “A Gothic Sampling,” *Nineteenth Century*, 2 (1976): 21–22.



FIGURE 3: Architectural drawing of a church by James H. Dakin, America, nineteenth century. Courtesy of the New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.

around 1800, was encased in the middle of the century with a lacy wooden overlay of Gothic arches and trefoils. (See Figure 5.) In New Haven as in Kennebunkport, the houses were transformed when they were gothicized, but they were scarcely

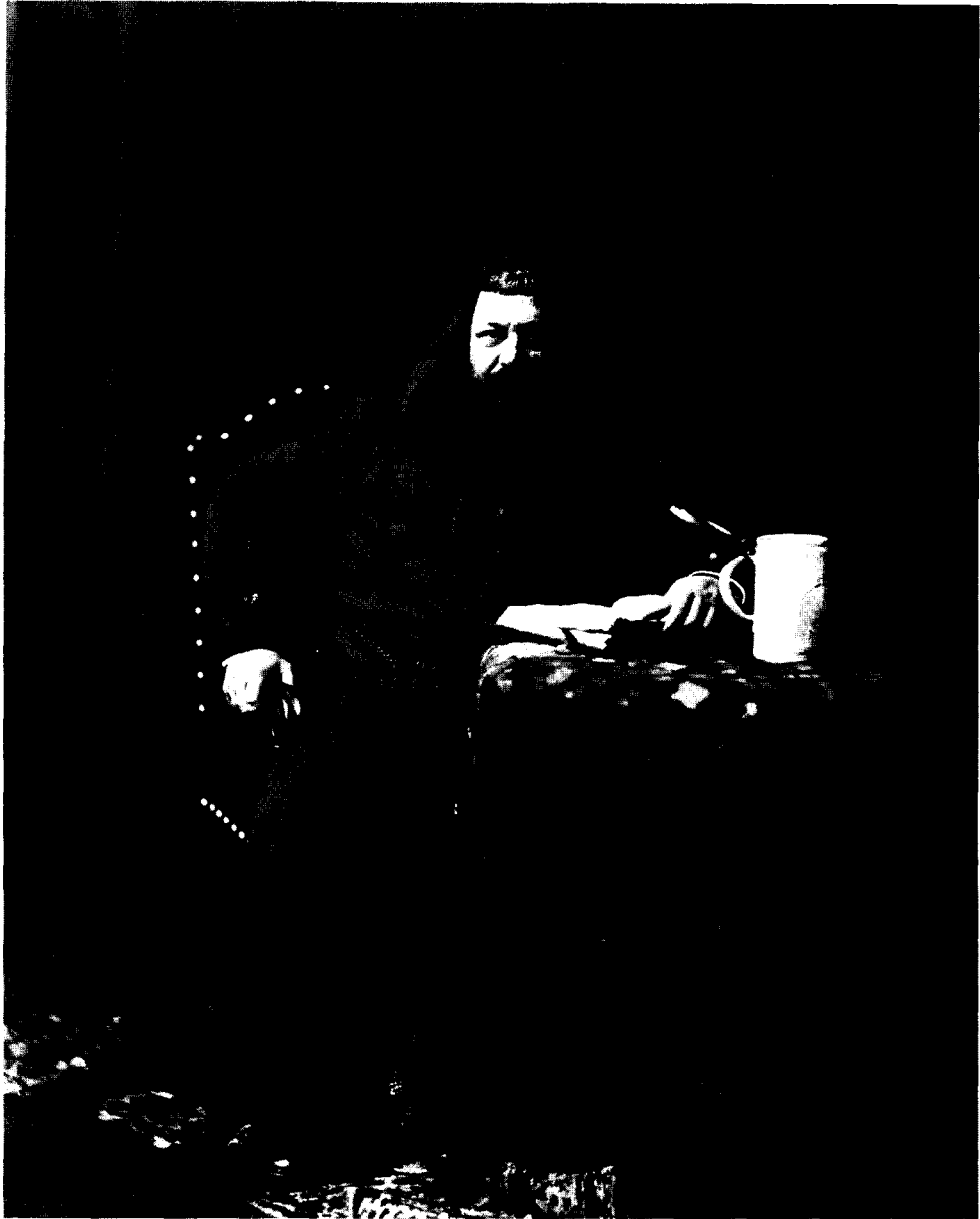


FIGURE 4: Portrait of H. H. Richardson, photograph by George Collins Cox, *circa* 1875. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Massachusetts, neg. no. 15014-B.

disguised. Medieval-style objects of the period, moreover, often came in the form of modern gadgets and were, therefore, overtly the products of the latest science and technology.²⁸ In *The Stones of Venice* (1851–53), John Ruskin praised Gothic architecture because of the magnificent science of its structure and the sacredness

²⁸ American architects, too, were fascinated by science and technology, and many were as interested in mechanical production and new building technology as they were in medieval design. Michael W. Brooks, *John Ruskin and Victorian Architecture* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), 286–87.

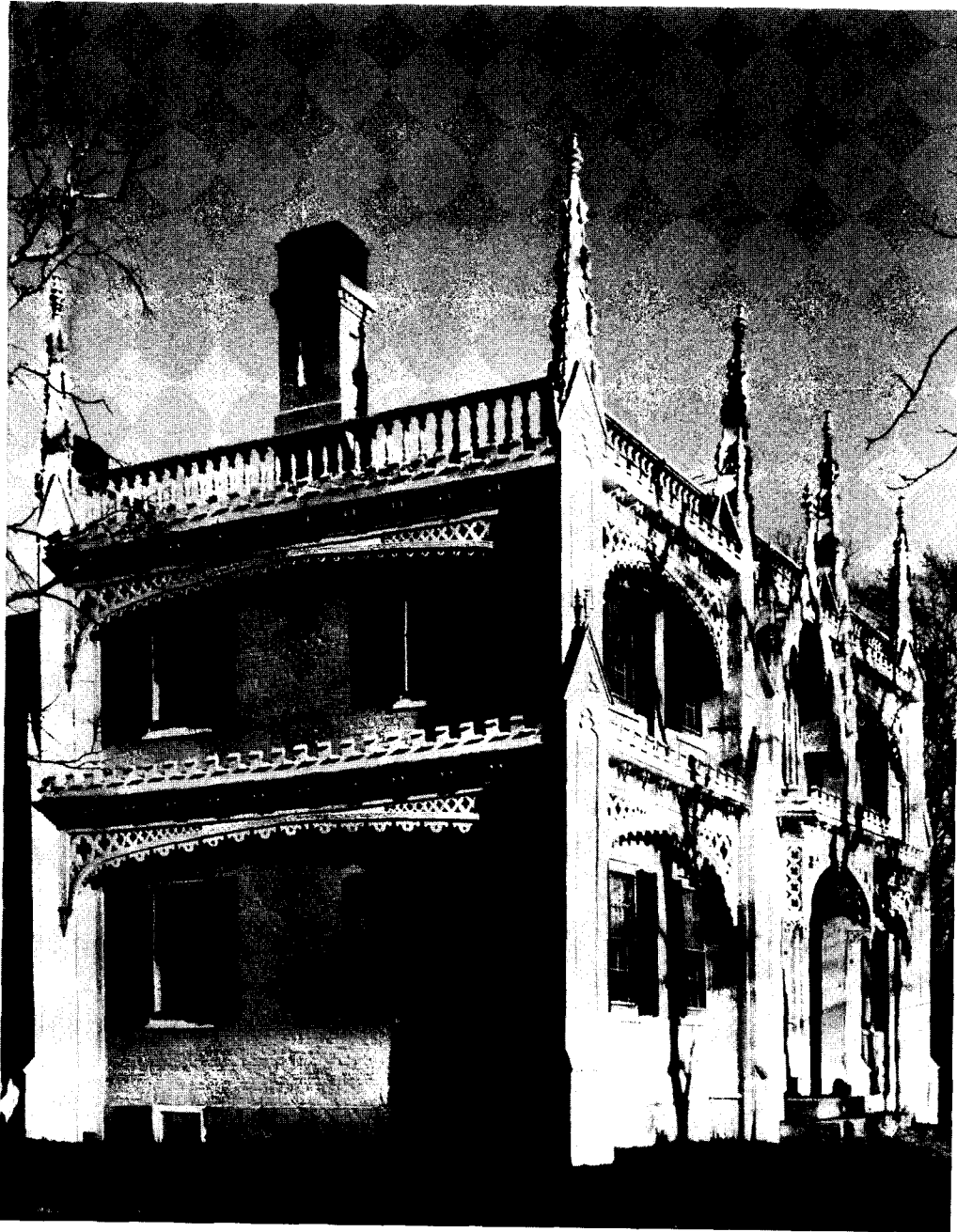


FIGURE 5: Wedding-cake house, in *Carpentered Gothic: Nineteenth-Century Ornamented Houses of New England*, by A. de C. McArdle and D. B. McArdle (New York, 1978).

of its expression. A similar marriage of modern industrial science and spirituality might well have applied to the cast-iron Gothic clocks adorned with classical nudes, willow trees, and odd-looking Greek temples, or to the locomotives that were decorated with Gothic arches.²⁹

²⁹ John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1851), 2: 178–79; Howe and Warren, *Gothic*

The eclecticism rising out of this haphazard mix of styles and jumble of the past and present resulted in a not very cerebral and not very academic application of past forms to present buildings and objects. American medieval products were largely untouched by the heated debates in England over the necessity of historically correct, archaeological adaptations of Gothic championed by A. W. Pugin, England's great Gothic-revival architect.³⁰ Pugin's satirical and critical depiction of a modern-day cemetery, with its Nubian gods, classical porticoes, and Gothic arches (Figure 6), is surprisingly close to the first American garden cemetery's straight-faced adaptation of an eclectic Gothic style (Figure 7). Jacob Bigelow had designed a mortuary chapel for his cemetery that was an exotic, Turkish-inspired Gothic (built within sight of the cemetery's sphinx Civil War monument), which the architect himself happily described as "a Westminster Abbey, Pantheon, or Valhalla."³¹ The American producers of medieval buildings and objects, then, unlike their English contemporaries, were completely uninterested in re-creating academically perfect replicas of the medieval. Instead, by putting together a variety of decorations appropriated from a generic medieval vocabulary, the purveyors of the medieval in America sought to stir the heart and mind and to recall a Romantic and idealized version of the medieval past, not present in the Middle Ages but in the popular poetry, paintings, and novels of the age.³²

NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA'S APPROACH TO MEDIEVAL HISTORY mirrored the sensibilities it displayed in medieval-revival architecture and household goods. The medieval history Americans read, wrote, and taught their children was as ahistorical and rooted in the present as any Gothic stove, and, like Downing's Gothic cottages, it was freighted with a heavy moral content. Historians of the period, moreover, like architects, furniture designers, and glass manufacturers, were more interested in the appearance of the surface than in the structures underneath.³³ And, like Gothic household goods, medieval history was eclectic, anachronistic, and produced for a mass audience. Take, for instance, the medieval history produced for American children during this period. The purpose of its study, according to textbook authors, was to inculcate morality and not to overheat the intellect. The preface to one 1860s history reader explains that "we have, indeed, been desirous to cultivate the memory, the intellect, and the taste. But much more anxious have we been to sow the seeds of virtue by showing the

Revival Style, no. 113; Calder Louth and Julius Trousedale Sadler, *The Only Proper Style: Gothic Architecture in America* (Boston, 1975), 83.

³⁰ Megan Aldrich, *Gothic Revival* (London, 1994), 130–73; Clive Wainwright, "The Antiquary and Collector," in Atterbury and Wainwright, *Pugin: A Gothic Passion*, 91–103.

³¹ James F. O'Gorman, *On the Boards: Drawings of Nineteenth-Century Boston Architects* (Philadelphia, 1989), 34–35. See also Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), 269–74, 283–88.

³² For an overview of the nineteenth-century literary and artistic version of the Middle Ages, see Strong, *Recreating the Past*, 30–36.

³³ David C. Huntington, *Art and the Excited Spirit: America in the Romantic Period* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972), 4–15.

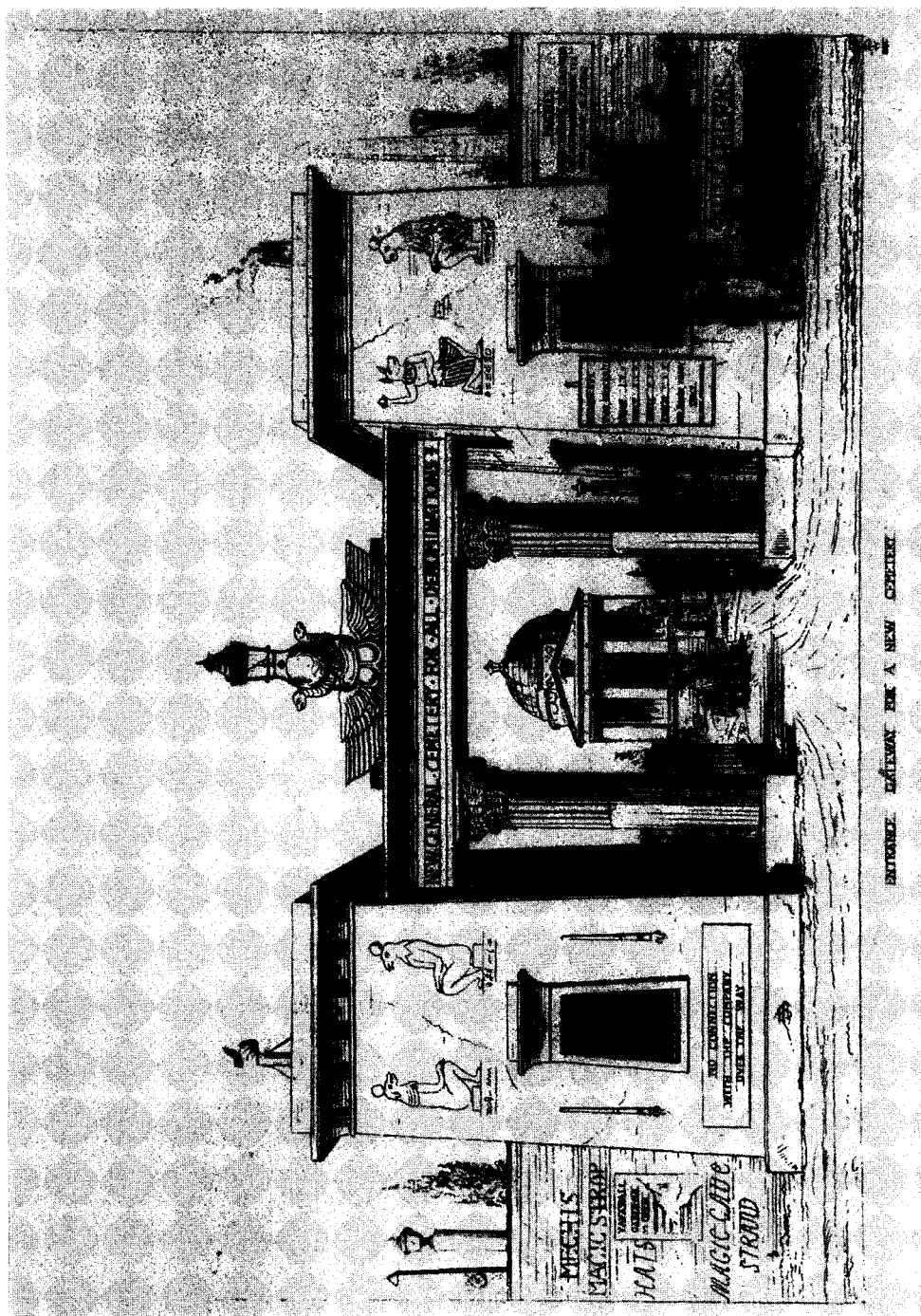


FIGURE 6: Drawing of a nineteenth-century cemetery gate, in *Contrasts*, by A. Welby Pugin (London, 1841).

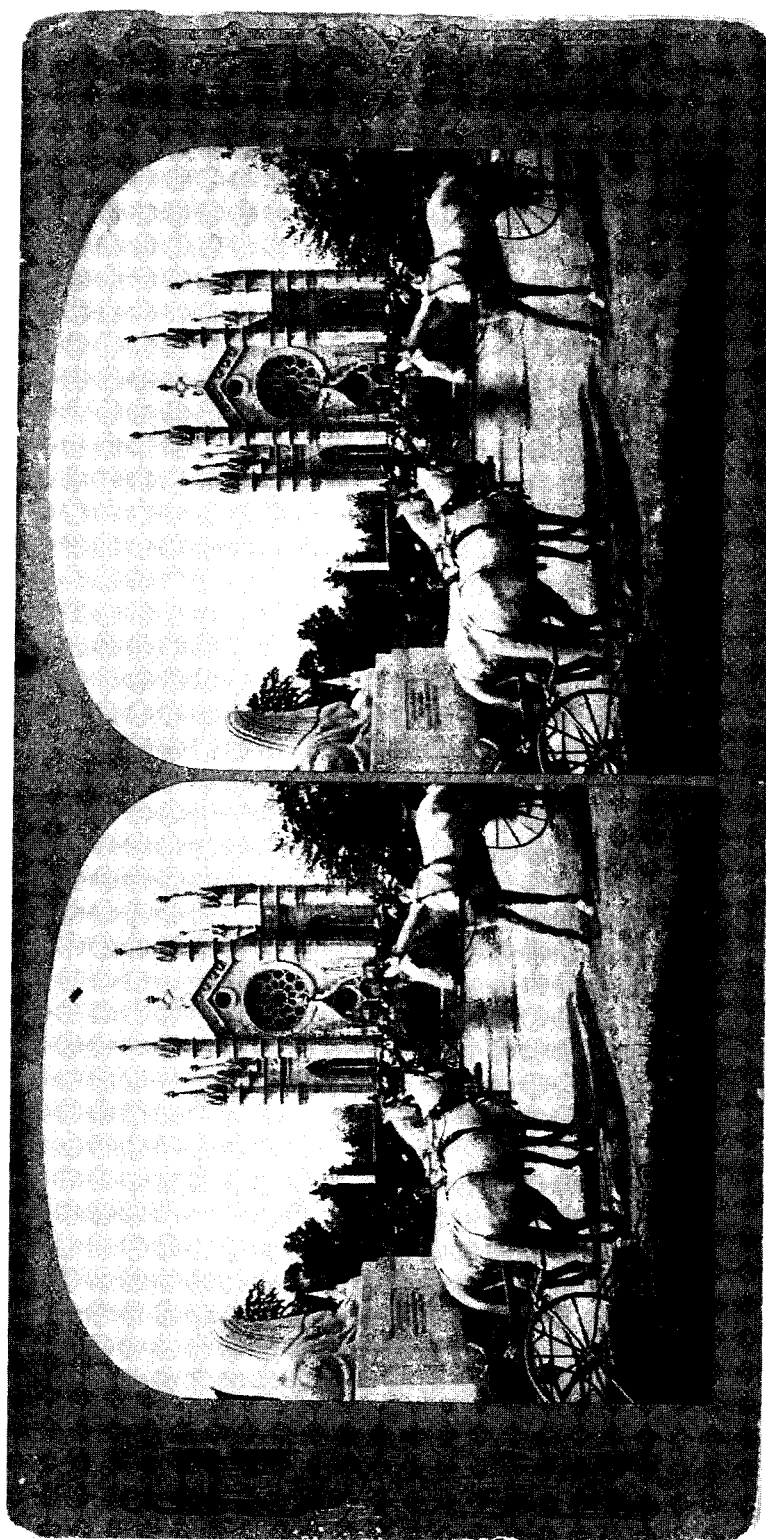


FIGURE 7: Stereographic view of Bigelow's Chapel, Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, neg. no. 146663-B.

good in such amicable lights that the youthful heart shall kindle into desires of imitation.”³⁴ Medieval figures’ own histories and accomplishments in these books were reworked so that the stories of their lives could serve as *exempla* for children. In Miss Bunbury’s *Sketches of the Life of Alfred the Great*, published at mid-century and widely distributed in America, each incident of the king’s life was interpreted as an act of modern-day charity, so that Alfred might stand as “a model for imitation.” Miss Bunbury’s comments on Alfred’s defeat of the Viking Guthrum, for example, were reserved for Guthrum’s forced conversion to Christianity: “The promotion of Christian and useful knowledge amongst the ignorant and degraded is the noblest occupation in which we can engage.”³⁵ The author was also careful to leave out the scandalous story of Alfred’s father’s second marriage. Similar lessons about proper conduct and belief could be drawn in the 1840s by children who played the history board games produced by W. and S. B. Ives. In “Mohamet and Saladin: or, The Battle for Palestine,” the game’s instructions informed readers that the child who played the Christians was represented by a white marker, while the one who played the Muslims was represented by a black marker, “as an emblem of ignorance and as denoting the gloom of error and superstition.”³⁶ For those who thought of buying “Pope and Pagan: or, The Siege of the Stronghold of Satan,” the company’s advertisement stated that “this simple amusement exhibits a band of devoted missionaries attacking the strong-hold of Satan defended by the papal and pagan Antichrist.” (See Figure 8.) Thus were the Protestant, middle-class virtues of America’s Anglo-Saxon inhabitants taught through the lessons of a particular kind of history—one that was virtuous, dramatic, and closely allied to the present.

Adults were also consumers of medieval history. Increasingly, English and Continental medievalists were read by educated Americans after the Civil War, and reviews and discussions of their works appeared regularly in journals with important readerships, including *The North American Review* and *The Atlantic Monthly*.³⁷ Celebrated medieval historians, moreover, such as Englishman Edward A. Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, were popular on the American lecture circuit.³⁸ But there were also homegrown medievalists. As early as 1840, enthusiasts could attend public lectures by the American Asahel Davis on

³⁴ Emma Willard, quoted in Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, Neb., 1964), 226.

³⁵ Selina Bunbury, *Sketches of the Life of Alfred the Great* (London, n.d.), 45, 33. In the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the publisher of *Sketches*, put out between fifty and sixty children’s books each year. The society had close links with the American Episcopal Church, and its books were widely distributed in the United States. W. K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.* (London, 1959), 184, 115, 127.

³⁶ “Mohamet and Saladin: or, The Battle for Palestine,” W. and S. B. Ives Co., Salem, Massachusetts, 1846, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, acc. no. 131.803.

³⁷ Henry Adams wrote about a dozen reviews for *The North American Review* on the work of English and German medieval historians. They have been collected and printed in *Sketches for the North American Review*, Edward Chalfant, ed. (Hamden, Conn., 1986). John Fiske also wrote a number of articles on the latest research in medieval history for *The Atlantic Monthly*. See, for example, “The Races of the Danube,” *Atlantic Monthly*, 39 (1877): 401–11; “Who Are the Aryans?” 47 (1881): 233–34.

³⁸ For the content of Freeman’s American lectures, see Edward A. Freeman, *Lectures to American Audiences* (Philadelphia, 1882). For a description of his reception in America, see Herbert Baxter Adams, “Mr. Freeman’s Visit to Baltimore,” *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 1 (1883): 5–11.

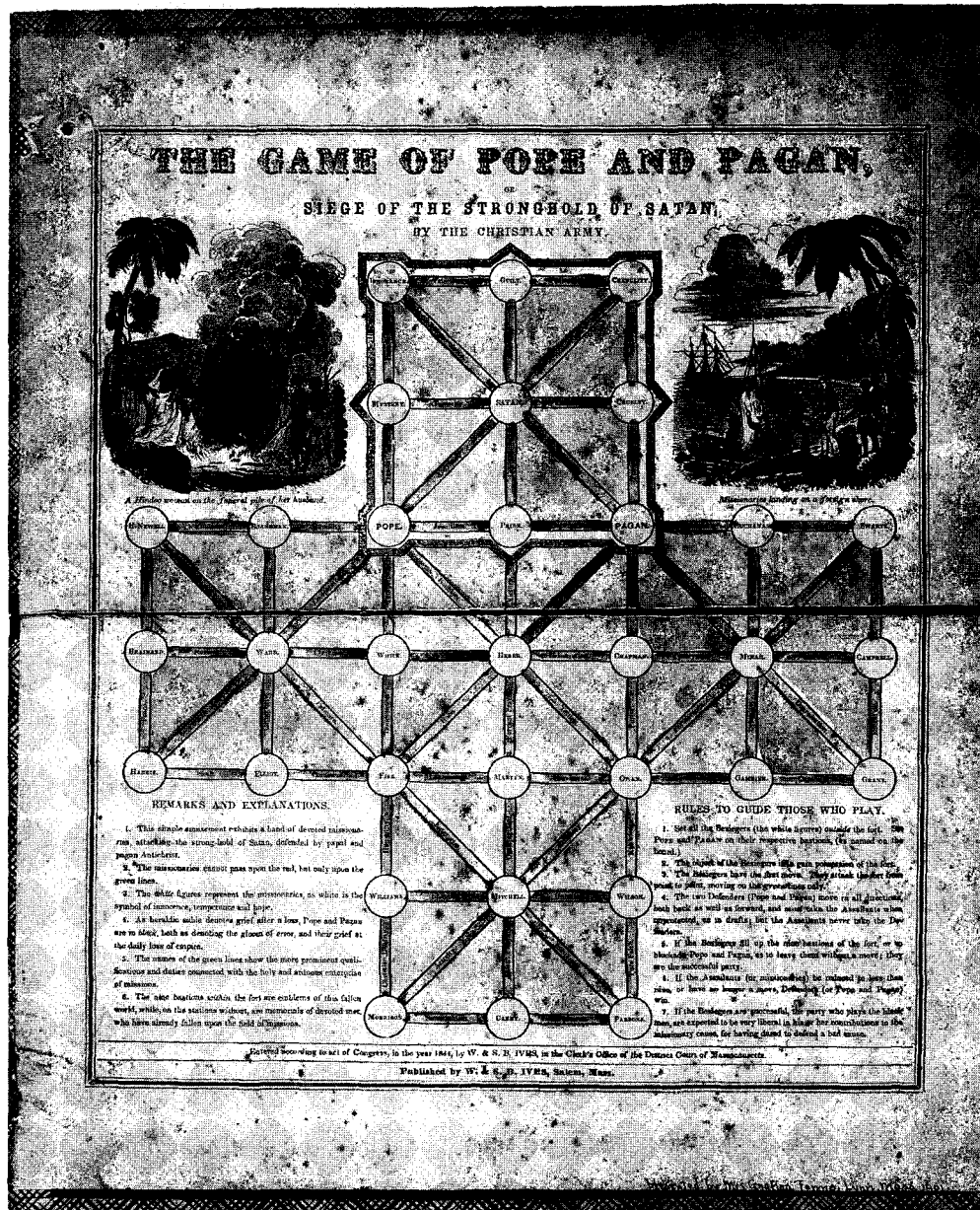


FIGURE 8: "The Game of Pope and Pagan: or, The Seige of the Stronghold of Satan," board game, by W. and S. B. Ives, Salem, Massachusetts, *circa* 1844. Cardboard and paper. Courtesy of the Peabody & Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. acc. no. 4216.2.

the supposed Viking settlement of New England, and in the 1860s and 1870s audiences across the country were treated to John Fiske's enthusiastic public ruminations on the Anglo-Saxon *folkmoet*.³⁹ Beginning in 1870, medieval history

³⁹ See Asahel Davis, *A Lecture on the Discovery of America by the Northmen Five Hundred Years before Columbus*, 5th edn. (Boston, 1840). The lectures, according to the title page of this publication, were given, among other places, in New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. On

was inserted into the undergraduate curriculum in America; in 1876, Henry Adams published the first academic history of the Middle Ages produced in the country and finished training America's first medieval PhDs. By the early 1880s, so rooted in the discipline was the medieval that an understanding of that period's institutions was considered a necessary foundation for any historical inquiry.⁴⁰ The American purveyors of medieval history during this period were, by and large, men from distinguished New England families. Like American architects of the period, they were not narrow specialists but were broadly eclectic in their interests and impulses. Most wrote on an astonishingly wide range of subjects—American history, science, contemporary politics, fiction—as well as on the Middle Ages. Like other Americans engaged in the production of the medieval, they were drawn to the period because of their shared belief in the profound cultural connections between present-day America and the Middle Ages. As they studied the medieval past and wrote about it for a broad audience, they attempted to excavate the ancient origins of their own political institutions and class, and they sought to discover in the Middle Ages an idealized and romantic version of their own puzzling world.

By the time a handful of Americans began a scholarly writing of medieval history, a generation of artists, manufacturers, and British intellectuals had been building a spurious and picturesque version of medieval society. A. W. Pugin, for example, published the surprisingly popular *Contrasts; or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*. This book, in particular its second edition (1841), presented a powerful critique of modern society through a series of paired illustrations, one medieval and the other modern. Pugin's twinned pictures of a medieval almshouse, for example, and a modern poorhouse emphasized the horrors of nineteenth-century life while they lionized the morality, cleanliness, and spirituality of the medieval past.⁴¹ Such sharp, historically based social critiques were extremely influential in America, and all Americans writing in the field during this period emphasized the strong parallels between the Middle Ages and an idealized pre-industrial America.⁴² Americans who wrote medieval history were also influenced by the new "scientific" history being practiced in England and Germany, a discipline that sought to uncover the timeless general laws of

Fiske's lectures, see Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 62.

⁴⁰ Robin Fleming, "Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons," in *The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Paul Szarmach, ed. (forthcoming); Henry Adams, ed., *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* (Boston, 1876); for examples of the emphasis on medieval institutions, see Herbert B. Adams, "Introduction to American Institutional History," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 1 (1883): 13–39; and John Fiske, *American Political Ideals* (New York, 1885).

⁴¹ A. Welby Pugin, *Contrasts; or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and the Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, Shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, 2d edn. (London, 1841), figs. 3–4.

⁴² The writings of Pugin, for example, helped George Templeton Strong form his aversion to "pagan" architectural styles (*Diary of George Templeton Strong*, 1: 229). For examples of the supposed parallels between the Middle Ages and the American past, see Henry Cabot Lodge, "The Anglo-Saxon Land Law," in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 56–57; Henry Adams, "The Anglo-Saxon Courts of Law," *ibid.*, 5–6; Herbert B. Adams, "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 1 (1883): 5–38.

history.⁴³ So, ironically, while Americans studying the medieval past were deeply skeptical about the fate of the modern world, they were simultaneously enthusiastic advocates of the latest scientific developments, and they adopted what they thought to be a modern, scientific approach to history, appropriating for their studies the latest ideas of biology, geology, and philology.⁴⁴ The language these men used to describe the medieval past exhibits their conflicting urges to restore a lost world and to cure all with progress. American historians writing on the Middle Ages explained the period with a mix of Darwinian terms ("growth," "development," "life"), a vocabulary drawn from the mechanical idiom of the Industrial Age ("mechanism," "process") and the occult terminology of nineteenth-century Protestantism ("spirit," "consciousness").⁴⁵ The language of historical discourse, then, during this period, exhibited all of the features and impulses of the country's medievalizing material culture.

Medieval researchers' longing for a lost world and clear-cut ancestry and their embrace of half-understood science combined to create the central ideology of nineteenth-century American writing on the Middle Ages: that race was the driving force of history and that the "Aryan race," in particular its "Teutonic" branch, was superior to all others. The popularity of this dogma owed much to the success of European imperialism during the nineteenth century, to the adoption of this idea by German and English medievalists, and something to the application of Charles Darwin's theories on evolution to human society.⁴⁶ But, ironically, much of this doctrine's appeal for Americans lay in the fact that the nation's ruling elite, which was white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant, was beginning to lose its grip on the country in the face of mass immigration and industrialization. More and more, privileged members of New England's ruling class looked to the medieval past—in particular, the Anglo-Saxon past—to prop up their families' and their class's special rights and wealth.⁴⁷ Henry Adams's earliest work on the Middle Ages, an article he contributed to a collection he edited, *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, is ostensibly about ancient Germanic legal custom. In reality, however, it is all about his own family's place at the center of history. At the heart

⁴³ W. Stull Holt, "The Idea of Scientific History in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1 (1940): 356–57.

⁴⁴ Henry Adams, for example, often wrote in *The North American Review* about the importance of the use of the latest scientific theories and methods in his reviews of books on medieval history. See, for example, *Sketches from the North American Review*, 42, 46–47, 102–12. For late nineteenth-century American historians' lionizing of scientific history and their use of biological terminology, see Holt, "Idea of Scientific History in America," 352–62.

⁴⁵ For the development of Victorian historical vocabulary, see J. W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981), 146–47.

⁴⁶ For descriptions and discussions of nineteenth-century English adventures in Anglo-Saxonism, see Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 75–77; Burrow, *Liberal Descent*, 155–92. For nineteenth-century German discussions of race, see Charles E. McClelland, *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views* (Cambridge, 1971). For a late nineteenth-century acknowledgment of the importance of German historians, see Andrew D. White, "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," *Papers of the American Historical Association*, 1 (1885): 9–10, 25–26; Raymond J. Cunningham, "The German Historical World of Herbert Baxter Adams," *Journal of American History*, 68 (1981): 261–75. For Darwin's influence on historical writing, see Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, 1989).

⁴⁷ Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, 59–81; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York, 1981), 26–31.

of his essay lie the legal institutions of the Anglo-Saxons, in particular the hundred and its court.⁴⁸ For Adams, the hundred was “among the first, if not the first, political creation of man.” This judicial system was transported by the Anglo-Saxons, “the purest of Germanic stock,” to England as the popular assembly of freemen, in whose hands rested political administration and law. According to Adams, English monarchs in the pre-Conquest period extended their power through the confederation of hundreds across England, and this resulted in the development of a federal system. A tireless self-promoter, Adams argued that the primitive Anglo-Saxon federation, which he, in fact, had invented, was the direct ancestor of the American system of government that his own two presidential ancestors had advocated and implemented.⁴⁹ Adams’s pious valorization of the achievements of his family, which he accomplished by linking them to the great medieval past, in many ways mimics the process whereby architects such as Downing promoted their eclectic designs. There was a certain performatory aspect to Adams’s work on the Middle Ages as well. He sought to publicize and popularize his views among those who would never read his book in a series of essays for *The North American Review*.⁵⁰ It is clear that this campaign met with some success. Traces of his ideas on the Anglo-Saxon federation appear in odd places for the next quarter of a century or so, including popular poetry and in travel articles published in the popular press.⁵¹

Although efforts like Adams’s in writing medieval history were rare in late nineteenth-century America, his were not unique. In the 1880s and 1890s, Eben Horsford, Harvard’s former Rumford Professor of Chemistry, became the leading proponent of the notion that the Viking hero Leif Eriksson had founded and settled Cambridge, Massachusetts. This was not an original idea: with the translation and publication of luxury editions of the Norse sagas, Nordic history found a growing audience in New England, and a number of Americans before Horsford had written on Viking New England. In 1840, Asahel Davis produced a small pamphlet on the Viking’s discovery of New England. He wrote of medieval Iceland:

That obscure island is remarkable for the attention paid to learning . . . The Icelanders, living in a remote island, and cut off from privileges that milder climates present, were naturally led to look for happiness in pursuit of knowledge . . . Ah, yes, fondness for books will create an artificial summer in the depths of the most gloomy season. The sunny Italy may boast of the beauteous tints that flush her skies; but after all, her effeminate

⁴⁸ See above, n. 40.

⁴⁹ H. Adams, “Anglo-Saxon Courts of Law,” 6, 8, 10, 20–26. Henry Adams believed that his idea about the hundred was the most important historical principle ever to have been discovered by a modern historian, and he shamelessly promoted his view in his reviews of other historians’ works. In criticizing Henry Maine, Adams lectured that “scientific legal history” was not possible without tracing all institutions back through the hundred (*Sketches from the North American Review*, 94). In his review of William Stubbs, Adams gave a detailed exposition of his views on the hundred (116–20), and when reviewing J. R. Green, he praised the author for writing “constitutional theory of the best kind” but continued, “perhaps, however, this Review is no fair judge of the merit of Mr. Green’s idea, which is one that supports opinions as to the origin of Parliament [that is, in the hundred] which have been heretofore pressed with some eagerness in these pages . . . This historical principle is on the whole the most valuable of all those which modern investigation has discovered” (177–78).

⁵⁰ See above, n. 49.

⁵¹ Louise Dyer, “The ‘Millenary’ of King Alfred at Winchester,” *Century*, 62 (1901): 396–98.

inhabitants may be destitute of that happiness enjoyed by those who live where winter reigns uncontrolled most of the year.⁵²

With this view of Italians, it is little wonder that Davis called his tract *A Lecture on the Discovery of America by the Northmen Five Hundred Years before Columbus*. Other amateur scholars investigating Viking America depended less on racial and climactic explanations and more on the pseudo-scientific methods of the latest history. R. G. Hatfield, for example, writing in the 1870s, examined the remains of a colonial windmill in Newport. He analyzed its structure and studied other evidence (including the shapes of skulls excavated around New England) to prove that the mill was in reality a Norwegian baptistery.⁵³

But the greatest popularizer of New England's Viking myth was millionaire chemist Eben Horsford. Horsford, like so many important New England thinkers, was a man of science. He was one of the first Americans trained in chemistry. And like so many influential men of his day, he was a successful industrialist, with a large, private fortune, in his case founded on baking powder.⁵⁴ In common with many members of his class, Horsford was interested in liberal, social, and scientific experiment. During the Civil War, for example, he developed Union Army rations (and urged, without success, the adoption of the corn tortilla as the basis of the army's diet). His company, the Rumford Chemical Works, was one of the first in America with a profit-sharing plan, and he was deeply committed to women's education. Indeed, Horsford's largess helped guarantee the success of the newly founded Wellesley College.⁵⁵ Yet, in spite of his liberality and commitment to worthy causes, Horsford, like other Americans publishing on the Middle Ages, was deeply invested in the race-driven theories of Aryan superiority.

In the face of the four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery, Horsford was determined to prove that North America had been discovered not by an Italian Catholic but rather by Leif Eriksson, a man with an impeccable Aryan pedigree. Horsford, in his investigations, was able to attach the history of his class and nation to the drama of the great Teutonic past by applying the latest techniques of scientific history, pioneered in Germany and Great Britain, to his study of the Vikings. He carefully read the sagas, and attempted to place them in their proper geographical context, which he argued was the Charles River Basin. He undertook a series of place-name studies, just like medieval historians in England did, and was gratified to discover that a wide variety of names in Massachusetts—including the impeccably Algonquin Naumkeag, Namskaket, and

⁵² Davis, *Lecture on the Discovery of America*, 22. Although Davis spent most of his energies proving the Norse settlement of New England, he also wrote and lectured on the notion that the pre-Columbian pyramids of Central America were modeled directly on the Tower of Babel. Asahel Davis, *Antiquities of America, the First Inhabitants of Central America* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1846), 31.

⁵³ R. G. Hatfield, *The Old Mill at Newport* (Newport, R.I., 1879), 632–41. For other works on the Vikings in New England, see B. F. de Costa, *The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen* (Albany, N.Y., 1868).

⁵⁴ Eben Norton Horsford, *The Theory and Art of Bread-Making: A New Process without the Use of Ferment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1861); *Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone, ed., 20 vols. (New York, 1932), 9: 236–37.

⁵⁵ Eben Norton Horsford, *The Army Ration*, 2d edn. (New York, 1864); Stephen Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology: The Wild Side of North American Prehistory* (Philadelphia, 1991), 206; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. 6 (New York, 1896), 155–56.

Amoskeap—were all Old Norse in their derivation.⁵⁶ And after a determined topographical survey and extensive archaeological excavation in his own neighborhood, Horsford “discovered” an elaborately engineered system of Viking waterways throughout Boston, constructed to support the industrial efforts of the Norse settled in New England, who produced, for three centuries, thousands of tons of wooden drinking cups.⁵⁷ The large Viking city of Norumbega, founded on the banks of the Charles, was, so he wrote, the site of America’s first democratic assembly—the Althing—and the seat of America’s first Christian bishop.⁵⁸ Horsford and his daughter, over the course of the 1880s and 1890s, wrote a series of popular books on Viking Boston, and Horsford was as interested as Henry Adams had been in publicizing his discoveries. He gave public lectures, built commemorative towers, commissioned statues of Vikings, and attached Old Norse names to various sites around Boston.⁵⁹ At the core of his argument, and at the heart of his desire to place the Vikings in New England, was Horsford’s interest in linking the history of his home, his class, and his nation to the great Germanic past. In his work, he showed an absolute continuity between early Scandinavians and present-day Americans. About the Vikings in general, he wrote: “It seems increasingly likely that the homeland of the Aryans is not on the slopes of the Hindookush, but in S.E. Scandinavia, which makes the Northmen the progenitors of the Greeks, the Romans, and with the exception of one or two races, of all the nations of modern Europe; when further research establishes this to be fact, it will make the Vikings the greatest race in the history of mankind.” About Leif in particular, Horsford stated: “His ancestry were [*sic*] of the early pilgrims or Puritans who, to escape oppression, emigrated 50,000 of them in sixty years from Norway to Iceland, just as the early Pilgrims came to Plymouth. They were not of the Vikings—the class that conducted predatory excursions over the then known seas . . . They established and maintained a republican form of government, which exists to this

⁵⁶ Eben Norton Horsford, *The Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega* (Boston, 1890), 14, n. 1. He also hypothesized that Cape Cod came from the Old Norse *Kjalarnes* (p. 17). He discussed, as well, how Indian languages were affected by Old Norse (p. 41).

⁵⁷ Horsford, *Discovery*, 24–30. A number of Native American artifacts uncovered in Horsford’s excavations are still housed in Harvard’s Peabody Museum. Some are identified in a copper-plate Victorian hand as “Viking” and others as “skraeling,” the saga term for Inuit. See, for example, “*Skraeling Artifacts*” with *Nineteenth-Century Identification Card*, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, acc. nos. 45–16–10/27657 and 45–16–10/27658; *Animal Bones from a “Viking” Site*, acc. no. 01–68, cat. no. 737–22; *Supposed Bones of a Viking Warrior*, acc. no. 07–68–n/73732; “*Viking*” *Soapstone Objects*, acc. no. 46–16–10/276–59. For Horsford’s excavations and discoveries, see Horsford, *Discovery*, 24–26; Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology*, 209. Horsford’s hand-drawn maps of Viking Boston can be found at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, drawer 4, folder 27.

⁵⁸ Horsford, *Discovery*, 30, 38.

⁵⁹ For the celebrations surrounding the dedication of Horsford’s Commonwealth Avenue statue of Leif Eriksson, see Eben Horsford, *Discovery of America by Northmen: Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Leif Erikson, Delivered in Faneuil Hall, Oct. 29, 1887* (Boston, 1888). For the celebrations surrounding the opening of his “Viking” tower in Watertown, Massachusetts, see *Exercises at the Town Hall in Watertown* (Boston, n.d.). In *Discovery of the Ancient City of Norumbega*, Horsford explained that he built this commemorative Norumbega tower “to allay the blind skepticism, amounting practically to inverted ambition, that would deprive Massachusetts of the glory of . . . the earliest colony of Europeans in America” (p. 40). There was even a guidebook published by one of Horsford’s friends that pointed out the Viking sites of Boston and included the streetcar lines and the costs of fares to these sites. Elizabeth G. Shepard, *A Guide Book to Norumbega and Vineland: or, The Archaeological Treasures along Charles River* (Boston, 1893).

day.”⁶⁰ Horsford and others were able, through Leif Eriksson’s supposed settlement of New England, to take back the discovery of America from a Catholic, Mediterranean people and appropriate it for their own imagined ancestors. Indeed, in 1892, in the face of the Columbian Exposition, private funds were successfully raised and a life-sized, working model of the Gokstad ship was built, then “sailed” (in actual fact, it had to be towed) to Chicago, as a kind of protest against Columbus’s claims.⁶¹ (See Figure 9.)

At one public, Horsford-sponsored celebration of his discovery of Norumbega (which included a Wellesley College choir and a Swedish soprano), an extraordinary historical poem, written by the deservedly obscure poet H. E. Clement, was read to a crowd of Viking enthusiasts:

Sing we, then, a rugged rune,
In Emerson’s and Whittier’s tune,—
Verse for honest-spoken folk,
Compact of stuff as egg of yolk,
Simple, blunt, but yet not coarse;
Native, and still something Norse,
As is meet for kindred race,
Dwelling in the very place
Where the Norsemen moored their ships
And left their names on savage lips.
Italian Colon Iceland sought,
And tales the bardic sagas taught
Of ancient trips to Western seas
Were treasured by the Genoese.
Americus’s traitorous tale
Too long is suffered to prevail:
Christopher was not alone
Victim for a time outshone,
Where that crafty story spread
Other voyages now are read,
Other learning now avails,
With North and South in balanced scales.
Not for all wear are silk and satin;
Not all was writ in Greek and Latin . . .
Barbarous birth our language owns,
Gothic pith is in our bones;
Heart of heart in kinship warms,
With levelling Vandals’ peopling swarms,
Sturdiest stocks of old Caucasian,—
Liberty, self-rule, their passion.
Ever the same from earliest hour
To Alfred, King, and our own Mayflower.
From folk-mote to the Commonwealth
Is one straight march, naught won by stealth,

⁶⁰ Horsford, *Discovery*, 7, 54. For other Horsford publications on Norumbega, see *The Problem of the Northmen*, 2d edn. (Boston, 1890); *The Landfall of Leif Erikson, a.d. 1000, and the Site of His Houses in Vineland* (Boston, 1892); and Cornelia Horsford, *Vineland and Its Ruins: Some of the Evidence That Northmen were in Massachusetts in Pre-Columbian Days* (New York, 1899).

⁶¹ Williams, *Fantastic Archaeology*, 205.

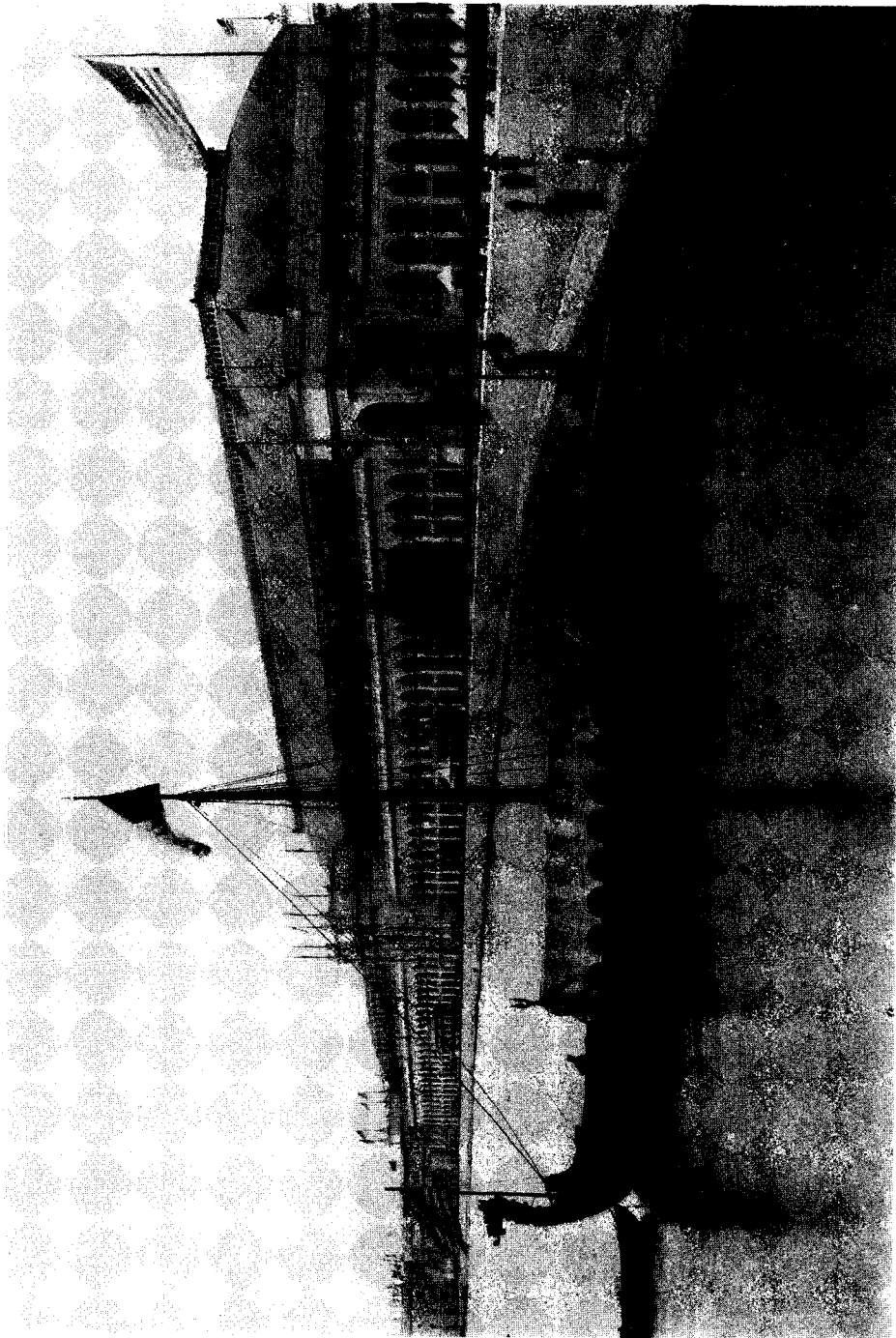


FIGURE 9: Photo of the replica Viking ship displayed at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Photographer Charles Dudley Arnold, platinum print. Courtesy of Columbia University, New York City, Division of Drawings and Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, C.D. Arnold Photographs, acc. no. 39.

But bold in name of law and right,
 Of people's need and people's might.
 Kingcraft nor priestcraft frames decree
 For them who dare the unpassed Sea.⁶²

This poem, like the history that inspired it, bears little resemblance to the medieval past. But it does demonstrate the Victorian habit of remembering the Middle Ages as a glorious epic and as a kind of parallel and idealized version of the present. Like some of Henry Adams's wilder ideas, Horsford's theories were extraordinarily long lived in popular culture, and were perpetuated in luxury publications aimed at wealthy New Englanders, such as *The Norse Discovery of America*, published in 1907, and by early twentieth-century organizations such as the International Anglo-Saxon Society "of Denmark, Copenhagen, and New York."⁶³ The peculiar version of the Middle Ages displayed in Horsford's writings and public celebrations was Romantic, anachronistic, and produced for a mass audience. His history, like other contemporary representations of the medieval, suggests that nineteenth-century America's ideas about the Middle Ages, whether historical or material, were so flexible that the period functioned as a mirror, reflecting back the values and anxieties of all who consumed it.⁶⁴

THE 1890S WITNESSED AN EXTRAORDINARY SHIFT in the historical sensibilities of Americans writing medieval history, even if the lead article of the first volume of the *American Historical Review*, written by William M. Sloane, fails to signal this change in the culture of historical writing in America. Written in 1895, it shares the same brash optimism as Eben Horsford's writings on Cape Cod's Norse place-names or Henry Adams's excited displays of ancestor worship. Written for professional historians, Sloane's article, like the work of many of his progenitors, considers historians above all else to be men who "scan the past either for a better understanding of present conditions or for guidance in the future." As did Adams and Horsford, Sloane lauded scientific history, not because of the precision it lent to an understanding of a particular class of evidence or a specific set of circumstances but because it allowed men like himself to unlock essential and eternal truths about "the continuity of race-life."⁶⁵ Sloane, moreover, along with other historians of the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, was preoccupied with the creation of a usable past that could at once explain America's place in the world and bolster the failing grip of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants over a nation that was, as he put it, "nearly swamped . . . by the sludge thrown upon our shores from the governments

⁶² *Exercises at the Town Hall in Watertown.*

⁶³ Arthur Middleton Reeves, North Ludlow Beamish, and Rasmus B. Anderson, *The Norse Discovery of America* (London, 1907) (which included a map of Massachusetts on page 342, entitled "Map of Vinland"). For a membership certificate and a list of the goals of the International Anglo-Saxon Society, see Boston College, Burns Library, University Archives, B.C. Presidents, Father Thomas I. Gasson, RG 2.7.

⁶⁴ For the reflective quality of the medieval in nineteenth-century England, see A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (New Haven, Conn., 1985).

⁶⁵ William M. Sloane, "History and Democracy," *AHR*, 1 (1895-96): 1, 6.

of Europe, in the shape of the shiftless, stupid, and too often, criminal elements of their populations." He was relieved to report, under these circumstances, that "the profounder our study of ourselves, the stronger will grow our conviction of the organic relation between our own history and that of the world."⁶⁶ In short, Sloane, like other historical luminaries of the period, had adopted all the external trappings of the new history without understanding in any way their implications for the picturesque variety of the discipline that he himself was practicing.

There were articles, however, published in the early years of the *AHR*, especially those written by medievalists, that did not subscribe to the same Romantic and prescriptive ideology of history as Sloane's. Both Henry Lea and Melville Bigelow produced articles for the first *AHR* volume that were entirely divorced both from present problems and the deep roots of American civilization. The two historians simply provided editions or translations of little-known documents.⁶⁷ In the second volume of the *AHR*, Charles Homer Haskins authored an essay on the utility of the Vatican archives, and Nellie Neilson wrote an article on the services owed to Ramsey Abbey based on a careful analysis of the community's cartulary.⁶⁸ All of these articles shared a passion for the close reading of texts, for the production of new evidence in archives, and for the solution of small problems rather than the creation of grand temporal philosophies. None, however, contains any clear statement challenging the veracity of the kind of Picturesque History offered up by Sloane, nor did any of these writers explain in their articles the real implications for the discipline of textual criticism and the notion of a remote and separate past. Yet these issues were discussed, and discussed relentlessly and programatically by medievalists in the *AHR*—not in articles but in the back pages of each issue, in the book reviews. Here, in the reviews of the most important books, a parade of wonderful, sharp, subversive critiques could be read that not only dealt with individual works but, more generally, with good history and bad.

Most of the historians who reviewed books on medieval history in the early years of the *AHR* shifted fields during their careers, but they tended, at the turn of the century, to do research in both medieval and American history. This is hardly surprising since many, including Charles Andrews and Charles Homer Haskins, had been trained at Johns Hopkins by Herbert Baxter Adams, an American historian with abiding interests in early medieval history and a profound intellectual crush on the great English Teutonist E. A. Freeman.⁶⁹ The *AHR* reviewers of medieval history, for the most part, had not presented their research on the Middle Ages at earlier meetings of the American Historical Association, nor had they published medieval papers in the society's publication series.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Sloane, "History and Democracy," 11–12, 22.

⁶⁷ Henry C. Lea, "The First Castilian Inquisitor," *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 46–50; Melville M. Bigelow, "The Bohun Wills," *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 415–35, 631–49.

⁶⁸ Charles H. Haskins, "The Vatican Archives," *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 40–58; N. Neilson, "Boon-Services on the Estates of Ramsey Abbey," *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 213–24.

⁶⁹ Jessica Kross, "Charles M. Andrews," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 17: *Twentieth Century American Historians*, Clyde N. Wilson, ed. (Detroit, Mich., 1983), 10; Raymond J. Cunningham, "Herbert Baxter Adams," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 47: *American Historians, 1866–1912*, Clyde N. Wilson, ed. (Detroit, 1986), 29; Sally N. Vaughn, "Charles Homer Haskins," in *ibid*, 126; H. B. Adams, "Mr. Freeman's Visit to Baltimore," 5–12.

⁷⁰ The exception is Charles M. Andrews, "The Theory of the Village Community," *Papers of the*

None, moreover, had published their findings on the Middle Ages in Herbert Baxter Adams's journal, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, a publication whose epigram was Freeman's aphorism, "History is past Politics and Politics present History."⁷¹ Most of these reviewers were born after 1860 and came of age in the 1880s and 1890s; they formed their ideas about the medieval, both historical and artistic, in a vastly different intellectual world than that of their elders. By the 1880s, medieval-revival styles had calmed down considerably, and the use of historical models in painting, decorative arts, and architecture was becoming more restrained, more academic, and more historically accurate.⁷² This young generation of historians, though trained by practitioners of Picturesque History, shared, in their work, a strong reaction against the eclectic history of their elders; and, as their reviews reveal, they strongly opposed the older culture of historical anachronism.⁷³ The writers who reviewed medieval history in the early numbers of the *AHR* appear to have worked out many of their ideas about the purpose of history by reviewing the most important products of English and European scholarship. It was over the course of half a decade or so in these reviews that a small cadre of American medievalists systematically dismantled Picturesque History and taught professional historians, and perhaps even themselves, about a kind of history that was not simply decorated with the methods of the nineteenth-century academy but actually transformed by them. Here, truly, in the reviews of the *AHR*, was the nursery for medieval historians in America.

One of the practices most criticized by medieval reviewers in the *AHR* was that of presenting history as a grand, decorative epic. Again and again, Bigelow, Haskins, and others savaged works which held that "history is mere narrative," and they insisted that "the old picturesque story must be renovated—even if it be half ruined."⁷⁴ They praised authors who resisted all temptation to "ornament" their histories with titillating anecdotes that lead nowhere, and castigated those

American Historical Association, 5 (1891), a paper read at the 1890 American Historical Association meeting. It is a direct attack on E. A. Freeman and a veiled criticism of Herbert Baxter Adams.

⁷¹ The only genuine medieval history published in the journal's first decade was William Klapp Williams, "The Communes of Lombardy from the VI to the X Century," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 9 (1891). This article is an exercise in Picturesque History (see especially p. 14). Herbert Baxter Adams, however, published a number of articles in the journal on American history. These articles traced the roots of American institutions back to their supposed early medieval progenitors. See, for example, his "Norman Constables in America," 1 (1883), 3–38; "Saxon Tithingmen in America," 1 (1883): 1–23; and "The Germanic Origin of New England Towns," 1 (1883): 5–37. Adams did, however, publish a number of these reviewers' American history dissertations in his journal (Vaughn, "Haskins," 127; Kross, "Andrews," 10). For the adoption by Adams of Freeman's aphorism, and for his promise to paint it on the wall of his seminar room, see H. B. Adams, "Mr. Freeman's Visit to Baltimore," 12. For a picture of the seminar room, with aphorism, see Cunningham, "Herbert Baxter Adams," 31.

⁷² Gowans, *Images of American Living*, 374, 402; Richard Guy Wilson, "The Great Civilization," in *American Renaissance: 1876–1919* (New York, 1979), 59–61.

⁷³ This probably explains why their essays on medieval history are nowhere to be found in the only two American historical publications predating the *AHR*, *Papers of the American Historical Association* and *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, since both publications were very much under the influence of the practitioners of the picturesque.

⁷⁴ Charles M. Andrews, review of Simon N. Patten, *The Development of English Thought: A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 331; William B. Weedon, review of *Social England: A Record of the Progress of the People*, H. D. Traill, ed., Vols. 1–3, *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 125.

who wrote “in the key of constant and . . . overstrained personal interest.”⁷⁵ Such grand narrations, according to Melville Bigelow, were the ruin of historical study:

It is a thankless task to point out these defects in the work of a man so sincere, so learned, and so diligent; but really one cannot open the book anywhere without being nettled by decorations which do not embellish but only confuse and mislead. This is not sound scholarship. It is amateurish from beginning to end. The traces of accurate historical method are only a surface, beneath which we constantly perceive the good, old-fashioned literary man, who writes history as an elegant accomplishment.⁷⁶

Many reviewers also disliked the mindless chronicling of details. Edward Cheyney, for example, complained in his critique of James Wylie’s third, 482-page volume of *England under Henry the Fourth*, that the author had managed to squeeze seventeen place-names into a single paragraph and that he had catalogued twelve instances of bad weather in another. “Over and again,” he despaired, “we have masses of genealogical detail about obscure individuals, references to a dozen different ways of spelling unimportant proper names, lists of brasses in churches where a certain type of ladies’ head-dress can be seen, quotations from contemporary writers mentioning peculiar musical instruments, or garments, or stuffs, or weapons, or food.”⁷⁷ Such details, he and others argued, were mere embellishments, and were not only beside the point, not only “pulverizing,” but stood in the way of the reader’s grasp of more abstract and crucial historical forces.⁷⁸ The incessant cataloguing of details, they believed, was used as a substitute for genuine historical analysis, and it resulted not in history but in a kind of picturesque romance that was devoid of generalizations, theories, or purpose.⁷⁹

At the root of this old-fashioned urge to collect and display the inconsequential, so the reviewers believed, was a basic misconception about the purpose of history, and they held that detail, without “reference . . . to things important in their effect upon the movement of history,” was meaningless.⁸⁰ George Elliott Howard, for example, snidely observed of J. H. Bridges’s book: “One cannot read far in the introduction without recognizing in it a splendid example of that cool, calm, and collected ignorance which does not know the difference between cramming and learning.”⁸¹ Many reviewers took delight in parading examples of such “cramming” before their readers. “Here,” grouched Charles Gross about one of

⁷⁵ E. Emerton, review of Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 115; Talcott Williams, review of Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, in *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 518.

⁷⁶ Melville M. Bigelow, review of Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 5–6, *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 112.

⁷⁷ Edward P. Cheyney, review of James Hamilton Wylie, *England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. 3, 1407–10, *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 715; unsigned review of Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 107.

⁷⁸ Bernard Moses, review of Gustav Diercks, *Geschichte Spaniens von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, in *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 524; Cheyney, review of *England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. 3, 715. See also Bigelow, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 5–6, 109; Williams, review of *Constantinople*, 519; Charles H. Haskins, review of Oliver J. Thatcher and Ferdinand Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 511.

⁷⁹ Edward P. Cheyney, review of James Hamilton Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. 4, 1411–1413, *AHR*, 4 (1898–99): 146.

⁸⁰ Charles Gross, review of F. T. Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, *AHR*, 4 (1898–99): 143.

⁸¹ George Elliott Howard, review of “*The Opus Majus*” of Roger Bacon, John Henry Bridges, ed., *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 527.

Frederick Tout's books, "is a typical passage: 'Frederick II . . . was of middle height and well-proportioned, though becoming somewhat corpulent as he advanced in age. He had good features and a pleasant appearance. His light hair, like that of his father and grandfather, inclined towards redness, but he ultimately became very bald.' Really," Gross remarked in exasperation, "our youth can do without this kind of thing!"⁸² The good story, the lovingly recovered detail, many reviewers argued, should be abandoned for the sake of dispassionate analysis.

Style, according to many of the medievalist reviewers, also played a critical part in proper historical discourse, and many reviewers excoriated authors for producing Picturesque History by writing in a novelistic fashion:

[T]he main stream of an historical narrative ought certainly to flow in refined literary language. Mr. Wylie has made this impossible for himself by his habit of constant quotation of single words or expressions, used, it is true, at the time or in the documents from which he is drawing, but neither understood, admired, nor acknowledged in modern English. For instance . . . "The brethren did not put in their weekly shot merely to dole groats to pittanceers, or help the bedrid and brokelegged, or find poor scholars to school, or dower poor girls, or burn their soul-candles around the corpse of a dead brother, or follow at his forthbringing and 'terment." Or when he describes Oxford: "So Solomon studied with his cup and his strumpets, and romped with hawks and hounds and revel; and Oxford, which had shown such promise in her youth, was now sinking into idleness and womb-joy, and doddering in a dishonoured dotage of stagnation and decay."⁸³

Elsewhere, Dorothea Ewart's book was taken to task for sentences that "suffer a little from an access [*sic*] of either mental or grammatical vertigo, and in several places a lawless imagination needs to be subjected to the pruning-knife." Thomas Hodgkin was accused of "sentimental outbursts," "picturesqueness," and of being the victim of possession "by a demon of style," who was more interested in manufacturing drama than history.⁸⁴ Medieval history, so they argued, needed to be rescued from "the nebular realm of Byronism."⁸⁵ Since history was "not the tale of the vices of men," the "models to the novelist" were not suited to the discipline.⁸⁶

The reviewers, as they attacked the overuse of detail, drama, and anecdote, began to realize the virtues of the short, single-volume work. Many, no doubt as their burden as reviewers grew, began to question the efficacy of traditional, multi-volume history. The weary critic of Volumes 5 and 6 of Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders* expressed the belief that "it would have been most welcome to all . . . readers, if, instead of toiling through 1100 pages, they had been let off with 400."⁸⁷ Cheyney, in his review of the third long volume of Wylie's *Henry the Fourth*, wrote, "Mr. Wylie's work has grown under his hand in a way with which we can all

⁸² Gross, review of *The Empire and the Papacy*, 142.

⁸³ Cheyney, review of *England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. 3, 1407–10, 715–16.

⁸⁴ Ferdinand Schwill, review of K. Dorothea Ewart, *Cosimo de' Medici*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 334; Bigelow, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 5–6, 110; Charles M. Andrews, review of Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 7–8, *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 735–36.

⁸⁵ Ferdinand Schwill, review of Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero: La Congiura*, in *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 709.

⁸⁶ Charles M. Andrews, review of Goldwin Smith, *The United Kingdom: A Political History*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 742, 739. For similar views, see Gross, review of *The Empire and the Papacy*, 142.

⁸⁷ Bigelow, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 5–6, 109.

sympathize, even though we may demur . . . , [but] more than in either of the preceding volumes is one impressed with the fact that the length of the work is somewhat disproportionate to the importance of its subject.”⁸⁸ And Charles Andrews asked, rather wistfully, after reading the eighth interminable volume of Hodgkin, “In parting with this all too voluminous work may we not express the hope that some person with a less unruly imagination and a more chastened style, leaving out all the decorations and adding some adequate references to recent literature, may be allowed to condense these eight volumes into two?”⁸⁹

The *AHR* medievalists insisted over and over again that the energy many lavished on the production of grand, thousand-page works should be channeled instead into the creation of decent scholarly editions and apparatus. The foundation of any modern work on the Middle Ages, most agreed, was a careful use of primary texts. Those who painstakingly analyzed archival material in their works, such as Frederick Seebohm and Frederick Maitland, or those who provided new editions of texts, such as Henri Denifle, Alexander Cartellieri, and Felix Liebermann, received elegiac notices in the journal.⁹⁰ A mastery over primary material, however, was no longer sufficient, nor was an indiscriminate use of old authorities. The most recent scholarship should be in plain view. Hodgkin, for example, was taken to task for his “servile and blind acceptance” of outdated authorities, who, throughout his text, were referred to as “‘the learned’ this or ‘the learned but obscure that.’”⁹¹ Not knowing the most modern secondary literature, especially foreign-language literature, was also treated as a grave offense. Mary Hill, who wrote a biography of Margaret of Denmark, had complained in her book of the scantiness of her material, and “it is indeed scanty,” so her reviewer sarcastically remarked, “when she knows only one unimportant Scandinavian writer of this century.” Others were equally taken to task for their ignorance of German scholarship.⁹² Medievalists acquainted with the larger historical culture of modern German, French, and English scholarship, however, received lavish praise.⁹³ Besides learning about the proper relationship between text, authorities, and historical argument, medievalists were also repeatedly instructed in the reviews on the importance of “scientific” bibliographies and

⁸⁸ Cheyney, review of *England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. 3, 1407–10, 714.

⁸⁹ Andrews, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 7–8, 737. For similar comments, see also Bigelow, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 5–6, 109.

⁹⁰ Charles M. Andrews, review of Frederick Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*, in *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 121; Charles M. Andrews, review of Frederick William Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, in *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 133; Charles H. Haskins, review of Henri Denifle, *La désolation des églises, monastères, et hôpitaux en France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 751; Williston Walker, review of Alexander Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 117; Charles Gross, review of F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 525–26.

⁹¹ Andrews, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 7–8, 735–36.

⁹² Julius E. Olson, review of Mary Hill, *Margaret of Denmark*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 124; J. R. Jewett, review of C. R. Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291*, in *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 134.

⁹³ W. J. Ashley, review of Henri Pirenne, *Geschichte Belgiens*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 110. Still, those historians who failed to discuss both the merits and demerits of the work of other scholars were taken to task. See, for example, Moscs, review of *Geschichte Spaniens von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 524; Schwill, review of *Cosimo de' Medici*, 333; Haskins, review of *Europe in the Middle Age*, 512.

tutored in the art of footnoting.⁹⁴ Such instruction, found in many medievalists' reviews, significantly shaped the medieval history book and helped to standardize the look and the content of works of history written in America.

Works on medieval history that were fashioned to engage in modern political debates were anathema in the *AHR*. Lord Acton's view that the historian is "the politician with his face turned backwards" was much reviled, and his book and those of other writers who "cannot separate the past from the present" were severely criticized.⁹⁵ The disgust of most medievalists was palpable when they found themselves reading about present times in books about the Middle Ages. Bigelow, for example, made this vice the centerpiece of his review of Hodgkin: "When Paulus [the Deacon] speaks of a man fleeing *in Austriam*, our author cannot refrain from saying that he fled 'into the eastern half of the Lombard kingdom, a territorial division which we now for the first time meet with under a name memorable for Italy in after centuries, under another connection—the fateful name of AUSTRIA.' Here the mere accidental use of a term common to several of the Germanic states is made to appear important and significant, and this is happening in almost every paragraph."⁹⁶ Equally problematic, and equally anachronistic, were improper historical analogies drawn from other times. Ferdinand Schwill pointed this out in his review of *Cosimo de' Medici*, saying that the book's author, "like all writers on this period, lays a great deal of stress upon Cosimo's discovery of the principle of the balance of power . . . For myself, I have never been able to see in the great 'principle' anything but a convenient diplomatic phrase of the eighteenth century invented to fill up the gap between two pinches of snuff, and I find the conception quite as indefinable politically and diplomatically as the similar phrases of humanity and destiny, current in our own day."⁹⁷

On the whole, the reviewers approved of histories of the Middle Ages that were not full of "vague premonitions of an era of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*" and that viewed the past as a distinct and separate place from the present.⁹⁸ Charles Andrews, for example, wrote eloquently, when reviewing F. W. Maitland's book *Domesday Book and Beyond* about the importance of keeping the present out of history and about how serious a problem this was in American historical writing:

⁹⁴ George Elliott Howard, review of Charles Gross, *A Bibliography of British Municipal History*, in *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 529; William Elliot Griffis, review of P. J. Blok, *Geshiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 123; George Kriehn, review of George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 121; E. Emerton, review of *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 119; Kriehn, review of *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 121; Schwill, review of *Cosimo de' Medici*, 333.

⁹⁵ Henry Charles Lea, review of Lord Acton, *A Lecture on the Study of History*, in *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 517; Andrews, review of *The United Kingdom: A Political History*, 741.

⁹⁶ Bigelow, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 5–6, 110. For similar criticisms about other books, see Andrews, review of *The United Kingdom: A Political History*, 740; Gaillard Thomas Lapsley, review of P. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Vol. 1, *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 115; George Kriehn, review of *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, 121.

⁹⁷ Schwill, review of *Cosimo de' Medici*, 334. For similar references about other odd analogies, see Andrews, review of *Italy and Her Invaders*, Vols. 7–8, 736.

⁹⁸ Quote in Schwill, review of *Marino Faliero: La Congiura*, 709; Andrews, review of *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 131; A. C. McGiffert, review of Alice Gardner, *Julian, Philosopher and Emperor, and the Last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity*, in *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 318; Cheyney, review of *England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. 3, 1407–10, 714.

Professor Maitland shows that men were not thinking much about those things that concern us to-day—freedom, ownership, citizenship, elections, representation, corporations, courts, judicial procedure, and exact measures of land, but that they were concerned with the consequences of personal relationship, rights of occupation, of superiority, of privilege, of justice, rights to receive dues, payments, wites, fines and the like, as well as to be exempt from them. When the student seizes hold of this distinction, and learns that fixed and simple ideas were not characteristic of simple people in early times, and that Anglo-Saxon institutions were not necessarily germinant with all that is best and most important among the ideas of the present age, he will be saved from many erroneous conclusions that have been far too prevalent here in democratic America.⁹⁹

It was in the early reviews of the *AHR* that medievalists were also instructed on the pitfalls of racial analysis. Generally, reviewers in the *AHR* were critical of the notions of racial determinism, so popular in the histories of Adams, Horsford, and others and on their way to becoming the core ideology in America in the social sciences.¹⁰⁰ Frederick Starr, for example, complained, in his review of William Ripley's book *The Races of Europe*, "[T]here has been a tendency of late to see in race the explanation of many social phenomena . . . Studies have been made to show the relation between divorce and race, suicide and race, 'social stratification' and race, etc." Starr went on to explain the dangers of this stance.¹⁰¹ Many historians were also exposed for the first time in the *AHR*'s reviews to the confusing concatenation of race, culture, language, environment, and nationality.¹⁰² Historians, moreover, in Starr's and others' reviews, were taught that the old "scientific" tenets of Teutonic and Aryan racial identity were nonsense. Reviewers pointed out that anthropologists working in the field were finding it increasingly difficult to identify anywhere on the globe cases of "absolute purity of race."¹⁰³ This had disturbing ramifications for Teutonists such as Herbert Baxter Adams. And, as William Ripley wrote in his devastating review of Drucker's *Evolution of the Aryan*, "Certain it is that the word *Aryan* is peculiarly a linguistic term, appertaining to a family of languages; possibly to a group of cultures; but [it is] absolutely worthless as designating any racial type."¹⁰⁴ Astonishingly, many *AHR* reviewers signaled their suspicion of the whole concept of race by placing the word, when they used it, in quotation marks.¹⁰⁵

Increasingly, medieval reviewers in the *AHR* tutored their readers in the bewildering complexity of historical transformation and cultural transmission, and increasingly they pointed out not only the fallacies of using race as a historical explanation but also the impossibility that any single cause could ever be powerful enough to determine important historical developments. Charles Andrews, for

⁹⁹ Andrews, review of *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 133.

¹⁰⁰ Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, 68–81; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 80–85.

¹⁰¹ Frederick Starr, review of William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 328.

¹⁰² Starr, review of *The Races of Europe*, 326.

¹⁰³ Starr, review of *The Races of Europe*, 327.

¹⁰⁴ William Z. Ripley, review of A. Drucker, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, in *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 703.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, D. G. Brinton, review of Friedrich Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, Vol. 1, *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 323–24; Frank Russell, review of Friedrich Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, Vol. 3, *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 324.

example, asserted the futility of this stance in his review of Simon Patten's book *The Development of English Thought*: "In this day and generation, when the historian is beginning to recognize that no great event in history can be traced into a single cause, no matter how important that cause may be, it will not be deemed sufficient to offer such simple explanations as those with which Dr. Patten is content."¹⁰⁶ Medievalists in their reviews were increasingly taken with breaks in evolution, new starts, and false beginnings; and they emphasized more and more the impossibility of determining the exact moment when evolution set in or the particular place where invention or creation occurred.¹⁰⁷ Haskins, in one of his early reviews for the *AHR*, meditated on the limitations of biological notions such as race and evolution for historians:

The results of historical investigation, indirect at best, cannot attain the certitude reached by the sciences of direct observation . . . [H]istory has remained the least methodic of the sciences. History cannot imitate biology; its material comes indirectly through the medium of the imagination, imagined but not imaginary, and are described in terms that are often inexact and misleading . . . The chief justification of historical study is . . . to be found in . . . explaining the nature of historical evolution, so different from the evolution of the animal world.¹⁰⁸

Those medievalists who internalized these lessons looked back even at their own work and exposed earlier lapses in the failed dogmas of Teutonism and a single-cause evolution. J. W. Ashley, for example, confessed in one of his reviews, "it is with some amusement that I observe how trustfully I followed in 1882 the leading of Georg von Maurer, and with the aid and continence of M. Vanderkendere's little pamphlet, *Sur l'Origine des Magistrats Communaux*, found the germs of the later town-system in an imaginary mark-community."¹⁰⁹ Thus the reviewers created a variety of analytical history that was not descriptive, prescriptive, or dramatic and that attempted to uncover a past dissociated, as much as possible, from the world of the late nineteenth century.

Not all medievalists reviewing for the *AHR*, it has to be said, were committed to dismantling Picturesque History. Indeed, some even praised it. J. R. Jewett, for example, was delighted with Stanley Lane-Poole's book on Saladin, although he had some difficulty distinguishing between it and the work of Sir Walter Scott on the same subject. Benjamin Terry was satisfied with Francis C. Lowell's portrait of the "real" Joan of Arc, as "altogether a very sweet and lovable woman, who, with all the devotion of a singularly pure and unselfish nature, gave herself to the noble work of vindicating her king, unworthy though he was." And W. W. Rockhill, in his review of Léon Cahun's work on the Turks and the Mongols, had problems

¹⁰⁶ Andrews, review of *The Development of English Thought: A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History*, 332.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, unsigned review of W. Cunningham, *An Essay on Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspect*, in *AHR*, 4 (1898–99): 135; Andrews, review of *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 131; Gross, review of *The Empire and the Papacy*, 143; Charles Gross, review of J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, *AHR*, 1 (1895–96): 325–26.

¹⁰⁸ Charles H. Haskins, review of Ch.-V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, in *AHR*, 3 (1897–98): 518–19.

¹⁰⁹ Ashley, review of *Geschichte Belgiens*, 110.

differentiating between a late medieval Turk and an Edwardian dilettante.¹¹⁰ Others, such as George Elliott Howard, William Weeden, and Julius Olson, praised books that fetishized the Anglo-Saxons, “English life-spirit,” and the innate virtues of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants.¹¹¹ More important, not all the readers of the *AHR* felt compelled to write a different kind of medieval history. The greatest piece of Picturesque History ever produced in America, Henry Adams’s *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, was published more than a decade after the founding of the *AHR*. Untouched by the strengthening currents of professionalism, Adams’s book was even more eclectic, more about the present, and more about the drama of the past than his early work on Anglo-Saxon law, published some forty years before. The ideas and the methods of Adams’s book were not inspired by the lessons taught in the *AHR* reviews but rather by Adams’s friend, the artist John La Farge: “Between Bishop Stubbs and John La Farge,” Adams wrote to Henry Osborn Taylor, “the chasm has required lively gymnastics. The text of Edward the Confessor was uncommonly remote from a twelfth-century window. To clamber across the gap has needed many years of La Farge’s closest instruction.”¹¹² Nonetheless, in spite of a few such holdovers, medieval histories like *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* and medieval historians like Adams were rapidly disappearing in America.

THE OLD CONCERNS of race, the old urges of social criticism, and the old desires for epic drama were abandoned by the great majority of American medievalists who came of age in the shadow of the *AHR* reviews. Their presentation of the Middle Ages was self-consciously about a past that bore only the remotest relation to the present, and about a kind of history that had no pragmatic application. As a result, medieval history parted company with medievalizing popular culture and lost much of its audience.¹¹³ Historians, moreover, relinquished their position in society as prognosticators, policymakers, and arbiters of morality.¹¹⁴ Their place was taken up instead by the emerging social scientists, who, ironically, were busy at this time building their disciplines on the rotting foundations of the old-style Picturesque History. American Brahmin intellectuals of the period—men such as Edward Bemis of Johns Hopkins, Francis Amasa Walker of MIT, and Richard Mayo Smith of Columbia—took outdated theories of Teutonic democracy and historical immediacy and fashioned them into a nasty political and social ideology of racial

¹¹⁰ J. R. Jewett, review of Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in *AHR*, 4 (1898–99): 707; Benjamin S. Terry, review of Francis C. Lowell, *Joan of Arc*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 131; W. W. Rockhill, review of Léon Cahun, *Introduction à l’histoire de l’Asie: Turcs et Mongols, des origines à 1405*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 130.

¹¹¹ George Elliott Howard, review of Oliver H. Richardson, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III, and Its Culmination in the Barons’ War*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896–97): 716–17; Weeden, review of *Social England*, 126–31; Olson, review of *Margaret of Denmark*, in *AHR*, 5 (1899–1900): 122.

¹¹² Adams to Henry Osborn Taylor, May 4, 1901, *The Letters of Henry Adams*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

¹¹³ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 108–17; Alan Lupack, “Visions of Courageous Achievement: Arthurian Youth Groups in America,” in *Medievalism in North America*, Kathleen Verduin, ed. (Cambridge, 1994), 50–68.

¹¹⁴ Culler, *Victorian Mirror of History*, 279–84.

superiority, an ideology that lay at the heart of the new disciplines of sociology, economics, and political science.¹¹⁵ In the 1880s, before the founding of the *AHR*, Herbert Baxter Adams had dreamed that the American Historical Association would provide “a channel through which the aristocracy of culture might in historical matters exert a vigorous, uplifting influence on national politics.”¹¹⁶ This was not to be. By 1900, in large part because of the influence of the reviews in the Association’s journal, most American medievalists were coming to agree with the Englishman S. R. Gardiner: “He who studies the history of the past will be of greater service to the society of the present in proportion as he leaves it out of account.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, 68–81; Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 80–85; Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991).

¹¹⁶ Herbert Baxter Adams, quoted in Rosemary Jann, *The Art and Science of Victorian History* (Columbus, Ohio, 1985), 233.

¹¹⁷ S. R. Gardiner, quoted in Culler, *Victorian Mirror of History*, 281.

The Italian Renaissance in America

EDWARD MUIR

IN 1923 IN THE *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Charles Homer Haskins published an assessment of American scholarship in European history.¹ One of the early PhDs in history from Johns Hopkins, Haskins had undertaken post-doctoral work at Paris and Berlin, taught at Wisconsin and Harvard, employed his knowledge of medieval history to help convince Woodrow Wilson to support the creation of what would become Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, founded the Medieval Academy of America, and served as dean of the Graduate School at Harvard. He was the premier Europeanist among the first generation of professional historians in the United States.² Haskins was keenly aware of the anomalous position of an American working in European history, of both the nationalistic impulses that directed most historical research toward the United States and the differences of identity that kept the American scholar at a distance from Europeans.³ He endeavored to convince his compatriots that “European history is of profound importance to Americans” and to declare intellectual independence by raising scholarly standards in the New World without embracing imported European ideologies. “Shall we participate fully and directly in all phases of the historical activity of our time, collecting and sifting the sources for ourselves, making our own generalizations and interpretations, contributing freely of our thought as well as of our labor to the general advancement of historical knowledge and historical understanding? The question concerns the future of American scholarship, its dignity, its independence, its creative power.”⁴

Haskins fought indifference to his endeavors from those who wanted to leave the bitter memories of an oppressive Europe behind, but he himself partook of a quaintly Protestant American conception of European history that sweetened the virile achievements of Northern Europeans, especially the Norman conquerors. He exemplified the peculiarly American scholarly complex, overtly manifest as the grandiose notion that Americans could somehow tidy up the intellectual space so

¹ Charles H. Haskins, “European History and American Scholarship,” *AHR*, 28 (1923): 215–27. I wish to thank William Monter and John Martin for their criticisms of earlier versions of this article and Lynn Schibeci for her assistance in compiling the figures for Tables 1 and 2.

² Given the absence of a biography of Haskins, I have relied on the sometimes overwrought study of medievalists by Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991), 250–57, 433–34.

³ Nine out of ten PhD dissertations written during the 1880s and 1890s were in U.S. history, and even Haskins wrote his on an American topic. John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (1965; Baltimore, Md., 1983), 37.

⁴ Haskins, “European History,” 215.

long cluttered by ideological differences among Europeans, a notion that hid, perhaps, the secret awkwardness of the provincial intellectual, that furtive wavering between a defensive superiority and feelings of inferiority, born of the presumed inadequacies of American archives and education in European eyes. Haskins's triad of concerns about the future of American scholarship—"its dignity, its independence, its creative power"—spoke to what we would now figure as a tension in the construction of identity, to the problem of knowing an Other, whether cast as an indulgent cultural parent, a naughty combative sibling, or a strangely distant foreigner.

What was true of European history in general has been especially true of Italian Renaissance history in particular. Why should Americans study it? The most common answer has been that the experience of the educated-in-the-classics, civic-minded, self-governing citizens of Renaissance Italy spoke a message that Americans can best understand, a message about the ideological and institutional underpinnings of republics. That answer has been codified in that curious American curricular artifact, the Western Civilization course, first developed during the decade surrounding World War I and relentlessly promoted by James Harvey Robinson to provide a "usable past" for Americans who had been suddenly jerked out of their provincial isolation by the events of the twentieth century.⁵ In the great drama of Western Civilization, the Italian Renaissance formed Scene One of the turbulent Act Three, "The Modern World," which reached its climactic and final moment with the United States as the dominant world power. As this familiar answer has become less tenable in recent decades, some have gone so far as to erase it entirely by reinterpreting fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italian culture as tethered to either the distant Middle Ages or the primitive Mediterranean village described by anthropologists, a move that defamiliarizes the Renaissance, making it seem alien to contemporary sensibilities. From this point of view, the Renaissance becomes a playground for postmodernists, a mental world of signs disconnected from signification; a social space of ambiguous, disharmonious practices; and a time of oligarchs and princes whose authority derived solely from their self-representations.

It is not my intention to write the history of Italian Renaissance historiography in the United States, which has been ably traced by Anthony Molho, but to juxtapose generations of historians, principally the founding generation active in the decades immediately following the inauguration of the *AHR* in 1895 with the most recent ones, which have enormously expanded the field under the influence of the great academic émigrés from Central Europe and, more recently, the influence of the new questions of social and cultural history.⁶ Given the modest size of the first generation of professional historians in the United States, it is

⁵ Gilbert Allardyce, "The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course," *AHR*, 87 (June 1982): 695–725.

⁶ Anthony Molho, "Italian History in American Universities," in *Italia e Stati Uniti: Concordanze e dissonanze*, A. Bartole and A. Dell'Omodarme, eds. (Rome, 1981), 201–24; Molho, "Il patronato a Firenze nella storiografia anglofona," *Ricerche storiche*, 15 (1985): 5–16; Molho, "American Historians and the Italian Renaissance: An Overview," *Schifanoia*, 8 (1989): 9–17; and Molho, "Gli storici americani e il Rinascimento italiano: Una ricognizione," in *Storici americani e Rinascimento italiano*, Giorgio Chittolini, ed., special issue of *Cheiron: Materiali e strumenti di aggiornamento storiografico*, 16 (1992): 9–26.

surprising that Italian Renaissance studies had much of a place in their efforts. When the American Historical Association was organized in 1884, there were only fifteen professors and five assistant professors in the entire country who devoted themselves exclusively to teaching history, only five or six of these pursued serious scholarly research, and only about thirty graduate students were enrolled in all the universities that granted higher degrees.⁷ Although it is hard to imagine that any period of Italian history could occupy many in this tiny group of historians, as early as 1896 Haskins called for the establishment of an American School of Historical Studies in Rome to provide a research base for Americans to exploit the Vatican and other archives and libraries in Italy. (Even the Europhilic Haskins felt the need to justify such a school by pointing out how useful the Vatican collections would be for the study of American history.)⁸ By the end of World War I, the situation was little changed: no American spent extensive research time in an Italian archive, and the only coherent strain of American interest in medieval and Renaissance Italy was literary, chiefly in Dante and Petrarch. In his review of American scholarship on Europe, Haskins noted sporadic efforts for Siena, Genoa, and Norman Sicily, but he pointedly ignored William Roscoe Thayer's *Short History of Venice* (1908) even as he praised Thayer's biography of Cavour.⁹ Renaissance art history was largely confined to non-academic connoisseurship under the powerful guidance of the expatriate Bernard Berenson.¹⁰

Unpublished sources in the United States were few.¹¹ The founding generation completely ignored the most extensive collection of Italian historical manuscripts in the United States, owned by Syracuse University, even though the library had

⁷ J. Franklin Jameson, "The American Historical Association, 1884-1909," *AHR*, 15 (1909): 1-20, esp. 2-3; Jameson, "Early Days of the American Historical Association, 1884-1895," *AHR*, 40 (1934): 1-9, esp. 1-2. Compare Higham, *History*, 6-25. On the "academic revolution" from the end of the Civil War to the eve of World War I that privileged graduate education and professionalization, see Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965); and Richard Hofstadter, "The Revolution in Higher Education," in *Paths of American Thought*, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Morton White, eds. (Boston, 1963), 269-90. On the professionalization project among historians, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 47-60. For the cultural and social context of the drive for professionalization, see Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1870-1920* (New York, 1967).

⁸ Charles H. Haskins, "The Vatican Archives," *AHR*, 2 (1896): 58. The American Academy in Rome (originally the American School of Classical Studies in Rome), founded in 1894, has long played a role in support of classicists, composers, artists, and architects, but fellowships in Post-Classical Humanistic Studies only became available for Renaissance historians beginning in 1963. Lucia Valentine and Alan Valentine, *The American Academy in Rome, 1894-1969* (Charlottesville, Va., 1973), 122-23. Also see Christopher Grant Le Farge, *History of the American Academy in Rome* (New York, 1915); and Fikret K. Yegul, *Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the American Academy in Rome, 1894-1940* (New York, 1991). From the early 1960s to the present, the most important locus for historians of the medieval and Renaissance periods has been the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at the Villa I Tatti, Florence, housed in the art historian Bernard Berenson's former residence.

⁹ Haskins, "European History," 220.

¹⁰ Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); Meryle Secrest, *Being Bernard Berenson: A Biography* (New York, 1979); and Mary Ann Calo, *Bernard Berenson and the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia, 1994).

¹¹ The only use I have found of the Petrarch Collection at Cornell by a first-generation historian is Daniel Chauncey Knowlton, "An Unpublished Manuscript on the Rising of 1647-1648 in Naples," *AHR*, 8 (1903): 290-93. The acquisition in the late 1920s of the Medici account books by the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School was announced by D. Havelock Fisher, "The Medici Account-Books," *AHR*, 33 (1928): 829-31.

TABLE 1
AHR Articles, 1895–1994, Total Number of Articles by Subject*

A. Medieval	76
B. Continental Renaissance	45
C. Protestant Reformation	25
D. English to 1660	91
E. Enlightenment/French Revolution	63
F. Modern Italian	20

*The definition of the subject of an article has been taken from the title, and when an article covers more than one field it has been counted more than once.

been put together by the most famous historian of the age, Leopold von Ranke, whom the AHA had elected at its second annual meeting in 1885 as its sole honorary member.¹² Given this situation, the quantity of work produced by the first generation is indeed noteworthy. The articles published in the *American Historical Review* over the past century provide a crude measure of the interests of American historians in the various periods of European history. Articles dealing with some aspect of the Continental Renaissance, in which Italy predominates, have seldom been as numerous as those in medieval history, English history to 1660, or the Enlightenment and French revolutionary periods, but there have been about twice as many on the Renaissance as on the Protestant Reformation or modern Italy (see Table 1). With the domination of Protestantism in American life and the overtly anti-Catholic tone to much turn-of-the-century historical writing, one would not expect a preponderance of articles on the Renaissance over the Reformation, but this fact probably points to the awkwardness of a national historical association devoting publishing space to religious topics and the desire of the professionals who presided over the *AHR* to avoid sectarian wrangling.¹³ The distribution of the subjects of articles over time also shows in a

¹² On Ranke's honorary membership, see Jameson, "Early Days," 6. After Ranke's death in 1886, the Prussian government failed to pick up its option to purchase his library; and, on April 22, 1887, his heirs sold the collection to Syracuse. Some 17,000 books, 4,000 pamphlets, and 430 manuscripts were shipped to upstate New York, but they remained in a basement storage room for many years, only becoming available for consultation after World War II. The manuscripts, which are almost exclusively in Italian and of Venetian provenance, were partially catalogued in 1952, but full access was not achieved until 1983. See Bernhard Hoesft, "Das Schicksal der Ranke-Bibliothek," *Historische Studien*, 307 (1937): 5–45; William Freeman Galpin, *Syracuse University*, 5 vols. (Syracuse, N.Y., 1952), 1: 88–93; Jeremy C. Jackson, "Leopold von Ranke and the von Ranke Library," *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier*, 9 (1972): 45; John J. Morrison, "Charles W. Bennett's 'The Purchase of the von Ranke Library': A Prefatory Note," and Charles W. Bennett, "The Purchase of the von Ranke Library," both in *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier*, 15 (1978): 15–31; and Edward Muir, "Leopold von Ranke, His Library, and the Shaping of Historical Evidence," *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier*, 22 (1987): 3–10. For a catalog of the manuscripts, see Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University: The Complete Catalogue* (Syracuse, 1983).

¹³ Congress granted a charter to the American Historical Association in 1889, which put it under the supervision of the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and obliged Congress to pay for the printing of the *Annual Reports* of the association. Congress was loath to use tax monies to support the discussion of any aspect of Christianity, and the possibility of running afoul of Congress meant that when the *AHR* was founded in 1895, it was kept legally independent of the AHA. Jameson, "American Historical Association," 13–17. The AHA program committee in 1901 resisted accepting "so controverted a field as the Reformation" for the annual meeting. Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 58. Following Leonard Krieger's estimation, Novick argues that before World War II most of the American scholarship in modern European history was clustered in the Reformation and the French

TABLE 2
AHR Articles, 1895–1994, Distribution by Subject per Decade

	1895– 1904	1905– 1914	1915– 1924	1925– 1934	1935– 1944	1945– 1954	1955– 1964	1965– 1974	1975– 1984	1985– 1994
A.	7	14	3	4	3	8	4	7	12	14
B.	8	8	2	1	1	0	4	2	10	9
C.	7	8	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	0
D.	15	23	9	11	12	0	7	4	6	4
E.	12	7	3	6	6	9	5	7	1	7
F.	2	0	2	3	0	1	4	5	0	3

rough way changes in the interests of American Europeanists (see Table 2). During the first two decades of the journal, English history far eclipsed all other contenders, with medieval history, assiduously promoted by Haskins at Harvard, a distant second. Renaissance studies, however, claimed a respectable place, with some sixteen articles and numerous reviews appearing in the first twenty years of the journal. After World War I, interest in Renaissance topics plummeted and virtually disappeared from the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s. A second renaissance of the Renaissance materialized during the 1970s, a resurgence of interest so extensive that during the last twenty years articles on the Continental Renaissance have exceeded even Tudor-Stuart history, once the mainstay of early modern historiography. Comparing the generation of a century ago with recent ones thus offers an opportunity to evaluate the two reigning moments of American interest in Renaissance Italy.

Quantity of scholarly production aside, the important issues derive from other questions: What have Americans found when they looked at the Renaissance? What intellectual purposes do these findings serve? What are the continuities and discontinuities? Even the founding editor of the *AHR*, J. Franklin Jameson, admitted that in its early years the journal published mostly “second class work,” which amounted to historical bricks accumulated without any vision of an architectural plan for their final assembly; but, in his view, building blocks such as these would eventually find their architect and add up to definitive truths.¹⁴ My impression of the work on the Italian Renaissance is rather different. Most noticeable is not so much the slow accumulation of solidly researched, if intellectually mediocre, articles as the decided imbalance between pieces that read like a paper for a Berlin seminar, such as George L. Burr’s comment on how fifteenth-century Italian humanists had coined the term “Middle Ages,” and those that strain to venture sweepingly grand historical claims, such as Louise Ropes Loomis’s attempt to test the hypothesis that “the revival of the study of the classical literatures, in particular of the Greek language and the Greek writers, which marked the opening of the [fifteenth] century, supplied the needed

Revolution, the former “often narrowly sectarian” (177). This fact makes the relative absence of articles on the Protestant Reformation in the *AHR* even more striking.

¹⁴ Quoted in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 55–56. Architectural metaphors were popular among the first generation—Ranke himself called his sources his lumber—indicating a goal of building a lasting historical edifice rather than participating in an ongoing historical dialogue.

stimulus to the Italian intellect and set it free forever from the bondage of medieval ignorance and superstition; in short, that out of the revival of Greek grew the Italian Renaissance."¹⁵ Loomis boldly tested this proposition, which she found lacking, without any evident knowledge of Greek, but she hardly failed to ask large questions about the architecture of history.

The strongest trend in erecting grand historical schemes, however, had American democratic institutions built on the foundations of ancient and Renaissance Italy, and so overwhelming is the complacency in some of these pieces that it is hard to tell whether America or Italy is gaining luster from the association. Molho has noted how the premier historians working in Italy at the time—Benedetto Croce, Carlo Cipolla, Gaetano Salvemini, Pasquale Villari—and, one could add, the many fine local historians from Friuli to Sicily, failed to attract the notice of the *AHR*.¹⁶ Other than William Roscoe Thayer, who lacked a PhD and never obtained a university professorship but who knew Italy and Italian well, American historians with professional contacts in Italy seem to have been few. At the 1904 AHA annual meeting, the classicist Ettore Pais of the University of Naples discussed the possibilities for employing the methods of the German historians among the historical sources in Italy. Tailoring his comments to his audience, he encouraged American historians to work in Italy: "[B]ecause of the similarity between the character and the history of modern America and those of ancient Rome, American scholars are especially called upon to study and interpret Roman life and history."¹⁷ In an *AHR* review of a book on Lorenzo de' Medici, James Harvey Robinson made Renaissance history relevant by comparing the political "boss" in fifteenth-century Italy to nineteenth-century America.¹⁸ Other pieces treated the apocryphal Venetian voyages of discovery to America and the Vespuccian origins of the name America.¹⁹ A touristic summary of the history of San Marino begins with the injunction, "the Republic of San Marino, the oldest and smallest in the world, deserves on both these grounds the attention of Americans," apparently for the cautionary and yet heroic tale it provided of the vagaries of republican liberty.²⁰ Italy's history was thus transformed into a subset of America's history.

A small group of early *AHR* articles, which a specialist in Renaissance Italy today would certainly recognize as serious professional work, constituted the stirrings of a compelling intellectual moment in the history of republicanism, a preoccu-

¹⁵ George L. Burr, "How the Middle Ages Got Their Name," *AHR*, 20 (1915): 813–14. Louise Ropes Loomis, "The Greek Renaissance in Italy," *AHR*, 13 (1908): 246–58. In a similar vein, Ferdinand Schevill [Schwill] reviewed James Harvey Robinson and Henry Winchester Rolfe's edition of Petrarch's letters, stating, "the particular problem which the authors set themselves was the presentation of the character of that man, Petrarch, who led the fight for the rehabilitation, among the cramped society of the Middle Ages, of the liberating philosophy of the ancients." *AHR*, 4 (1899): 514.

¹⁶ Molho, "Italian History in American Universities," 211.

¹⁷ See the report on the meeting in Chicago, *AHR*, 10 (1905): 501.

¹⁸ Review of E. Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici, and Florence in the Fifteenth Century*, in *AHR*, 2 (1896): 134–35.

¹⁹ B. F. De Costa's review of Fred W. Lucas, *The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the End of the Fourteenth Century and the Claim Founded Thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America: A Criticism and an Indictment*, in *AHR*, 4 (1899): 726–29; and Edward G. Bourne, "The Naming of America," *AHR*, 10 (1904): 41–51.

²⁰ William Miller, "The Republic of San Marino," *AHR*, 6 (1901): 633–49.

tion that in many ways undergirded much of the work of American *italianisti* until very recently. This American moment—or, as J. G. A. Pocock might have it, “Atlantic” moment—had two strains. One traced the genealogy of republican thought from Marsiglio of Padua (1270–1342) to Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623).²¹ The other analyzed the political and institutional record of the Italian city-republics in a way that most obviously differentiated U.S. scholarship from its European, especially Italian, counterparts. Arthur M. Wolfson, a teacher at the De Witt Clinton High School in New York City, directly engaged the presumed connection between the institutions of late medieval Italy and modern America.

In all political communities where the franchise has been granted to any considerable part of the people the process of voting, of arriving at a decision on some controverted subject, has occupied no small part of the time of the constitution-makers. Every American, every Englishman knows, almost by intuition, what we mean by *viva voce* voting, by division, by the ballot . . . Few men are aware that after the decline of the states of antiquity nearly all the forms of voting lay in abeyance for six or seven centuries, to be revived or rediscovered by the communes of northern Italy . . . The present writer . . . sees no reason to doubt that the revival of all forms of voting used in modern times is due to the activity of these towns of Italy.²²

Besides examining the technicalities of various forms of voting, Wolfson framed his analysis in terms clearly derived from American constitutional thought. It is true that medieval statutes betray a concern for refining voting procedures so as to prevent violence, but Wolfson Americanized these statutes by depicting them as attempts to guarantee the rights of minorities and to prevent “all sorts of interference with the full exercise of personal liberty,” a concept that did not exist in medieval or Renaissance Italy.²³ The culmination of Wolfson’s history of voting was the Italian invention of the secret ballot, the presumed key to the success of American democracy.²⁴

Ferdinand Schevill, who became the most accomplished professional historian in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century specializing in medieval and Renaissance Italy, took his PhD at Freiburg in 1892 and taught for many years at the University of Chicago. Schevill framed his work as an investigation into “the constitutional evolution of the medieval communes of Italy,” which culminated in “an epoch of democratic experiments unparalleled in fervor and abundance of life, unless we travel back to the old city-states of Greece and Sicily.”²⁵ Among Americans, Schevill had a matchless command of the

²¹ James Sullivan published a two-part article, “Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockam,” that bears all the distinguishing signs of the German seminar. Beginning with a careful analysis of the textual tradition, Sullivan principally concerned himself with the fourteenth-century theories on church-state relations, emphasizing the origins of the theoretical limitations on church authority. *AHR*, 2 (1897): 409–26, 593–610.

²² Arthur M. Wolfson, “The Ballot and Other Forms of Voting in the Italian Communes,” *AHR*, 5 (1899): 1. On Wolfson’s teaching post, see Molho, “Italian History in American Universities,” 210.

²³ Wolfson, “Ballot,” 6.

²⁴ Wolfson, “Ballot,” 15–21.

²⁵ Under the spelling Schwill, “The Podestà of Siena,” *AHR*, 9 (1904): 247. His extensive bibliography includes *Siena, the Story of a Mediaeval Commune* (New York, 1909); *The First Century of Italian Humanism* (New York, 1928); *History of Florence from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance* (New York, 1936), republished as *Medieval and Renaissance Florence*, 2 vols. (New York,

sources, although he typically worked from published ones, and he insisted in Rankean fashion that history be “truth,” taken from “scholars and historians in command of a method of investigation calculated to yield a full and satisfying knowledge.” His transmutation of medieval merchants into capitalists and medieval *statuti* into constitutions betrayed, however, the same American anachronisms of his less sophisticated contemporaries.²⁶ In his mature work from the late 1930s, he persisted with this formulation, organizing his widely read history of medieval and Renaissance Florence as a succession of beleaguered democracies that struggled against foreign tyrants for independence and native oligarchs for liberty.

One historian of the founding generation exhibited a different intellectual orientation. Inspired by knowledge of Italians rather than the rigors of the German historical seminar, William Roscoe Thayer paid attention to the continuities of Italian history by writing about themes from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, eschewing the periodization schemes of the Western Civilization model, even as he, too, Americanized Italian history.²⁷ Described at a banquet in 1920 as the “Americano-Italianissimo” of Boston, Thayer first studied Italian in Siena as a student on the Grand Tour.²⁸ He spent an extra year at Harvard beyond his BA, doing graduate study in literature and fine arts with Charles Eliot Norton and James Russell Lowell, an experience that left him with a lasting antipathy to Germanic theorizing.²⁹ After toying with a teaching career, Thayer turned to the placid life of a gentleman scholar, writing poetry and literary essays, editing a magazine for Harvard alumni, producing histories of Italy and the United States, and serving as one of the last AHA presidents who was not an academic. His vast bibliography includes the famous essay “Dante in America,” studies of Giordano Bruno and Giacomo Leopardi, a history of Venice, a history of pre-unification Italy from 1814 to 1849, and a masterful biography of Count Cavour, whom Thayer considered the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century.³⁰

Thayer carried on a lifelong campaign against the baneful influences of

1961); and *The Medici* (New York, 1949). Also see James Westfall Thompson, George Rowley, Ferdinand Schevill, and George Sarton, *The Civilization of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1929).

²⁶ Schevill, *Medieval and Renaissance Florence*, xi for quote on historical method; “Podestà of Siena,” 250 (for capitalist reference), 247–48, 260 (for Constitution reference).

²⁷ Anthony Molho began the rehabilitation of Thayer. “Italian History in American Universities,” 202–205.

²⁸ *The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer*, Charles Downer Hazen, ed. (Boston, 1926), 13, 396.

²⁹ In recalling Norton’s ability to expound on a poem from many points of view, Thayer recalled, “yet with all this there was no hint of preaching, no attempt, so common among German expounders, to twist Dante’s text to fit a theory.” Hazen, *Letters*, 37–38. Thayer thought Norton’s Fine Arts course on Italy through the Renaissance “the most important given in modern days at Harvard” (40).

³⁰ See Molho, “Italian History in American Universities,” 204. Thayer’s collected essays are in *Italica: Studies in Italian Life and Letters* (1908; Freeport, N.Y., 1969). Also see William Roscoe Thayer, *The Dawn of Italian Independence: Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1893); *A Short History of Venice* (New York, 1908); and *The Life and Times of Cavour*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1911). Thayer was active in the fledgling community of *italianisti* in Boston, including the Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, the Circolo Italiano, and the Dante Society, once headed by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Russell Lowell and in Thayer’s day by Charles Eliot Norton himself. Hazen, *Letters*, 114–15. Thayer was also elected a member of the Accademia dei Lincei.

Teutonic pedantry, especially its promotion of minute specializations and turgid writing among historians. In a letter in 1911 to Theodore Roosevelt, who had praised his biography of Cavour, Thayer wrote,

The historian in America today, who has any noble conception of his calling, is the least understood of artists: for the standard set by the history departments of our colleges is the Ph.D. thesis. Unless you write in that fashion, you can't be a historian. It is as if the stone-cutters at the quarry should vote that no architects were needed for planning a building, or the paint-grinders should vote the Titians and Rembrandts out of existence.

In France, and (largely) in England too, this absurd notion about historians has passed out: but it clings on here, with other Teutonic barnacles . . . I fully expect to see the day—if I live ten or fifteen years longer—when even in our colleges history will take its proper place. From the beginning of time, there has been irreconcilable warfare between pedants—treadmill men—and those to whom life is, under whatever aspect, real.³¹

The postwar climate of 1919, the year Thayer served as president of the AHA, offered him the opportunity to transform his reservations about Germanic historiography into an all-out assault on German intellectual life. His Presidential Address, "Fallacies in History," raged against the dehumanizing attributes of "the German method of writing history," which he had been protesting for thirty years. This intemperate speech opened with an attack on German psychology as "a dangerous instrument to knowledge," which along with German history had been unmasked by the war as one of the higher forms of deception. "I saw that any method which dehumanizes the subject—history—which should be the most human of all, because it deals entirely with human passions, and actions, and motives, and must be concrete, because men and women are not abstractions, was inevitably a wrong method. I saw, too, that the boasted impartiality of the Germans, was in many cases pure humbug." In place of the Teutonic methods, Thayer called for a history that took account of emotions; "laid bare the moral basis of politics"; held to "a common, consecutive, public plot" rather than fragmented special studies; valued ideas above facts, interpretation above information; and most of all was "interesting."³² The histories of Leopold von Ranke, Theodor Mommsen, and above all Heinrich von Treitschke stood before the bar charged with complicity in the diabolical plan of German imperialism.

It might be tempting to dismiss Thayer as a methodologically unsophisticated dilettante who failed the test of rigor in his use of sources, but a reading of Thayer's histories suggests otherwise.³³ His *Short History of Venice*, the first history of the city by an American, connected the political culture of the medieval

³¹ Hazen, *Letters*, 190–92. In a postscript, Thayer assured Roosevelt that he was completely in favor of thorough research. For Roosevelt's similar views, see Higham, *History*, 7–8.

³² William Roscoe Thayer, "Fallacies in History," *AHR*, 25 (1920): 179–90, quotes on 179–80, 186, 189, 190. Thayer's vehemence against psychology may be especially revealing given that he admitted to experiencing a "serious nervous breakdown" in 1896, which then interrupted his work for four or five years. The symptoms were a "deep melancholia" accompanied by "twinges of hysteria." Hazen, *Letters*, 90. It should also be pointed out that unlike many PhD specialists, who so admired German historiography but misunderstood it, Thayer spoke fluent German.

³³ H. Stuart Hughes rejected Thayer on the grounds that he lacked critical judgment. Molho, "Italian History in American Universities," 201–02.

republic with the liberal yearnings of the Risorgimento.³⁴ Thayer sifted his evidence carefully, even though he relied on the expected published sources. For example, in discussing the famous conspiracy of Doge Marin Falier of 1354, Thayer suggested that the official account of the plot had been concocted to make it appear an isolated incident prompted by an old man's wrath over a personal slight, in order to cover up what was, in fact, a serious attempt to subvert the republic.³⁵ Thayer's explanatory structure derived from a moralism rooted in American Protestantism, which led him when examining the crisis of the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–17) to look outside Venice for culprits rather than question the political will of the Venetian patriciate, the theme that has been developed by historians writing on the period today.³⁶ The villain was, of course, the papacy: "Its double, the Roman Church, had gone bankrupt, through its fatal separation of conduct from religion, making piety to consist in performing arbitrary clerical rules instead of in leading a good life."³⁷ Venice's very strength aroused the jealousy of others, and its fortitude in its conduct of affairs reminded Thayer of Britain's wars in India: "Monarchs and politicians were amazed by the solidity of her [Venice's] government, which they sought to equal, only to find that the secret lay neither in the despotism, nor craft, nor hosts of hirelings, nor extensive dominions: these might bring ascendancy for a season or a lifetime, but not that continuous transmission of vigor which made Venice unique."³⁸ The lesson Thayer drew for his readers spoke to the fears of Americans about the need to sustain national vitality against the jealous rage of barbarous nations.

Although Venice was [the] creation of one of the most practical race of men the world has seen,—of men who as merchants and empire-builders rank with the English; of men who for enterprise and for blending genuine piety with business shrewdness resemble the Yankees of earlier days; of men who devised a masculine form of government in which

³⁴ Thayer closed his narrative by explicitly linking the cowardly fall of the republic in 1797 with the heroic revolutionaries of 1848–1849 under Daniele Manin. *Short History of Venice*, 317.

³⁵ Nevertheless, Thayer did not shrink from employing a standard of poetic truth as a measure of the record: "Faliero's penitence on his way to execution sounds less natural than the curses which Byron makes him utter. And yet the love of Venice was so mighty in the hearts of the Venetians, that it may have moved even Faliero to bless her before she punished him." Thayer, *Short History of Venice*, 133. The standard scholarly treatment of the conspiracy in Thayer's time would have been Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero: La congiura* (Venice, 1897), also in *Archivio Veneto*, 13 (1897): 5–107, 277–374, which was reviewed in the *AHR*, 3 (1898): 708–09 by Ferdinand Schevill [Schwill].

Thayer echoes Lazzarini's view that a proper explanation should look beyond the motive of personal revenge, but Thayer does not explore, as does Lazzarini, the hypothesis that Falier's models were the mainland despots of Padua, Milan, and Verona. Thayer's preference for the poet Byron over the historian Lazzarini as his guide to Falier's emotions may be making a slighting reference to Schevill's comment in his review that Lazzarini had rescued Falier "from the nebular realm of Byronism." Of course, Schevill, more than any other American historian, represented the influence of German scholarship on Italian history, the tendency Thayer so despised.

³⁶ The principal source of the new interpretation is Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii*, Arturo Segre, *et al.*, eds., in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 24, 2d edn. (Città di Castello, 1912). The earlier edition from 1738, which was the only one available to Thayer, did not include the Cambrai years. For contemporary interpretations, see William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter Reformation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968), 95–161; Felix Gilbert, "Venice in the Crisis of the League of Cambrai," in *Renaissance Venice*, J. R. Hale, ed. (London, 1973), 274–92; Robert Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), *passim*; and Donald E. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate: Reality versus Myth* (Urbana, Ill., 1986), *passim*.

³⁷ Thayer, *Short History of Venice*, 193.

³⁸ Thayer, *Short History of Venice*, 195.

reason controlled every joint, leaving no play to emotion,—yet we think of her as feminine, and the fascination which she has exerted above all other cities is truly a woman's fascination.³⁹

Thayer's curious shift in the gendered construction of Venice sprang from the tension between, on the one hand, the long tradition of representing the republic as serenely feminine in contrast to the surrounding principalities that esteemed the aggression of the warrior-knight and, on the other, his compulsive need to bring Venice into a republican tradition of Anglo-American fashioning that required citizens to exhibit the masculine qualities of *virtù*. This usually suppressed, gendered tension in Italian Renaissance historiography has persisted until recently, unmasked finally by the insights of feminist-inspired scholarship.

Schevill and Thayer, in particular, offer some illuminating glimpses into the possibilities and weaknesses of the American tradition of Italian historical studies, disclosing the strain between the Western Civilization periodization schemes and the continuity of urbanism in Italian history and revealing the impulse to Americanize the Italian experience of city-republics, one of those persistent symptoms of the wobbly intellectual identity of the American historian of Europe.⁴⁰ Despite Schevill's celebration of German historical methods and Thayer's fears about their baneful influences, it must be admitted that the engagement of the first generation with Germanic scholarship was quite superficial.⁴¹ Some lacunae are surprising. Schevill's historiographical introduction in his *History of Florence* completely ignores, for example, Jacob Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), and I have found no mention of Burckhardt in the *AHR* before 1939, when Wallace K. Ferguson summarized the assault of the German medievalists on the thesis.⁴² Perhaps Charles Homer Haskins's domineering influence at Harvard, where medieval history reigned supreme, was to blame. The most widely read book of Haskins, which argued for the twelfth century as the crucible of modern thought and science, was in fact a concerted attack on the nineteenth-century conception of the Italian Renaissance.⁴³

What came to be distilled as the canonical interpretation of the Italian Renaissance was the Americanized version of it found in the Western Civilization course, which spread widely in American colleges and universities after World War I. All narrow, specialized concerns were subordinated to the progressive project of creating a "usable past" for Americans. As its indefatigable promoter, James Harvey Robinson, wrote, "only those considerations would properly find a place

³⁹ Thayer, *Short History of Venice*, 318.

⁴⁰ Anthony Molho has urged that "the overriding task of American *italianisti* is to seek to recapture that sense of historical continuity which historians such as William Roscoe Thayer possessed at the turn of our century." "Italian History in American Universities," 222.

⁴¹ Compare Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 21–31.

⁴² Wallace K. Ferguson, "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *AHR*, 45 (1939): 1–28. Also see his magisterial work, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948). The German edition of *Die Kultur* had gone through fourteen printings by 1925. The English translation by S. G. C. Middlemore, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, was first published in 1878 and was in its fifteenth printing by 1929.

⁴³ Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927). Haskins did not deny that there was a "Renaissance" in fifteenth-century Florence, but he wanted to create a greater sense of continuity between the twelfth and the fifteenth-century revivals of Latin learning (5–6).

which clearly served to forward the main purpose of seeing more and more distinctly how this, our present Western civilization, in which we have been born and are now immersed, has come about.”⁴⁴ Italian history became fragmented in that scenario into three distinct moments: antiquity, when the humanism of the moral pagans and Roman law created the grounding for responsible citizenship, the Renaissance, when the city-republics renewed ancient values and anticipated the humanizing virtues of modern constitutions, and the Risorgimento, when liberal values finally triumphed. Frederic Chapin Lane, who bridged the gap between the founding generation who taught him and the current one, which includes several of his students, neatly summarized this interpretation in his Presidential Address to the AHA in 1965 at the height of the Cold War.

My thesis here is that republicanism, not capitalism, is the most distinctive and significant aspect of these Italian city-states; that republicanism gave to the civilization of Italy from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries its distinctive quality and very largely explains the intensity shown in imitating classical antiquity. The attempt to revive the culture of the ancient city-states strengthened in turn the republican ideal and contributed mightily to its triumph later in modern nations and primarily in our own.⁴⁵

Little had changed in this formulation from the generation of Wolfson, Schevill, and Thayer, but its unraveling was not far away. The students on the other side of the lectern in the late 1960s who later happened to become historians of Renaissance Italy lost confidence in this optimistic plot. Their answers to why Americans should study Renaissance Italy moved in entirely new and sometimes opposing directions.

A CENTURY AFTER THE FOUNDING GENERATION, what—to recall the concerns of Charles Homer Haskins—is the state of the dignity, independence, and creative power of American historians of Renaissance Italy? First, their dignity now seems assured. Nowhere else in the world does such a substantial portion of the

⁴⁴ Cited by Allardyce, “Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course,” 705. On the baneful effects of the Western Civilization construct on the study of Italian history, see Molho, “Italian History in American Universities,” 205; and “Gli storici americani e il rinascimento italiano,” 12–14.

⁴⁵ Frederic Chapin Lane, “At the Roots of Republicanism,” *AHR*, 71 (January 1966): 403, reprinted in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, Md., 1966), 520–39. Compare his “Medieval Political Ideas and the Venetian Constitution,” in *Venice and History*, 285–308. A generally positive appraisal of Venetian republicanism also appears in Lane’s *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), a book severely critiqued by Eric Cochrane and Julius Kirshner, “Deconstructing Lane’s *Venice*,” *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975): 321–34. Lane was the first American, however, to explore the archives thoroughly in his scholarship and to employ the essential criterion of evidence still in place today, and one should note that Lane did not usually present himself as a historian of the Renaissance but as an economic historian, trained by Haskins and Roland P. Usher at Harvard and Alfons Dopsch at Vienna. Lane was deeply influenced by the ardent turn toward economic history of the interwar years that also attracted his fellow worker in the Venetian archives, Fernand Braudel. Braudel wrote the foreword (v–xiii) to *Venice and History*, which also contains a Biographical Note (xv–xviii) on Lane’s career. I believe the earliest example of extensive research by an American in an Italian archive for the Renaissance period is Lane’s “Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution,” *AHR*, 38 (1933): 219–39, reprinted in *Venice and History*, 3–24. I have found one previous article in the *AHR* that exploits an archival source, but it is an amateur piece without any historiographical pretensions. Ginevra Niccolini di Camugliano, “A Medieval Florentine, His Family and His Possessions,” *AHR*, 31 (1925): 1–19.

historical community devote itself to the study of foreign countries; in the departments of history of major universities in the United States, Europeanists outnumber Americanists, and a specialist in Renaissance Italy is usually considered necessary for a respectable graduate program.⁴⁶ The many non-U.S. specialists in American departments of history, most of whom have no inherited identification with the society they study, have made the American historical culture remarkably cosmopolitan, if fragmented.⁴⁷ In the United States, there are probably more specialists in the history of Renaissance Florence and Venice than there are in any other country, including Italy itself.⁴⁸

An astonishing academic infrastructure now exists that supports and promotes Italian Renaissance studies. Since the 1950s, the Fulbright-Hays Fellowships and other grants have made it possible for waves of graduate students to spend at least a year working in the many state archives of Italy, and in recent years specialists on Venice and the Veneto have been favored with financial support from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation. The Archivio di Stato in Florence has become the principal locus of American historians in Italy, so much so that the closing of the old archive in 1987 and the removal of its collection to a new building aroused considerable nostalgia and even anxiety, especially among American *italianisti*.⁴⁹ The stature of American research institutions in Italy now exceeds anything Charles Homer Haskins could have imagined a century ago, and there are at least 103 undergraduate university programs, forty-five in Florence alone, that have institutionalized the Grand Tour for the children of the American middle classes.⁵⁰ In the United States, specialized research collections such as those at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., and the Newberry Library in

⁴⁶ From the listings in the *Directory of History Departments and Organizations in the United States and Canada*, 19th edn., 1993–94, American Historical Association, Institutional Services Program (Washington, D.C., 1993), I have counted 489 specialists in U.S. history and 546 in European history at the following universities, which train large numbers of graduate students and are generally ranked among the best departments: Brandeis, Brown, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, CUNY–Graduate School, Duke, Emory, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Rochester, Rutgers, Stanford, Texas, UC–Berkeley, UCLA, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and Yale. All of these except Illinois, Minnesota, Rochester, and Yale list at least one specialist in Renaissance Italy, but the medievalist at Illinois actually works in late medieval and Renaissance Venetian history, and Yale has recently hired an assistant professor in the field. The figures are balanced in favor of American history only at CUNY, North Carolina, Rutgers, Texas, and Virginia.

⁴⁷ Compare Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 470.

⁴⁸ There are ninety-six U.S. subscribers (a group that includes predominantly historians but also art historians, literary scholars, musicologists, and others) to *News on the Rialto: Newsletter for Studies in Venetian History*, 16 (1995). Italy supports fifty subscribers and Great Britain thirty-seven. There is no similar source for information on the students of Florentine history, but American specialists on aspects of Florentine history and culture are certainly much more numerous than those who work on Venetian matters.

⁴⁹ For a commemorative note on the old archive in the Uffizi and an account of the controversy surrounding the move, see Anthony Molho, "The Closing of the Florentine Archive," *Journal of Modern History*, 60 (1988): 290–99.

⁵⁰ The most comprehensive listing of study abroad programs is Sara J. Steen, ed., *Academic Year Abroad, 1995/1996* (New York, 1995), published annually by the Institute of International Education, but even it underestimates the number of programs abroad, many of which are put together by individual faculty members for their own students. The number of students and intensity of study in these programs vary widely from ten or twelve students who visit for a few weeks in the summer in many *ad hoc* programs to more than six hundred for a year at the Syracuse University Program in Florence.

Chicago cater to the interests of Italianists; there are some thirty-four regional conferences and university centers devoted to the Renaissance; and the Renaissance Society of America has about 2,500 members.⁵¹ The steady increase in high school Latin enrollments since 1977 indicates that there is still a substantial pool of prepared students from which future specialists might be recruited.⁵²

Haskins's second concern, the independence of the American scholars, raises a more complex and subtle question, given the extensive linkages between European and American historians that have multiplied since World War II. Members of the current generation are for the most part the intellectual children and grandchildren of the Central European émigrés who found a refuge in America during the 1930s and 1940s: Hans Baron, Ernst Cassirer, Felix Gilbert, Ernst Kantorowicz, Paul Oskar Kristeller, Theodor Mommsen, and Erwin Panofsky, who brought the academic traditions of Austria and Germany directly to the graduate seminars of American universities, as Nicolai Rubinstein and Ernst Gombrich did in Britain.⁵³ The impress of this weighty group of exiles has been far deeper than the faint touch of Germanic scholarship that so disturbed William Roscoe Thayer in the earlier generation, and these German speakers altered American views about the Italian Renaissance even more than did the distinguished expatriates from fascist Italy, who mostly specialized in other periods.⁵⁴

The refugees from the Nazis transported to the English-speaking world the whole tradition of German scholarship on Renaissance Italy, which no longer survives as part of the history curriculum in Germany itself.⁵⁵ Kristeller brought to Columbia the rigorous philological and philosophical training necessary to grapple with Latin humanist texts, creating a new American school of humanist studies, which deserves a more extensive treatment than is possible here, but Kristeller subordinated the study of humanism to the grander schema of the Western Civilization construct, an inclination that made his often highly technical work adaptable to American preconceptions.⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Directory of Members*, the Renaissance Society of America, 1994, Supplement to *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (Winter 1994).

⁵² Between 1962 and 1976, high school Latin enrollments in the United States collapsed from 702,000 to 150,000. Since then, the student demand for Latin has gradually but consistently grown to the point that there is now a national shortage of qualified Latin teachers. Sally Davis, *Latin in American Schools: Teaching the Ancient World* (Atlanta, Ga., 1991), 13. I wish to thank William J. Ziobro, secretary-treasurer of the American Philological Association, for his kind assistance in helping me understand the state of Latin education today.

⁵³ See Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930–1960* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); and H. Stuart Hughes, *The Sea Change: The Migration of Social Thought, 1930–1965* (New York, 1975).

⁵⁴ Gaetano Salvemini was a specialist in modern Italy but apparently did not train any PhD candidates during his fourteen years at Harvard. Molho, "Italian History in American Universities," 212. Robert Lopez trained Italian specialists at Yale, but he was a medievalist. Although Arnaldo Momigliano's interests and expertise were remarkably wide ranging, he was a classicist and spent most of his career in exile in Britain, only venturing to the University of Chicago as a visiting professor after his retirement from University College, London.

⁵⁵ "The Renaissance occupies no space of its own in the history curriculum. If it is taught at all, it is owing to the private research interest of an individual instructor. Otherwise, it is subsumed under the *Geistesgeschichte* (intellectual history) of early modern Europe and labeled as humanism and the revival of antiquity." Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Humanism to the Fore: Renaissance Studies in Germany Today," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994): 931.

⁵⁶ Compare Molho, "Gli storici americani," 15. On Kristeller's academic training and immigration to the United States, see Paul Oskar Kristeller and Margaret L. King, "*Iter Kristellerianum*: The

Felix Gilbert and Hans Baron in their own very different ways provided immensely attractive models for connecting intellectual and political history, models that made it possible to bring together the interests of the earlier generation of American historians in both republican thought and the political institutions of the Italian city-republics. These two scholars argued that the intellectual achievements of Leonardo Bruni, Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Gasparo Contarini, and a handful of lesser figures—as a group, the core thinkers in the history of Italian republicanism—fashioned and refashioned their political analyses, employed political and historical examples from antiquity, and struggled to create a theory of history *in response* to calamitous events that threatened the existence of the Florentine and Venetian republics. Gilbert's and Baron's histories created a marvelous reciprocity between on the one hand the travails of the Western democracies during World War II and the Cold War and on the other the Renaissance republics that defended themselves against the assaults of foreign tyrants. Gilbert's and Baron's work carefully constructed a delicate genealogy of thinkers and citizens who valued “free government” (*governo libero*) above all else and who sought to understand the political and historical conditions necessary to sustain it; but, in contrast to the Americanizing models of the first generation, the exiles shied away from facile comparisons between past and present. Their work flashed a powerful lure that attracted American scholars, because the émigrés respected the political languages and categories of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries while still privileging republicanism in what appeared to be a far more objective, historicized methodology than that previously available. Perhaps most remarkable is the fact that, unlike Kristeller, neither Gilbert nor Baron directly trained graduate students, Gilbert spending the bulk of his career at the Institute for Advanced Study and Baron at the Newberry Library. Their influence came from the power of their published work and their personal generosity to the young historians who managed to make their acquaintance.⁵⁷

Gilbert and Baron employed two concepts, “republicanism” and “crisis,” as devices for coupling political thought to historical events. For Gilbert, the critical

European Journey (1905–1939),” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47 (1994): 907–29. Kristeller's bibliography is vast and easily accessible. One measure of his influence is that he has been honored with no less than three Festschriften: Cecil H. Clough, ed., *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester, 1976); Edward P. Mahoney, ed., *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York, 1976); and Karl-Ludwig Selig and Robert Somerville, eds., *Florilegium Columbianum: Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York, 1987).

⁵⁷ I can personally testify to kind support from Felix Gilbert on many occasions. And at the 1995 AHA annual meeting in Chicago, several historians present at a session devoted to Hans Baron's influence reported on the personal encouragement they received from Baron. On Gilbert's intellectual roots and migration, see Felix Gilbert, *A European Past: Memoirs, 1905–1945* (New York, 1988). To the bibliography of Gilbert's work up to 1976 in *History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977) should be added *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); and *History: Politics or Culture? Reflections on Ranke and Burckhardt* (Princeton, N.J., 1990). On Baron's intellectual roots, see *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1988), esp. “The Course of My Studies in Florentine Humanism,” 2: 182–93. For Baron's bibliography and appraisals of his work, see Anthony Molho and John Tedeschi, eds., *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron* (Florence, 1971); and Riccardo Fubini, “Renaissance Historian: The Career of Hans Baron,” *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992): 541–74.

moment was “the crisis in the assumptions about political thinking” around 1500 when in Florence the generation of Machiavelli and Guicciardini struggled to understand, how in the aftermath of the collapse of the Medici regime, it was “possible to maintain a free government” and regain republican *virtù*.⁵⁸ Gilbert argued that the attempt to answer this question by a group of Florentine citizen-intellectuals in the early years of the sixteenth century resulted in the invention of modern political thought.⁵⁹ His interests were wide ranging, venturing into Venetian history, historiography, American constitutional thought and foreign policy, and twentieth-century European history. Baron, by contrast, confined most of his attention to the detailed explication of a single, remarkable idea: that about 1400, as the consequence of a crisis created by Milanese attempts to conquer the Florentine republic, a new type of humanism, which he labeled “civic humanism,” arose that “transcended in significance the history of Florence and of Renaissance Italy.” Civic humanism promoted active engagement in public life rather than scholarly or monastic isolation, it reinterpreted history in light of contemporary events, and it offered a new defense of the moderns against the ancients by valuing the vernacular as the language necessary for a socially engaged political discourse. Civic humanism, in short, “was the salt in the humanist contribution to the rise of the modern world.”⁶⁰ The dissimilarities between these two looming figures were manifold: they differed by a century in the dating of the crucial crisis that precipitated modern thought, Gilbert’s reconstruction of the historical context was more painstaking than Baron’s, Baron’s reconstruction of the philological and textual tradition more crucial than Gilbert’s, and Gilbert never accepted Baron’s concept of civic humanism; but, together with Kristeller, they permanently altered the course of American studies of the Italian Renaissance.

The “civic” part of Baron’s thesis, in particular, inspired a generation of American historians of Italy, who began to reinterpret many odd corners of Renaissance political and social life as essentially civic in nature. The depth of Baron’s influence is deeply ironic, because he adapted far less well to the Anglophone academic world than did Gilbert or Kristeller. (Gilbert, in fact, produced some of his best work in American history.)⁶¹ As Riccardo Fubini has recently pointed out, Baron “was a scholar who remained obstinately attached to a bygone age” by translating the idea of Italian civic humanism from the German *Bürgerhumanismus*, which was adapted from the ideal of *Bildung*, the process of identity formation as a solid bourgeois and patriotic citizen through an educa-

⁵⁸ Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 7, for the second quote where Gilbert is quoting from Machiavelli. The “crisis” is the subject of Chapter 3.

⁵⁹ A view first stated in Felix Gilbert, “Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari: A Study on the Origin of Modern Political Thought,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 12 (1949): 101–31.

⁶⁰ Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, rev. edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 459, 461. Baron uncompromisingly insisted throughout his career on the essential correctness of a complex and subtle historical reconstruction that first began to dawn on him in a seminar in 1920, and his resistance to his critics certainly added to the authority of the thesis. Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2: 183, 194–211.

⁶¹ Felix Gilbert, *To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, N.J., 1961).

tional curriculum built on the Greek and Latin classics.⁶² As old-fashioned as this ideology was in Cold War America, Baron's adaptation of it to fifteenth-century Florence revitalized Burckhardt's much discredited thesis and rescued the concept of the "Renaissance" from its medievalist detractors, preserving the republican construct so dear to American historians within the seemingly neutral guise of the "civic."⁶³ A positive flood of English-language books appeared between the early 1960s and the early 1980s, which introduced many new themes to Renaissance studies but which chiefly consisted of a meticulous reconstruction of the political culture of the Italian city-states, Florence and Venice in particular, during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. The distinguished intellectual historian William J. Bouwsma adapted to sixteenth and seventeenth-century Venice a Baronian view of the relationship between threats to republican liberty and the articulation of republican thought, uncovering the historical circumstances that led Fra Paolo Sarpi to pen his great defense of republican liberty.⁶⁴ The civic construct spread into aspects of Italian urban history that Baron himself never imagined: historians have written about civic religion and the civic world in Florence, civic ritual in Venice, civic politics in Rome, and civic sculpture in Messina.⁶⁵ The very plasticity of the civic construct, however, threatened to make its explanatory usefulness overly frangible, and the civic model has begun to crack, in part because it may have been more an artifact of the global conflicts of the mid-twentieth century than of Renaissance Italy.

A measure of the creativity of contemporary American scholarship—to turn to Haskins's third concern—must appraise how, in responding to the work of the émigré historians, American *italianisti* have refashioned the historiographical tradition and how they have struck out in new directions.⁶⁶ Their desire to show how a fundamentally new political culture appeared in the Renaissance city-states of central and northern Italy has had numerous repercussions, most loudly in the general reinvigoration of the history of republican thought, especially in the

⁶² Fubini, "Renaissance Historian," 542–43.

⁶³ See Hans Baron, "The Limits of the Notion of 'Renaissance Individualism': Burckhardt after a Century," in *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism*, 2: 155–81.

⁶⁴ Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty*.

⁶⁵ Donald Weinstein, "Critical Issues in the Study of Civic Religion in Renaissance Florence," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, Charles Trinkaus, ed., with Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), 265–70; Gene Brucker, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981); Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, 1992); and Sheila Ffolliott, *Civic Sculpture in the Renaissance: Montorsoli's Fountains at Messina* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984). The civic construct has spread beyond Italian history. See, for example, Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (Kirksville, Mo., 1991).

⁶⁶ Anthony Molho isolates the years 1962–1963, which saw the publication of three new books by Americans, as establishing a new generation of American historians of the Italian Renaissance or, more precisely, Florentine studies. "Il padronato a Firenze nella storiografia anglofona," *Ricerche storiche*, 15 (1985): 5. The three books were by Raymond De Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); Gene Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343–1378* (Princeton, N.J., 1962); and Lauro Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390–1460* (Princeton, 1963). Also among this early group were David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Urban Growth* (New Haven, Conn., 1958); Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town, 1200–1430* (New Haven, 1967); Marvin B. Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, Md., 1967–68); Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families* (Princeton, 1968); and Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970).

hands of the grand synthetic theorists, J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner.⁶⁷ Pocock has fulfilled what had long been the implicit promise of Italian Renaissance studies for the Anglophone world by laying out a precise genealogy of political thinkers from Leonardo Bruni to John Adams, demonstrating how the very act of thinking about republics demanded a special attitude toward history, an attitude that broke up the timeless continuity of Christian hierarchies into a series of discrete moments, "those periods of history at which republics had existed and which were worthy of attention, and those at which they had not and which consequently afforded nothing of value or authority to the present."⁶⁸ Here was the Western Civilization construct of James Harvey Robinson rewritten with enormous heuristic force, a republican version of history, which has been composed around a series of luminous moments from ancient Athens through the Renaissance city-states, to the English civil war, and finally to the revolutionary American and French republics.

Much of what might be considered "normal" historiography, however, has pushed the republican construct into deep background, while retaining a proclivity for "civic" institutions in the republics of Florence and Venice. The result has been an unprecedented and stunning achievement, whatever the often unarticulated ideological impulses behind it. The institutional and political history of Florence has now been carefully reconstructed through an exceptional series of studies that reflect a common research agenda. These trace the evolution of the city-state from a faction-ridden and ungovernable commune to a guild republic to an oligarchic one, through the Medici domination of electoral politics and Savonarola's prophetic dictatorship from the pulpit to the changing regimes of the tense "Machiavellian moment" of the early sixteenth century, an often obscurely amorphous evolution during which the exercise of political power split away from the institutions of authority in a way that made it possible to observe the contingencies and ambiguities of public life—the necessary precondition for modern political thought and historiography.⁶⁹ The combined North American—

⁶⁷ J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); and Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Vol. 1: *The Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1978). Pocock and Skinner both came out of the Cambridge University milieu of intellectual history. For a highly perceptive critical assessment of the Anglo-American historiography of Italian republicanism, see Renzo Pecchioli, *Dal "mito" di Venezia all' "ideologia americana": Itinerari e modelli della storiografia sul repubblicanesimo dell'età moderna* (Venice, 1983).

⁶⁸ Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 54.

⁶⁹ This evolution can be seen in the following: Carol Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); John M. Najemy, *Corporatism and Consensus in Florentine Electoral Politics, 1280–1400* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Najemy, "Guild Republicanism in Trecento Florence: The Successes and Ultimate Failure of Corporate Politics," *AHR*, 84 (February 1979): 53–71; Becker, *Florence in Transition*; Brucker, *Florentine Politics*; Brucker, *Civic World*; Anthony Molho, "Politics and the Ruling Class in Early Renaissance Florence," *Nuova rivista storica*, 52 (1968): 401–20; Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400–1433* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); Molho, "Cosimo de' Medici: Pater Patriae or Padrino?" *Stanford Italian Review*, 1 (Spring 1979): 5–33; Dale Kent, "The Florentine Reggimento in the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 28 (1975): 575–638; Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426–1434* (Oxford, 1978); Paula C. Clarke, *The Soderini and the Medici: Power and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Oxford, 1991); Nicolai Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434–1494)* (Oxford, 1966); Margery A. Ganz, "Donato Acciaiuoli and the Medici: A Strategy for Survival in '400 Florence," *Rinascimento*, 22 (1982): 33–73; Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence*; Roslyn Pesman Cooper, "The Florentine Ruling Group

British–Australian effort that produced this body of historical work over the course of thirty years has reconstructed with great detail and subtlety the process of political transformation in that most documented of late medieval cities, a transformation that has been analyzed with more intellectual force than perhaps any other period in medieval or early modern history, with the possible exceptions of the English and French revolutionary eras.

A similarly ardent research campaign has engaged the social history of Florence and other towns, opening new questions unthought of in earlier generations. It was in social history that the civic construction of Italian history first began to show cracks. Due to the survival of the earliest ample cluster of private diaries (the famous *ricordanze*), the oldest extant tax-census (the *catasto* of 1427), and an incomparable quantity of documents from a variety of administrative, fiscal, judicial, and religious institutions, Florentine history offers unequaled opportunities for reconstructing household structures, social networks, and marriage alliances; for uncovering social relations among subaltern groups; and for capturing glimpses of the inner lives of common people. Unlike the work on Florentine political and intellectual history, however, Florentine social history reveals less obvious patterns of progressive transformation. Some economic structures and the institutionalization of charity may have anticipated modernity, but most other areas of social life did not.⁷⁰ The teleologies of modernization just do not fit very well into the complex social realities of the fifteenth century: the progressive nuclearization of the family did not appear consistently in fifteenth-century Florence, nor did its workers display an enduring sense of class consciousness, nor did traditional patron-client relationships dissolve, nor did Florentines become more secular in their values, nor did they seem inclined to abandon ritual forms of behavior for more “rational” ones.⁷¹ Joan Kelly-Godol’s famous question,

under the ‘Governo Popolare,’ 1494–1512,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s., 7 (1984–85): 71–181; H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, 1502–1519* (Oxford, 1985); J. N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512–1530* (Oxford, 1983); Melissa Meriam Bullard, “Marriage Politics and the Family in Florence: The Strozzi-Medici Alliance of 1508,” *AHR*, 84 (June 1979): 668–87; Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge, 1980); and R. Burr Litchfield, *Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530–1790* (Princeton, 1986). Also see Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982). Approaching the same evolution from a very different point of view is Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980). Compare Anthony Molho, “Recent Works on the History of Tuscany: Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Modern History*, 62 (1990): 57–77.

⁷⁰ On economic structures, see the articles edited by Richard Goldthwaite, “Recent Trends in Renaissance Studies: Economic History,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42 (1989): 635–825, esp. Judith C. Brown, “Prosperity or Hard Times in Renaissance Italy?” 761–80. Also see Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), esp. 1–67. On charity, see Richard C. Trexler, “The Foundlings of Florence, 1395–1455,” *History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory*, 1 (1973–74): 259–84; Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990); Carol Bresnahan Menning, *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte di Pietà of Florence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); and John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford, 1994). Compare Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore, 1988); and Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

⁷¹ On the household and family, see Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth*, who does see progressive nuclearization in a limited sample. Those who do not are Francis William Kent, *Household and Lineage*

"Did women have a Renaissance?" has presented the most serious challenge to the masculinist assumptions of Italian civic history because, even though the answer is not entirely clear, merely posing it has had a deeply subversive effect.⁷²

The consequence of this vast enterprise of empirical historical scholarship has been the exact opposite of what the nineteenth-century enthusiasts for historical positivism expected: the vision of firmly founded historical "truths" that would gain universal assent among the initiated professionals appears to have been a chimera rather than a prophecy. Answering even the basic questions, such as, "What was the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century and how did it happen?" generates explanatory epicycles, epicycles within epicycles, and delicately worded qualifications that make the phenomenon of the Renaissance or even of republicanism more elusive than ever.

in *Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans et leurs familles: Une étude du "catasto" florentin de 1427* (Paris, 1978); and Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994). On workers, see Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980); and Ann G. Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1986). On patron-client relationships, see Ronald F. E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1982); Dale V. Kent and Francis William Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1982); Christiane Klapisch, "Parenti, amici e vicini: Il territorio urbano d'una famiglia mercantile nel XV secolo," *Quaderni storici*, 33 (1976): 953–82. For an alternative, more skeptical view of the suitability of patronage as an analytical model, see Anthony Molho, "Il padronato a Firenze." On the ubiquity of religious values, see Weinstein, "Critical Issues"; Donald Weinstein, "Hagiography, Demonology, Biography: Savonarola Studies Today," *Journal of Modern History*, 63 (1991): 483–503; Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Periodization of Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious History: The Post-Cantimori Paradigm Shift," *Journal of Modern History*, 61 (1989): 269–84; Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1970); Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany, N.Y., 1977); Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens, Ga., 1989); Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); and Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). David S. Peterson has a forthcoming two-volume study of the Florentine church, 1375–1460. On ritual, see Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*; and Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, Md., 1992). For general assessments, see R. F. E. Weissman, "Dal dialogo al monologo: La storia tra i Fiorentini," in *Storici americani e Rinascimento italiano*, 95–111; and Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "La nuova storia sociale di Firenze," *Studi storici*, 26 (1985): 353–71.

One of the most vital fields in Florentine studies has been in legal history, assiduously promoted by Julius Kirshner at the University of Chicago. For a bibliography, see A. Zorzi, "Tradizioni storiografiche e studi recenti sulla giustizia nell'Italia del Rinascimento," in *Storici americani e Rinascimento italiano*, 27–78. See esp. Kirshner, "Some Problems in the Interpretation of Legal Texts in the Italian City-States," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 10 (1975): 16–27; Thomas Kuehn, *Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982); Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1991); John K. Brackett, *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609* (Cambridge, 1992); and Laura Ikins Stern, *The Criminal Law System of Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, 1994). For Italian scholarship, see Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *History from Crime* (Baltimore, 1994).

⁷² Joan Kelly-Godol, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds. (Boston, 1977); David Herlihy, "Did Women Have a Renaissance? A Reconsideration," *Medievalia et humanistica*, 13 (1985): 1–22; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Chicago, 1985); Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1991); and the articles edited by Stanley Chojnacki, "Recent Trends in Renaissance Studies: The Family, Marriage and Sex," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40 (1987): 660–761. For Italian scholarship on the history of women, see Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective* (Baltimore, Md., 1990).

The decentralization of Renaissance historiography away from Florence, so evident over the past twenty years, has also complicated the picture. The historical experiences of other cities not only fail to conform to the Florentine model but are not even easily compared to it.⁷³ Once historians struggled out of the straitjacket of issues defined exclusively by the republican tradition, the political life and social composition of the other great republic, Venice, looked very different from Florence: more consistently oligarchic, more thoroughly institutionalized, more self-confidently complacent, more open to the artistic productions of women, less open to new men, less introspective, and yet possessing hidden dynamisms.⁷⁴ Those who have ventured even farther astray of the great city-republics into other cities, such as Siena, Ferrara, Milan, Rome, Naples, Pescia, Pisa, Pistoia, Lucca, Poppi, Brescia, Vicenza, Padua, Rimini, and Udine, have found that the civic model did not always fit very well.⁷⁵ In the course of the

⁷³ Among the rare explicitly comparative studies are Lauro Martines, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1968); Martines, ed., *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972); Sergio Bertelli, Nicolai Rubinstein, and Craig Hugh Smyth, eds., *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1979–80); Craig Hugh Smyth and Gian Carlo Garfagnini, eds., *Florence and Milan: Comparisons and Relations*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1989); Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore, Md., 1992); Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1989); Edward Muir and Ronald F. E. Weissman, "Social and Symbolic Places in Renaissance Venice and Florence," in *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, John Agnew and James Duncan, eds. (Boston, 1989), 81–104; and Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 1992). See also Gene Brucker, "Tales of Two Cities: Florence and Venice in the Renaissance," *AHR*, 88 (June 1983): 599–616.

⁷⁴ James Cushman Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class* (Baltimore, Md., 1962); Stanley Chojnacki, "In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century," in Hale, *Renaissance Venice*, 47–90; Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*; Queller, *Venetian Patriciate*; Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, N.J., 1977); Dennis Romano, *Patricians and Popolani: The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State* (Baltimore, 1987); and Margaret F. Rosenthal, *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago, 1992). For general assessments, see James S. Grubb, "When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography," *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986): 43–94; Grubb, "Cronache sociali e mobilità sociale nel Veneto," in *Storici americani e Rinascimento italiano*, 79–94; and Michael Knapton, "Introduzione a Venezia tardomedioevale: Istituzione e società nella storiografia angloamericana," *Ricerche venete*, 1 (1989): 7–19.

⁷⁵ William M. Bowsky, *The Finance of the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355* (Oxford, 1970); Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley, Calif., 1981); Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: The Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton, N.J., 1973); Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley, 1994); Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985); Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1972); Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500–1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley, 1976); John A. Marino, *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore, Md., 1988); Antonio Calabria, *The Cost of Empire: The Finances of the Kingdom of Naples in the Time of Spanish Rule* (Cambridge, 1991); Tommaso Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power: The Caracciolo di Brienza in Spanish Naples* (Cambridge, 1992); Judith C. Brown, *In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia* (New York, 1982); Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance*; Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*; Christine Meek, *Lucca, 1369–1400: Politics and Society in an Early Renaissance City-State* (Oxford, 1978); Giovanna Benadusi, *Power on the Periphery: Family and State in Early Modern Tuscany* (Baltimore, forthcoming); Joanne M. Ferraro, *Family and Public Life in Brescia, 1580–1650: The Foundations of Power in the Venetian State* (Cambridge, 1993); James S. Grubb, *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the Early Renaissance State* (Baltimore, 1988); J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (Manchester, 1966); and Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1993).

British historians have tended to show greater interest in the lordships than the more republic-minded Americans. For example, see John Larner, *The Lords of Romagna: Romagna Society and the*

past decade, as the shades of the great German castaways have begun to fade and the superiority of American institutions becomes ever more doubtful, Anglophone historiography has moved closer to Italian historiography than ever before. Political history, in particular, has seen a transatlantic merging of interests, with the Americans beginning to turn from their civic inclinations toward the Italians' focus on the evolution of regional states. The new history of state formation has been oriented around issues such as the relationships between the center and the periphery, feuding, fiscal politics, legal history, the institutional history of church-state relations, and the culture and sociology of princely courts.⁷⁶ Samuel Cohn recently summarized the consequences of the collapse of the civic paradigm: "[H]istorians can no longer speak of linear developments; centralization can no longer simply be assimilated to modernity; and perhaps we must also ask ourselves if it is appropriate, in this regard, to speak of modernity at all."⁷⁷

By the early 1980s, a crisis of confidence in the republican and civic enterprise of Italian Renaissance historiography became evident, a crisis that opened creative new approaches best exemplified by the work of Richard Trexler, who has entirely reoriented the urban and religious history of Florence toward the social-psychology of ritual behavior; Samuel Cohn, whose quantitative investigations of various aspects of social and religious life have exploded old teleologies and chronologies; and Guido Ruggiero, whose investigations of the illicit have restructured Renaissance history around the friction between public discourses and private intimacies.⁷⁸ Not only have historians of Italy, like those in other fields, turned to new approaches inspired by the Annales School, ethnography, cultural studies in literature, feminist historiography, and gay studies, but many of them seem to have lost faith or perhaps interest in "The Renaissance."⁷⁹ One symptom has been the burgeoning curiosity about microhistory, which had its origins among Italian historians associated with the journal *Quaderni storici* but

Origins of the Signorie (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965); Philip J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History* (London, 1974); John E. Law, *The Lords of Renaissance Italy: The Signori, 1250–1500* (London, 1981); and Trevor Dean, *Land and Power in Late Medieval Ferrara: The Rule of the Este, 1350–1450* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁷⁶ On the regional states, see Giorgio Chittolini, "Cities, 'City-States,' and Regional States in North-Central Italy," *Theory and Society*, 18 (1989): 689–706; and Chittolini, "The Italian City-State and Its Territory," in *City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, Anthony Molho, Kurt Raaflaub, and Julia Emlen, eds. (Stuttgart, 1991), 589–602. James Grubb, however, wishes to retain the concept of the Renaissance state for the fifteenth century. *Firstborn of Venice*, ix–xvi. For an example of a near-complete merging of research interests, see Giorgio Chittolini, Anthony Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera, eds., *Origini dello Stato: Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna, 1994).

⁷⁷ Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "Razionalità e 'civismo' nella storia italiana della prima età moderna," in Chittolini, et al., *Origini dello Stato*, 177.

⁷⁸ Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*; Cohn, *Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence*; Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena*; Cohn, *Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death*; Guido Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980); Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (New York, 1985); and Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1993).

⁷⁹ For an astutely prescient statement of the implications for Renaissance historiography of the "collapse of the traditional dramatic organization of Western history," see William J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," *AHR*, 84 (February 1979): 1–15. Compare Anthony Molho, "Burckhardtian Legacies," *Medievalia et humanistica*, n.s., 17 (1991): 133–39.

which has stimulated several examples by Americans.⁸⁰ The practice of microhistory attempts to abandon all teleological and anachronistic assumptions about the course of history in favor of the microscopic examination of a small group, a tightly circumscribed event, or an individual, with a goal of discovering elements of cultural or social practices that are invisible to the wide-angle lens of more macrohistorical techniques, especially quantitative ones. As Carlo Ginzburg, the noted Italian historian who now teaches at UCLA, has remarked, "anachronism is a kind of conscious or unconscious will to impose your own values and also your own existence on people. So in some way, philology is also related to a kind of respect for the dead."⁸¹ Respecting dead ways of thinking and acting, which has been translated into treating fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italian life as alien to the present as Siberian shamanism, assaults the very foundations of modernization theories, the Western Civilization construct, and the Americanizing of Italian history.⁸² Even without employing a specifically microhistorical approach, several scholars have seen that the vast criminal and inquisitorial archives in Italy are best suited for ethnographic history, especially because they offer transcriptions of the testimony of unlettered persons, illustrate the institutional relationships between elites and non-elites, and unravel the constitutive practices of social life.⁸³

The Renaissance lingers on in the historiography but often signifies little more than a chronological tag, except in the history of thought and the arts, where it still seems to have heuristic value. Many new areas remain to be explored, especially in the Mezzogiorno, but the critical lacunae are perhaps less a product of geographical preferences than limits of imagination, especially given the magnificent possibilities offered by the Italian archives. Until very recently, historians of gender have ignored what is by far the largest repository of records by and about women to be found anywhere for the pre-modern period, the archives of the suppressed convents.⁸⁴ Although ecological politics had its origins in the United States and ecological histories of North America are now a commonplace, English-speaking *italianisti* have completely passed over the topic, despite the fact that the Archivio di Stato in Venice houses the voluminous records of several magistracies that were devoted to the regulation of waterways, forests,

⁸⁰ Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1991), vii–xxviii. See Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); and Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 1986).

⁸¹ Keith Luria and Romulo Gandolfo, "Carlo Ginzburg: An Interview," *Radical History Review*, 35 (1986): 106.

⁸² On shamanism, see Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, Raymond Rosenthal, trans. (New York, 1991). On defamiliarizing the Renaissance, see Ronald F. E. Weissman, "The Importance of Being Ambiguous: Social Relations, Individualism, and Identity in Renaissance Florence," in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman, eds. (Newark, Del., 1989), 269–80; and Weissman, "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology: The 'Chicago School' and the Study of Renaissance Society," in *Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Richard C. Trexler, ed. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1985), 39–46.

⁸³ See Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987), esp. 15–24, 40–47; John Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); and Kuehn, *Law, Family, and Women*. For a critical assessment of the microhistorical use of legal documents, see Kuehn, "Reading Microhistory: The Example of *Giovanni and Lusanna*," *Journal of Modern History*, 61 (1989): 512–34.

⁸⁴ See Judith C. Brown, "Monache a Firenze all'inizio dell'età moderna: Un'analisi demografia," *Quaderni storici*, 29 (1994): 117–52.

and common lands.⁸⁵ But most of all, historians have ignored what the Western Civilization construct and the civic model taught them to ignore, especially the vast majority of the population who lived outside of cities and towns, the peasants. Unlike for France, England, Germany, and even Scandinavia, rural history for Italy is in a decidedly primitive state.⁸⁶ With the relatively high levels of literacy in Italy and the penetration of urban administrations into the countryside, a rich rural history of Italy is eminently possible, and—to paraphrase Marc Bloch—good historians must be willing to abandon the archives occasionally and get their boots dirty.⁸⁷

In many ways, the current generation of American historians of Italy is in an enviable position, one that would be gratifying to Charles Homer Haskins and others of his generation who strove to build the foundations for a vibrant professional community of European historians in the United States. Dignity seems guaranteed. Even as financial support begins to seem Spartan when compared to past decades, a solid institutional foundation has secured an American presence in Italian historical scholarship. And independence has been won. Graduate education in North America has become sufficiently rigorous and the number of influential books by Americans translated into French and Italian has been large enough that U.S. scholarship is now an equal partner in an international historical dialogue, so much so that most Italian scholars are thoroughly conversant with the American historical community. The kinds of contacts that once only William Roscoe Thayer had with Italian colleagues are now common, and national identity has become far less of a consequential issue in international scholarly exchanges. But are we sustaining our creative power? This most important question challenges the current generation to emulate the ingenuity of our predecessors if not their conclusions, to rid ourselves, finally, of the battered and scratched Anglo-German-American spectacles of the republican and civic constructs, to envision grand sweeps of history without slipping on the blinkers of anachronistic models, to replace a narrow parochialism with comparative methods, as difficult as they are to formulate, to imagine how to exploit the archives to answer new questions, and most of all to remember that cranky warning from the founder of Italian historiography in America, William Roscoe Thayer, who implored us to shun the mindless treadmills that can wear out the intellectual vitality of a field.

⁸⁵ The first ecological history of an Italian city is Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, *"Sopra le acque salse": Espaces, pouvoir et société à Venise à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1992).

⁸⁶ Among the exceptions to this trend in English are Frank McArdle, *Altopascio: A Study in Tuscan Rural Society, 1587–1784* (Cambridge, 1978); Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham, eds., *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones* (London, 1990); and Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring*. Italian historians have been much more adventuresome in these areas. See the special issues devoted to aspects of agrarian and resource history in *Quaderni storici*, 65 (1987); 79 (1992); 81 (1992).

⁸⁷ Marc Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on Its Basic Characteristics*, Janet Sondheimer, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1966).

Forgetting and Remembering: The French Revolution Then and Now

LYNN HUNT

FOR ALL THEIR PROFESSIONAL ATTENTION TO THE PAST, historians are a remarkably forgetful lot when it comes to the efforts of their predecessors. In the hundred or so years that have passed since the initial professionalization of the discipline of history, the span of historiography considered relevant in any given field has steadily contracted as the sheer amount of writing about the past has increased. This process of foreshortening is most apparent in those fields with a dense historiographical tradition, such as the French Revolution. Students of the revolution may have heard of Michelet, for example, but few read him; and, other than Tocqueville, few read any of the other nineteenth or even early twentieth-century historians of the event.

The reasons for this neglect are obvious yet, nonetheless, paradoxical. We act like scientists, who fully expect their work to be superseded, and sooner rather than later, even though we are not sure that history is a science. To do something innovative in the scientific scheme of things is to do something different from, yet building on, the work of one's predecessors, usually defined as one's immediate predecessors. Thus the study of historians who published their findings in the preceding years or decades is essential; if one is not up-to-date, making a new move is by definition impossible. At the beginning of their careers, in particular, historians are very much like scientists in their worry about competitors. What dissertation student does not lie awake at night worrying about some unknown and as yet unidentified scholar working away on the same archives, however narrowly defined? I know that I did: I imagined my potential competitor going to the local archives in Troyes or Reims on the days I went to the library in Paris or eagerly writing away in some French, American, British, or other university while I was still anxiously trying to figure out which archives to consult. However outlandish such fears may seem in retrospect—and there are enough true stories to make them seem anything but—they tell us something about the way we construct our very presentist discipline in practice.

The imagined relevance of the historiography of any field now precipitously declines after twenty or thirty years, reaching near zero after forty or fifty years at the latest. Who among us can claim to have read the bulk of historical writing in our fields before the 1940s? This systematic forgetfulness characterizes everyone in the profession except those, of course, who professionally study the writing of history; for them, however, history writing in the past provides knowledge of the

times in which the writing occurred, not of the period studied by the historian under examination. Thus Michelet is interesting to Hayden White as a nineteenth-century historian but not as a source for analyzing the French Revolution.¹

If systematic forgetfulness is a hallmark of historical study, then why turn back a century or so to contemplate the way historians conceived of their subjects then? When I embarked on the reading for this essay, I knew next to nothing about my late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American predecessors in the study of the French Revolution. Like most students of French history, I had dutifully learned the “classical” historiography of the event, that is, the canonical progression of French historians from Mignet, Thiers, and Guizot in the early nineteenth century to Aulard, Mathiez, and Lefebvre at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century. (One knew who they were even if one did not read them in detail.) James Harvey Robinson, Henry Morse Stephens, and others even less well known hardly figured on my list. But it is to them that I turned, for they published articles on the French Revolution in the fledgling *American Historical Review*.

This could have seemed like a dreary exercise in parental reverence, but it turned out not to be. Indeed, the more I read, the more I began to feel an almost uncomfortable identification with these particular founding fathers, whose personal experiences no doubt had very little in common with my own. In some ways, I ended up feeling more at home with the aims, aspirations, and judgments expressed by James Harvey Robinson, particularly, than with the assumptions that seem to guide the research of many of my contemporaries in the study of the French Revolution. I say this at the beginning of this essay in order to underline the fact that the reading I offer here is a very personal one that makes no claims to comprehensiveness or even-handed impartiality (though those were among the goals espoused by Robinson and the others).

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION LOOMS LARGE in the *American Historical Review* at its beginnings because Americans considered the French Revolution especially significant to their own history.² The French was the other great revolution of the late eighteenth century, one followed closely, even obsessively, by the early leaders of the United States, just as France had been the other colonial power with an important stake in North America. It hardly seems accidental, then, that the French Revolution attracted the attention of some of the greatest historians practicing the craft in the United States at the time of the founding of the profession's flagship review. James Harvey Robinson and Henry Morse Stephens, in particular, played leading roles in the American historical profession in the 1890s and early 1900s. Stephens sat on the first editorial board of the *American Historical Review*, served as president of the American Historical Association in 1915, and authored an influential general history of the French Revolution.³

¹ Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, Md., 1973).

² I am grateful to Joyce Appleby for drawing this tendency to my attention.

³ H. Morse Stephens, *A History of the French Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1886 and 1891).

Robinson authored or co-authored a number of widely used textbooks in European history; aggressively promoted “the new history,” a broad, socially relevant, interdisciplinary notion of historical study; and became president of the American Historical Association in 1929.⁴ Stephens and Robinson both participated in drawing up national history standards, Stephens on the Committee of Seven named by the American Historical Association in 1896 “to consider the subject of history in the secondary schools and to draw up a scheme of college entrance requirements in history,” and Robinson on the subsequent Committee of Five appointed in 1907 to review and revise the earlier standards.⁵

Their articles and those of their colleagues exude optimism about the new possibilities opening to historians and confidence about the kind of work that could be undertaken in the near future. These attitudes reflected the shared conviction that historians were marching forward on related fronts: the publication of new documents and new historical journals made historical study accessible to a much wider circle of scholars; the professionalization of study encouraged historians to believe that they could achieve some measure of accuracy in determining the provenance, contexts, and meaning of their documents; and the incipient internationalization of scholarship around the Euro-American positivist agenda of patiently building new knowledge fostered the sense that better syntheses would soon be forthcoming. As Robinson observed, both friends and foes of the French Revolution agreed that “the basis of historical research must be constantly broadened by the publication of documentary matter of all kinds,” and these publications made possible a “detailed examination of the manners, customs, conditions, and property-holding not only of the Revolution but of the Ancien Régime.” Such examination would in turn facilitate a more thoroughly “pragmatic history of the Revolution,” one that measured its actual accomplishments and thus more precisely determined its fundamental place in French and Western European history.⁶

Monographic work in the pages of the new journal strongly emphasized the contributions that could be made by new documents and careful comparisons between them. Stephens used the occasion of a long review of four memoirs of the French Revolution published in 1894 and 1895 to comment on the recent “bewildering wealth of documents” published with the financial assistance of the French government, projects that first began in the 1820s and 1830s but took off with local and national funding around the time of the Centennial in 1889. He made much of the documentary history of the memoirs, showing in detail how their uses could be compromised by relatives who insisted on rewriting infelicitous

⁴ See, in particular, James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (1912; New York, 1922). For an account of Robinson’s influence as teacher and scholar, see Luther V. Hendricks, *James Harvey Robinson: Teacher of History* (New York, 1946).

⁵ *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Seven* (New York, 1914), quote on p. v; and *The Study of History in Secondary Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by a Committee of Five* (New York, 1915).

⁶ James Harvey Robinson, “Recent Tendencies in the Study of the French Revolution,” *AHR*, 11 (1906): 529–47, quotes pp. 532, 547. This is unquestionably the most useful, because the most synthetic, of the articles published in these early years about the French Revolution, and it repays reading even today.

passages.⁷ Fred Morrow Fling (apparently, three names were a must at the time) reviewed the dispute among French scholars over the authorship of the *Journal d'Adrien Duquesnoy* and used his own reading of the manuscript in the National Library in Paris to patiently weed through the claims and counterclaims of his French counterparts.⁸ Clyde Augustus Duniway undertook a careful study of correspondence in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to demonstrate that the French monarchy preferred to see the United States continue in a weakened state under the Articles of Confederation.⁹ Duniway's article shows that American historians still gravitated to the history of eighteenth-century Franco-American relations even in the early twentieth century. Judgments about the value of newly published documents and the sifting of contradictory claims depended on firsthand research in manuscript sources available only in France; thus professionalization necessarily included at least some direct access to foreign sources.

In all of these articles, the excitement of fresh discoveries confirmed the belief that persistent misunderstandings could now be cleared up and disputes fairly adjudicated. Most remarkably given our current graphomania is the shortness of some of these pieces. C. H. Lincoln, for example, offered a major revisionist reading of the *cahiers* of 1789 in four pages. He advanced an argument very similar to those made today: "that the terrible character of the French Revolution was not caused by the gradual accumulation of burdens upon the shoulders of the peasants, causing the gradual growth of a spirit of hostility between the several orders." He emphasized instead the practical failures of "well-meaning delegates" and the consequent wastage of the forces of moderation.¹⁰

Many of the themes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century articles might now be characterized as "traditional," in particular an emphasis on the personal lives and political machinations of leading statesmen such as Mirabeau and Napoleon, the only two figures of the French Revolution to merit more than one article in the first few volumes of the new journal. Sidney B. Fay reviewed the evidence about Napoleon's decision to execute the duc d'Enghien and argued that it constituted one of his greatest political mistakes. William M. Sloane wrote about Napoleon's plans to establish a far-flung colonial empire stretching from the Far East to North and South America. Victor Coffin (a rare exception to the three-name rule) offered a study of Napoleon's administrative aims, depicting him as a "champion of legality." But even supposedly traditional topics could point in new directions. While Fred Morrow Fling stuck closely to an account of how Mirabeau's father repeatedly imprisoned him by means of *lettres de cachet*, R. M. Johnston explored the connections made by Mirabeau with Freemasons, illuminati, and German publishers while serving in Berlin from 1785 to 1787 as a secret agent of the very French government that had imprisoned him a few years earlier.

⁷ I am grateful to Denise Davidson for some preliminary research that proved very helpful to me in writing this article. H. Morse Stephens, "Recent Memoirs of the French Directory," *AHR*, 1 (1896): 473–89.

⁸ Fred Morrow Fling, "The Authorship of the *Journal d'Adrien Duquesnoy*," *AHR*, 8 (1902): 70–77.

⁹ Clyde Augustus Duniway, "French Influence on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution," *AHR*, 9 (1904): 304–09.

¹⁰ C. H. Lincoln, "The Cahiers of 1789 as an Evidence of a Compromise Spirit," *AHR*, 2 (1897): 225–28.

The demimonde of hack writers, publicists, and underground publishers and their links with Masons, mesmerists, and spiritualists had already attracted attention.¹¹

A certain nationalist sentiment figured in some of these articles. In his consideration of French policy toward the Mississippi Valley during the administrations of Washington and Adams, for example, Frederick Jackson Turner made quite clear his interest in detailing the potential obstacles posed to American unification; he argued that French policy might have checked or even prevented "the destiny of the United States as arbiter of North America and the protector of an American system for the New World."¹² Attitudes toward France and its revolution thus could include suspicion about its past imperial aims as well as a general distrust of revolutionary enthusiasm. Henry E. Bourne railed against French revolutionary impracticality, claiming that "government was something like a novel and dangerous toy, and these children in politics jostled one another in their eagerness to try their hand at it." But in his article on Parisian municipal politics in 1789, Bourne also concluded that the methods of mobilizing the local districts to counter higher authorities had been first devised by the bourgeois of 1789, not the Jacobins of 1792–1793.¹³

The concept of a bourgeois revolution did not excite much controversy. Victor Coffin referred matter-of-factly to Napoleon belonging "in spirit emphatically to the bourgeois revolution," identifying fully with the revolutionary dissolution of the regime of privilege, favoring neither the *sans-culottes* nor the aristocracy in his policies.¹⁴ In his overview of recent work, however, Robinson did not use the phrase, even when praising Jean Jaurès for directing and himself writing part of the "best general history of the period . . . perhaps the best that has ever been written," the *Histoire socialiste*.¹⁵ Jaurès' volumes are now regarded as among the canonical works in Marxist historiography, a historiography defined in large measure by the thesis that the French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution.

In general, ideological positions seem quite muted in the turn-of-the-century articles, especially given the fervor of historiographical debates in Third Republic France at the same time. Robinson bemoaned the "partizan enthusiasm" evident in French studies of their own revolution and even criticized the Paris municipal government that had subsidized many publications of important revolutionary documents; it had undertaken its valuable work in an "absurdly apologetic" spirit about the aims of the revolution. Yet he explained the attitude of the "exalted Republicans" as an understandable reaction to those who "have dared to look back with regret, even with yearning" upon an Old Regime polity based on privilege, despotism, divine right, and personal favoritism. Robinson himself favored a pro-republican point of view, yet this did not stop him from criticizing

¹¹ Sidney B. Fay, "The Execution of the Duc d'Enghien," *AHR*, 4 (1898): 21–37; W. M. Sloane, "Napoleon's Plans for a Colonial System," *AHR*, 4 (1899): 439–55; Victor Coffin, "A Preliminary Study of the Administrative Polity of Napoleon I," *AHR*, 13 (1908): 753–78; Fred Morrow Fling, "Mirabeau, a Victim of the *Lettres de Cachet*," *AHR*, 3 (1897): 19–30; R. M. Johnston, "Mirabeau's Secret Mission to Berlin," *AHR*, 6 (1901): 235–53.

¹² Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams," *AHR*, 10 (1905): 249–79, quote p. 279.

¹³ Henry E. Bourne, "Municipal Politics in Paris in 1789," *AHR*, 11 (1906): 263–77, quote p. 265.

¹⁴ Coffin, "Preliminary Study," 765.

¹⁵ Robinson, "Recent Tendencies," 543.

his French counterpart Alphonse Aulard and followers for thinking that they could "treat the history of the Revolution in the same spirit in which they might deal with that of Greece or Rome." The French had a long way to go, Robinson insisted, before they could achieve that "disengaged spirit." By implication, the American historians of France seemed closer to achieving the goal of objectivity.¹⁶

Although Robinson and his American colleagues labored to establish themselves as impartial observers of internal French disputes, they did hold strong views about the importance and meaning of the French Revolution. According to Robinson, "The Revolution will some day be recognized as fundamentally the most decisive and general readjustment to meet new and altered conditions of which we have any record." (He made this proclamation before the world wars or any of the other fateful events of the twentieth century.) The French Revolution was a "rebirth," a "reformation, social, political, and economic." Determination of its meaning required not only the complete digestion of all the information made available in new documentary publications but also the overcoming of the nefarious influence of "four fallacies": that the revolution only began in May 1789 and not at least three years earlier with the first efforts at reform; that it culminated in the Reign of Terror; that it was confined mainly to the city of Paris; and, finally, that its history could be written from personal memoirs, "that older form of historical fiction," rather than the newly published government documents, committee reports, letters, and diaries.¹⁷

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON'S FOUR FALLACIES provide a good point from which to begin comparing turn-of-the-century views of the French Revolution with those of today. In what follows, I do not pretend to offer a comprehensive historiographical overview, certainly not one like the compactly panoramic review offered by Robinson in 1906. The literature is now too enormous, and much of it was reviewed in essays written on the occasion of the Bicentennial, including those that appeared in this journal.¹⁸ Instead, I want to raise the broadest comparisons between then and now, using Robinson's historiographical essay as my point of departure.

On three of Robinson's propositions, agreement is quite general. Historical research on the origins of the French Revolution has generally shifted ever further back into the eighteenth century, Paris has ceased to be the unique center of interest, and personal memoirs composed long after the events definitely take a back seat to government documents and other contemporary forms of documentation. Although many today might contest Robinson's confident assertion that "a scientific and adequate picture" of the Old Regime would reveal the full extent of its "ancient and chaotic conditions," almost everyone concurs that an accurate picture of revolutionary France depends on an in-depth understanding of the

¹⁶ Robinson, "Recent Tendencies," 529–31, 546.

¹⁷ Robinson, "Recent Tendencies," 546–47.

¹⁸ *AHR*, 94 (December 1989): 1249–1345. Even more recently, see Steven Laurence Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution: The Historians' Feud; France, 1789/1989* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

country's previous political, economic, social, and cultural situation.¹⁹ Yet as research on the Old Regime has developed, the Old Regime has come to be seen as a distinct, separate entity.²⁰ Research on eighteenth-century France now probably outweighs work on the revolutionary era, but it no longer fits so comfortably under the rubric of the origins of the revolution. In a sense, then, the Old Regime—a term invented by the revolutionaries to mark their break with it—has ceased being the “old” or former regime (*ancien régime* has both connotations); it has been restored as a regime in its own right.

Indeed, restoration is an appropriate term since this research often paints a much rosier picture of the Old Regime than Robinson's. The depictions of a few historians, notably Simon Schama's, recall those “hopelessly reactionary” efforts that Robinson decried as “rebuilding the ancient edifice with idyllic grace and peopling it with a happy and virtuous throng who had lived together in blessed concord until they suffered themselves to be alienated from God and their king by the satanic obsession of the Revolution.”²¹ If most current work does not usually go quite this far, it is nonetheless true that much has been written recently to argue for the relatively benign nature of Old Regime institutions and practices, particularly in comparison to the repressive policies of the Terror. The monarchy is credited with allowing civil society to flourish in the form of salons, local academies, and even masonic lodges; it stopped short of killing its opposition among the magistrates, the *philosophes*, or clandestine publishers. By contrast, it is argued, the revolution showed no mercy for its dissidents. In other words, the revolution seems not only much less inevitable than it did to Robinson but, to some, also much less necessary or desirable.²²

A reevaluation of the significance of the Terror follows from this reassessment of the Old Regime, but that is hardly its primary source: the Russian Revolution, fascism, Nazism, Stalinism, and the Cold War made the Terror an almost inescapable focus of controversy. Robinson seemed heartened that “the Reign of Terror no longer claims the attention of many investigators,” and he praised the work of Stephens for “reducing to its proper proportions the disimprisoned anarchy, which indeed seems almost trivial when compared with the magnificent turmoil in Russia at the present moment [1906].”²³ In the 1970s, François Furet, then a repentant former communist, brought the Terror back into the center of analysis of the revolution, arguing that French Republicans, socialists, and communists had each in their own way downplayed its significance in order to achieve their political purposes. The French Republican contemporaries of Robinson separated 1793 from 1789, maintaining that 1793 was a temporary aberration, an unexpected by-product of the war effort. In the twentieth century, socialists and communists considered the Terror more central, though equally

¹⁹ Robinson, “Recent Tendencies,” 541.

²⁰ Margaret Jacob drew this distinction to my attention, for as a specialist in the history of the revolution I still tend to view most research on the eighteenth century through the lens of the question of the origins of the revolution.

²¹ Robinson, “Recent Tendencies,” 530, 529. Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York, 1989).

²² See, for example, Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

²³ Robinson, “Recent Tendencies,” 546, 538.

explicable in terms of circumstances; it could be explained by the combination of war and the need to repress the social enemies of the revolution, especially the aristocracy. Furet contested any explanation that rested solely on circumstances; he insisted that the causes of the Terror had to be primarily ideological and cultural, since the Terror reached its height only after the French began to win the war. His influential analysis reshaped writing on both the Old Regime and the revolution, encouraging some historians to see 1789 as the decisive break between an ineffectual, politically anodyne but self-contradictory Old Regime and an inherently totalitarian revolution that inaugurated a completely new political culture based on deeply problematic democratic principles.²⁴ Keith Baker recently argued, for example, that the Terror grew directly out of the ambiguities present in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen passed in August 1789; in this view, even the declaration of individual rights contributed to an irresistible totalitarian dynamic.²⁵

Furet explicitly linked the French Revolution to totalitarianism; for him, the revolution was the origin of the gulag.²⁶ This has become a pervasive view, and the association now extends beyond the Bolshevik revolution to a connection with fascism as well. Patrice Higonnet compared the French revolutionaries' treatment of nobles to the scapegoating of Jews under Hitler.²⁷ In the name of feminist analysis, Dorinda Outram argued for even more sinister ties between the French Revolution and totalitarianism. In her view, the French revolutionaries' exclusion of women from the public sphere entailed a new politics of the body, in which men controlled and personified political ideals while reducing women to "feelers and doers, who cannot gain public weight and dignity." The revolutionary idealization of male stoicism, she insisted, actively encouraged government through terror and "thus opened the way for the emergence of modern totalitarian states." "The whole tendency of [the French Revolution's] political culture," she maintained, "was to collude with state terror."²⁸

Robinson wrote his words on the Terror before witnessing any of the fateful events of the twentieth century, and he died in 1936 before the concept of totalitarianism came into scholarly usage.²⁹ Although he might well have revised his estimation of the importance of the Terror if he had lived longer, he had his own reasons for downplaying its significance: he thought that the French

²⁴ François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge, 1981; French edn., 1978).

²⁵ Keith Michael Baker, "The Idea of a Declaration of Rights," in Dale Van Kley, ed., *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 154–96. "The Terror took form, too, as the revolutionaries continued the struggle to realize, at each moment, that impossible transparency of will and understanding between the nation and its representatives that had been promised by the preamble of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in 1789" (p. 196). At times, this book seems to consist of a rehabilitation of the Old Regime coupled with a denunciation of the Declaration of Rights.

²⁶ "Today the Gulag is leading to a rethinking of the Terror precisely because the two undertakings are seen as identical." Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 12.

²⁷ Patrice L. R. Higonnet, *Class, Ideology, and the Rights of Nobles during the French Revolution* (New York, 1981).

²⁸ Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 85, 163.

²⁹ Most of Robinson's work on the French Revolution appeared in the 1890s and first decade of the 1900s according to the bibliography in Hendricks, *James Harvey Robinson*, 114–20.

Revolution made an essential contribution to the establishment of democracy and that the Terror was a temporary, unfortunate deviation from that long-term development. His "new history" explicitly favored "deeper special issues" and "fundamental and permanent results" over what he termed "the picturesque, the gruesome, the anecdotal" and "superficial" political agitation.³⁰ We might not consider the Terror an example of "superficial" political agitation, but need we then jump to the opposite extreme and recast it as the teleological embodiment of all the revolution's meaning?

Throughout his career, Robinson sought to make history more democratic in access and method. In *The New History*, he passionately argued for the alliance of history with anthropology, economics, psychology, and sociology in the hope that this coalition would draw attention to "the importance of the seemingly homely, common, and inconspicuous things," the knowledge of which would "promote the general welfare."³¹ He believed that a more social-scientifically informed analysis would stress the structural trends and changes that most shaped ordinary lives. As he insisted, "Our democracy, with all its hopes and aspirations, is based on an appreciation of common men; our science, with all its achievements and prospects, is based on the appreciation of common things."³²

In his essay "The Principles of 1789," Robinson brought this broader agenda to bear on the French Revolution:

So few writers have as yet set before themselves quite clearly the problem of discovering and explaining the really great and permanent results of the Revolution, that the public may be forgiven for scarcely suspecting that there have been such results . . . Underlying the dramatic episodes of the Revolution, and obscured by them, is a story of fundamental social and political reform which not only serves to explain the history of France during the nineteenth century, but casts much light as well upon the progress of liberal institutions in Europe at large.

After reviewing the "marked tendency upon the part of English and German historians to condemn the Declaration of the Rights of Man as an instance of Gallic lightheadedness," he went on to argue that the aims of the National Assembly in composing the declaration became "perfectly intelligible" in the light of Old Regime social and political conditions, as well as that the democratic principles of 1789 "represent the most commonplace assumptions of European governments to-day."³³

As is by now evident, I find much to admire in Robinson's turn-of-the-century view. Although the events of the twentieth century do force us to reevaluate the significance of the French Revolution and do suggest that the revolution displayed proto-totalitarian tendencies that make it impossible for us to simply dismiss the Terror, as Robinson seemed to do, recent work has all too often insisted on a lock-step progression within the French Revolution from the principles of 1789 to

³⁰ Robinson, "Recent Tendencies," 538.

³¹ Robinson, *New History*, 149.

³² Robinson, *New History*, 132. Robinson is situated in a broader intellectual context in Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991).

³³ James Harvey Robinson, "The Principles of 1789," in *The New History*, 203, 204, 229, 232–33. This essay combines the original *AHR* article, "Recent Tendencies," with some of his other work on the French Revolution.

the Terror and, more generally, within modern history from the French Revolution to both fascism and communism. That work also tends to consider the Terror, fascism, and communism as at once overwhelmingly important and inherently the same, effacing the differences between them and overlooking the other histories that might be told, for example, of the development of democratic institutions. Five years of significant events and trends separated the end of the Terror and the rise of Napoleon, and these also contributed to the apprenticeship in democratic practices and representative institutions that is, arguably, the most important outcome of the French Revolution, especially given France's subsequent history. We might not wish to cast the alternatives, as Robinson did, as a simple choice between a history structured by social-scientific inquiry and one more sensitive to political and ideological elements. (By insisting on the significance of ideology and political culture, Furet seems to set out the same choices from the opposite perspective.) We might hope to combine these different perspectives. But we are still very much caught up in the debate about the linkage between 1789 and 1793, between democracy and totalitarianism.³⁴

Despite the revived interest in the question of the Terror, little recent work has been devoted to any in-depth reconsideration of those elements most central to it: the legal apparatus, the evolution of attitudes toward political dissent, and the impact of the executions and factional infighting on the development of local institutions and practices. Did the regular legal system cease to function when special tribunals and commissions went into operation? Did crime, divorce, and property disputes disappear? Or were fundamental institutional and legal innovations continuing apace, as Robinson maintained? Furet's important reconsideration of the Terror took place on an almost entirely abstract level, focusing on its historiographical and theoretical significance, and his followers have concentrated most of their energies either on the Old Regime or on 1789 as the crucial year rather than on the years of the Terror. More thorough analysis of the place of the Terror will depend at least in part on new research.³⁵

When Robinson insisted that the spotlight must shift from Paris outward to the provinces, he did not appear to have in mind those other provinces, the French colonies. Turn-of-the-century historians, whether in the United States or France, demonstrated little interest in the colonial side of the revolution. Stephens proved something of an exception, for his two-volume history of the French Revolution devoted several pages in each volume to events in the colonies. He maintained that the history of the revolution in the colonies "deserves somewhat careful attention."³⁶ Perhaps Stephens showed more interest in the colonies because he began his career lecturing on Indian history at Cambridge University, yet his use

³⁴ Isser Woloch offers many fresh perspectives on these problems and reinserts the Terror into a long-term perspective in his remarkably wide-ranging study, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s* (New York, 1994).

³⁵ When referring to the followers of Furet, I am thinking in particular of Keith Baker and his students. In *The New Regime*, Woloch says more about the legal profession than about the operation of the courts. New work on the legal system of the revolutionary decade is now being undertaken by Suzanne Desan and Carla Hesse among others.

³⁶ Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, 1: 516.

of the qualifier "somewhat" demonstrates just how little most scholars usually did attend to the colonies.

Colonial commerce and slave revolts, especially in Saint Domingue (Haiti), have attracted the attention of a hardy band of twentieth-century specialists, but their work has remained regrettably marginal to general considerations of the French Revolution. Given the importance of that commerce, the impact of the successful slave revolt in Saint Domingue, and the French abolition of slavery in 1794, this oversight can only be surprising. One in eight French people lived off colonial trade, and the single colony of Saint Domingue had 500,000 slaves in 1789 whereas all the United States had 700,000.³⁷ The black slave revolt in Saint Domingue that began in 1791 and ended with Haitian independence in 1804 has been recently described as "one of the great revolutions of the modern world," yet this Caribbean revolution remains historiographically marginal despite the efforts of pioneers such as C. L. R. James in the 1930s.³⁸ Simon Schama, for example, gives one sentence to the black uprisings in *Citizens* (only to explain the cause of metropolitan riots over sugar), and Furet mentions the subject not at all.³⁹

This neglect reflects the remarkable power of the historiographical status quo in shaping views of the past, for there is no more telling ground for a consideration of the impact of revolutionary ideas or practices than the Caribbean colonies. In October 1789, for instance, Governor Peynier reported to the central government that the black slaves of Saint Domingue viewed the new revolutionary cockade made up of red, white, and blue ribbons as a

signal of the manumission of the whites. People report to us and even write to us from the various opposing sides in the colony that the blacks all share an idea that struck them spontaneously: that the white slaves killed their masters and now free they govern themselves and regain possession of the land. It would be dangerous to even seek to destroy these false rumors by explaining the truth, and we make every effort to maintain silence without an appearance of mystery.⁴⁰

The slavery of despotism may have been metaphorical in metropolitan France, but in the colonies it had a very concrete meaning. The conflicts between the rich white planters, the poor whites, the free blacks and mulattos, the thousands of recently imported slaves, the Old Regime administration, and the new revolutionary officials reveal revolutionary dynamics even more complex than those in metropolitan France, and analysis of them can shed new light on the oldest problems, from the meaning of liberty to the operation of the Terror. Very recently, interest in the colonial French Revolution finally seems to be on the increase, as younger (and even some older) historians become more interested

³⁷ James E. McClellan III, *Colonialism and Science: Saint Domingue in the Old Regime* (Baltimore, Md., 1992). This excellent book sheds much new light on the nature of the Old Regime as a colonial system.

³⁸ Quote from Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1990), 1; C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938; London, 1980).

³⁹ Schama, *Citizens*, 602. I truly mean these only as examples, for, like most others, I have never mentioned the colonies in my work. Elizabeth Colwill helped orient me in this field; she is working to reincorporate the revolution in Saint Domingue into studies of metropolitan France.

⁴⁰ Archives Nationales, Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Series C9A, Correspondance Générale St. Domingue.

not only in the Caribbean side of the revolution but also in the links between the colonies and the metropole.⁴¹ The increase in interest no doubt reflects the growing concern with world history, colonialism and decolonization, and international economic, political, and cultural interactions more generally.

IF HISTORIANS WERE REVISING Robinson's list of fallacies today, they would no doubt add a fifth: that the history of the French Revolution concerned only men. With its emphasis on the material world and everyday life, Robinson's "new history" seemed to promise an opening to women's history. He insisted that his "history for the common man" could speak to both boys and girls, and his definition of the materials for this history was capacious:

The tragic reflections of Eli's daughter-in-law, when she learned of the discomfiture of her people at Ebenezer, are history; so are the provisions of Magna Charta, the origin of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the fall of Santiago, the difference between a black friar and a white friar, and the certified circulation of the *New York World* upon February 1 of the current year.⁴²

Yet women hardly figure in Robinson's writings on the French Revolution. In contrast, women's participation and gender relations now weigh heavily in the scales of contemporary interest, especially in Anglo-American scholarship about the revolution.

Work on women and gender relations, which extends back into the Enlightenment as well, has tended to reinforce the current negative evaluation of the French Revolution. Whether linked to the origins of totalitarianism or not, the revolution has been cast as bad for women. The current picture looks something like this: under the Old Regime, women, at least elite women, exercised influence in various ways, whether as hostesses in the salons of the Enlightenment or behind the scenes at the court. Revolutionaries attacked their power as part and parcel of monarchical, aristocratic society and introduced a new, middle-class, gendered notion of public and private spheres that more effectively excluded women from any meaningful participation in public life. Even those historians, such as Olwen Hufton, who downplay the significance of women's political clubs nonetheless portray women as inherently opposed to much of the revolution. In Hufton's view, "the most constructive force one can determine at work in society" was the attempt of women to reestablish religious worship in opposition to the revolutionary government.⁴³ Others have denounced the middle-class republic as inherently sexist: for Joan Landes, "the exclusion of women from the bourgeois public was not incidental but central to its incarnation"; it was "essentially, not

⁴¹ Robert Forster has done much in this country to encourage interest in the colonies, both under the Old Regime and during the revolution. See, for example, "The French Revolution, People of Color, and Slavery," in Joseph Klags and Michael H. Haltzel, eds., *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution* (New York, 1994), 89–104. See also Anne Pérotin-Dumon, *Être patriote sous les tropiques: La Guadeloupe, la colonisation et la Révolution (1789–1794)* (Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe, 1985).

⁴² Robinson, *New History*, 1.

⁴³ Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992), 130. A more complex view of women's political activism can be found in Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

just contingently, masculinist.”⁴⁴ In her examination of “the ‘world historical defeat’ of women,” Madelyn Gutwirth echoes the same themes: “all our claims to universal democracy have long rested on an evasion of the realities of gender interests.” To explain the actions of the revolutionaries toward women, she argues that “the French Revolution itself arrived in the midst of a longer and broader struggle to resist women’s advancement in society and to restore an unquestioned male supremacy.”⁴⁵

I cannot offer here a full-scale reevaluation of this literature any more than I can provide a reconceptualization of the Terror or of the colonial revolution; moreover, my own work is much implicated in the general view that I have sketched.⁴⁶ Most troublesome in this ever-growing body of publications is the now almost axiomatic condemnation of the French Revolution. Historians of gender relations denounce the French Revolution as bad for women because it attacked aristocratic forms of female power; because the revolutionaries banned women’s clubs; because the revolutionary government turned hostile to Catholicism and, in some cases, to religion more generally; because the revolutionaries expressed misogynist convictions; and because the universalism of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen seemed to mask an assumed male possessor of those rights. Since women did not gain full enjoyment of the rights promised by liberty, equality, and fraternity, these values can have no meaning for them, or so the argument seems to run.

Feminist analysis of the French Revolution’s bad attitude toward women tends to focus on the male reaction to and against women’s activism, whether religious or political; it takes women’s activism as a given and fails to recognize that while the misogynist reaction of the revolutionaries is hardly new—the likes of it can be found in virtually every political upheaval in history and indeed in almost all known history—the women’s organized activism surely is.⁴⁷ During the revolution, organized secular women’s groups made precise claims for female political participation, and various men and women published explicit demands for equal property, divorce, familial, and political rights for women. These actions distinguished the French Revolution from all previous such upheavals, including the American Revolution of the 1770s and 1780s and the Dutch Revolution of 1787. What was new was not the predictable governmental reaction and repression but rather the surprisingly open political space created by the radicalization of the revolution from 1789 until 1793. What was new was the self-conscious organization by women to demand their political rights.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 7.

⁴⁵ Madelyn Gutwirth, *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), xviii, 385, 383. For a discussion of the Old Regime in a similar vein, see Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994). I hasten to add that there is much in all of these books with which I agree.

⁴⁶ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

⁴⁷ The clearest exception to this trend is Dominique Godineau, *Citoyennes tricoteuses: Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Aix-en-Provence, 1988).

⁴⁸ I discuss some of these issues, though not in much detail there either, in Lynn Hunt, “Male Virtue and Republican Motherhood,” in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The Terror*, Vol. 4 of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (Oxford, 1994), 195–208.

In short, the issues raised by the history of women and gender relations need to be reframed. Rather than just asking why the revolutionaries suppressed women's clubs and opposed female activism and full citizenship for women, we should also ask what enabled women to organize in the first place, especially given the long history of widely shared attitudes about their proper place in society. Key to this mobilization of new interests was the articulation of a concept of universal rights, which in the French case, and apparently only in the French case, led ineluctably to a reconsideration of everyone's rights, including those of women as well as Protestants, Jews, free blacks, slaves, actors, executioners, and even children.⁴⁹ The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen in August 1789 put rights on the agenda, and they have stayed there in one form or another ever since. To dismiss this as the origins of totalitarianism or a con job to deprive women of their rights is to willfully overlook a bigger and ultimately more important story, that of the challenge posed to the old order by new conceptions of individual rights.

JUST AS ROBINSON tied his view of the French Revolution to the social-scientific agenda of the "new history," so, too, much new work has been associated with "the linguistic turn" and "the new cultural history," with their emphases on the language and rituals of political culture and/or body politics. Furet's analysis of the "semiotic circuit" that supposedly governed revolutionary politics inaugurated this trend among historians of the French Revolution, but it has become much more general since the 1970s, including now much of the work on gender relations.

Many things differentiate "the new cultural history" from Robinson's "new history," but perhaps the most salient of them has been the downplaying of social factors in new forms of cultural and linguistic analysis. Despite Furet's own long apprenticeship in social history, his reconceptualization of the French Revolution emphasized its ideological and political cultural workings. His attack on the social reductionism of the Marxist "catechism" of the French Revolution—an assault already launched in the 1950s and 1960s by English and American historians—only gained added force with the collapse of communist regimes predicated on Marxist ideology. As a consequence, class analysis of the revolution has been largely discredited. This may be another area in which a return to Robinson's perspectives might prove illuminating. Although Robinson did not employ a language of class analysis, his "new history" insistently drew attention to the role of social context and especially to long-term social trends. As the deriding of social analysis has become itself an orthodoxy, it is probably now time for the pendulum to begin swinging in the other direction. Colin Jones argues that it is time to "revivify" the bourgeois revolution by looking in new ways at the groups that made up the middle classes.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Of course, it remains significant that everyone on this list except women and children eventually won full political and civil rights, at least under law; the rights of free blacks and slaves remained a subject of contention and were revoked under Napoleon.

⁵⁰ Colin Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change," in Lucas, ed., *Rewriting the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), 69–118. Sarah Maza is working on an interesting variant of this

Robinson linked his advocacy of the “new history” to the progress of democracy, a reform agenda in U.S. politics, and a personal commitment to adult education and the popularization of scientific and historical knowledge. The political aims of those espousing new methods in the last twenty years are harder to discern, in part because they are more disparate. The anti-totalitarian school, taking inspiration from Furet, aims to show the dangers of revolution as a mode of action, and in the process it also underlines the paradoxes and contradictions of democracy as a form of government. Feminists point to the frauds perpetrated in the name of universalism, including the broken promises implied in the notion of democratic government. Less clear, at least to me, is what these critics would have favored instead: gradual change like that endorsed by Edmund Burke; a more moderate revolution like the American one, which included neither a Terror nor any public discussion of the political status of women and maintained both slavery and property distinctions for political rights (Furet seems to lean in this direction); or a continuation of the Old Regime because it moderated its censorship with considerable latitude for intellectuals and its misogyny with considerable maneuvering room for well-born women? What are the present-day political consequences that follow from the anti-totalitarian and feminist positions? They both have been so heavily invested in criticism of revolution, democracy, and, in the feminist case, liberalism, that an answer proves difficult to determine. Although I have advocated and practiced the approaches of “the new cultural history” and consider my own position both anti-totalitarian and feminist, I find myself much more comfortable with Robinson’s views and goals than with the implied political positions of those I have labeled rather summarily the anti-totalitarians and the feminists.⁵¹

IT IS POSSIBLE to fault our turn-of-the-century predecessors on some counts, but they can also serve to remind us of what we have lost along the way of professionalization and sophistication of method. Returning now to their three main articles of faith, which revolved around the organized publication of documents, the possibilities of new levels of accuracy, and the prospects for better syntheses, we get a sense of just how things have changed for historians in the last hundred years. Publication of documents about the French Revolution has continued since the Centennial in 1889, getting another boost at the time of the Bicentennial in 1989. However, as the volume of publication of documents, and of books and articles about them, has increased exponentially, less and less professional time has been devoted to questions of accuracy, in part because historians now build on a more solid documentary base established over the decades, but also in part because historians no longer believe that accuracy in

argument: rather than reasserting the existence of some kind of bourgeoisie, she is asking why it was so difficult for eighteenth-century French people to imagine themselves as members of classes, thereby combining social and cultural perspectives in a new fashion.

⁵¹ Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989). Some of the issues about the present-day purposes of historical knowledge have been developed in Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994).

documentation will lead ineluctably to agreement about interpretations. The research seminar now tends to emphasize differences in interpretation rather than techniques for sorting out claims. The explosion in publication has also pushed the prospect of better syntheses even further away. Some find this deeply disturbing, while for others it is simply the new condition of knowledge in the information age.⁵²

Perhaps the greatest single difference between our colleagues who studied the French Revolution at the turn of the century and those of today is the intervening shrinkage of fields of interest. Sometimes alone and sometimes with one or two collaborators, Robinson wrote college and secondary-level textbooks on all of European history, or as one title had it "from the origins of civilization to the present time." He published document collections or source books on Petrarch, the pre-Reformation, the early Reformation in Germany, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic period, Metternich and the Restoration, and a French political protest of 1775, as well as more general collections on European history. In addition to collections of articles on method and teaching, he published professional articles on Roman history, church history, and Luther, as well as the French Revolution. He did not produce many monographic studies like those that form the core of professional historical knowledge today, but his influence as a teacher extended far beyond his own classrooms into high schools, colleges, and adult education centers all over the nation.

Although present-day scholars can publish in the same wide variety of genres that Robinson and his colleagues did, they have tended to narrow the fields of their own research. One is not just a specialist on the French Revolution now but rather a specialist on the economic, political, or cultural history of that period. The number of publications is rising so quickly that it is virtually impossible to keep up in both one's fields of teaching and one's fields of research. Syntheses seem not only more difficult than ever but even intellectually suspect because they must necessarily lack a solid foundation in firsthand research. The same might be said of textbooks, of course, for they depend on syntheses of the available syntheses. Speaking as someone who has recently suffered through the process of writing a textbook in European history, I believe that the activity of trying to make sense of broad swatches of history has been devalued: such activity does not usually count for tenure, promotion, or merit increases; in a sense, it does not count as one's "work." Robinson's conviction that historians must try to educate the broader public in new ways of viewing history has been at least to some extent lost, and the result, it might be said, is a debate over national standards which reveals that the public has little idea of what historians do or why they do it. Perhaps the debate will help rekindle some sense of missed opportunities and a turn toward the synthetic.

If historical knowledge is cumulative, as I believe it is, and if the purpose of historical knowledge is to promote greater understanding of how things came to be as they are, then the undeniable increase in knowledge should enable historians to write better syntheses as well as more telling analytical studies—better

⁵² For a sampling of this debate, see Lawrence W. Levine, "Clio, Canons, and Culture," *Journal of American History*, 80 (1993): 849–67.

and more telling for the greater public as well as for fellow professionals. The reception of the work of Simon Schama and François Furet on the French Revolution shows that the public wants to know; if I do not agree with their interpretations, then it is up to me to write something more convincing yet still as accessible. I hope that more of us take on this challenge.

Historians now confront their tasks in an ever more internationalized profession. The fragmentation and parcellization of knowledge increases, but so, too, do the connections across national boundaries and between continents. Reading the articles from the turn of the century makes the difference palpable; traveling to a foreign library or archive in the 1890s was a major, time-consuming, expensive endeavor, limited to a select few and to a few occasions in a lifetime. Now, frequent international conferences on the French Revolution draw historians from almost everywhere in the world (except, usually, Africa). Although positivism supposedly no longer provides a commonly shared rationale for the study of history (in practice, it often still does), historians of many nations have nonetheless drawn closer together thanks to the combined consequences of communications technologies and the end of the Cold War. The effects of internationalization have not been equally distributed, however, and access to knowledge could well become one of the great definers of social status, both between and within nations. Access to knowledge was one of the great concerns of Robinson and his friends Charles Beard and John Dewey; the relation between knowledge and democracy remains as vital a concern today as it was for them and, indeed, as it was for the French revolutionaries in the first place. All the believers in the democratic revolution have seen the necessity for educational reform and for the dissemination of knowledge to the widest possible audience. These are convictions, like many of those which date to the democratic revolutions, that have lost none of their pertinence.

Russia Then and Now in the Pages of the *American Historical Review* and Elsewhere: A Few Centennial Notes

TERENCE EMMONS

EVEN AFTER NARROWING THE SCOPE of the editor's charge to "explore the contrast between the definition and treatment of northern European history in the *AHR* at its inception and in the discipline of history today" to Russian history, which I have done here, it is realizable only in part: there was, *almost* at the inception of the *AHR* in 1895, a "definition," but for many years there was no "treatment."

The definition was provided in the first number of Volume 2 (October 1896) by Archibald Cary Coolidge, the Harvard history professor who is generally considered the father of Russian and what we would now call East European or East-Central European historical studies in the United States.¹ Coolidge's "Plea for the Study of the History of Northern Europe," which had been presented as a paper at the December 1895 annual meeting of the American Historical Association, laid out three reasons for studying northern, "or more especially . . . north-eastern," Europe, which he defined as the history of the Scandinavians and the Slavs or, in state terms, of Russia, Sweden, and Poland: first, "the importance of Russia in the world today." Second, the historical influence of the Scandinavians and the Slavs on the Western countries, which he broke down into two categories, one passive, the other active: Western expansion into Scandinavian and Slav territories, as in the German *Drang nach Osten* or the eastward mission of the Catholic church, and active interference by "the north" in European affairs, such as Sweden's arresting the progress of German Catholicism under Gustav II Adolf and joining of the Triple Alliance under Charles XI, or Russia's participation in the Seven Years' War and Alexander I's triumph over Napoleon. Coolidge's third reason: this part of the world afforded an arena for the comparative study of "peculiar features, or workings of great principles" in European history. Coolidge had in mind nationalism: the lack of unity that had long prevailed in Western Europe—no emperor and no pope—and a resulting earlier development there than in the West of "the feeling of nationality" that arose from precocious conflicts among the peoples of the region and between them and outside powers; he was also thinking of religion: Russia affords the best example of the historical development of Byzantine Christianity, and Poland has been the principal theater of the conflict between Catholicism and Orthodoxy,

¹ Robert F. Byrnes, *Awakening American Education to the World: The Role of Archibald Cary Coolidge, 1866–1928* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1982).

while Sweden is a prime example of the expansion of Protestantism by *raison d'état*. Coolidge was considering governmental and constitutional development: Russia became an "eastern despotism," while Poland became a gentry monarchy with "the most impracticable constitution ever found in a civilized country," and Scandinavian history affords instructive fluctuations between the two extremes. In local government and institutions, Russia alone provides a marked contrast to European experience (Poland and Scandinavia falling broadly into the Germanic sphere of influence in matters of local government).

Coolidge advised for good measure that there was much in the history of Northern Europe for those interested in such things as the influence of physical geography on character and history, *moeurs et coutumes*, folklore, dramatic incident, picturesque biography, military strategy, political economy, commerce, and literature.

The professor's plea, as might have been expected, went unheeded by his contemporary American colleague-historians, the better part of whom, like Coolidge himself, had PhDs from German universities and no linguistic or other training for doing the history of "northeastern Europe." The *AHR* went on publishing for many years articles almost exclusively about West European and North American history; the rest of the world was occasionally glimpsed in pieces devoted to international war and diplomacy.

The very first article devoted to Russian history in the *AHR* appeared in Volume 13 (July 1908) and was the work of a British historian, Charles Raymond Beazley (1868–1955): "The Russian Expansion towards Asia and the Arctic in the Middle Ages (to 1500)." Beazley was in the United States in 1908 to give the Lowell lectures in Boston (he also lectured at Yale, Wisconsin, Chicago, Northwestern, and elsewhere). I have not been able to ascertain if the 1908 article was taken from his lectures, but it is likely that Coolidge had a hand in placing the article: he had himself given Lowell lectures in 1902 on Russian expansion and was still working as late as 1907 on a long manuscript on Russian expansion to 1870.² Beazley, who had a D.Litt. from Oxford, and was at the time sub-warden of Merton College and from 1909 to 1933 professor of history at the University of Birmingham, published works on a vast array of subjects and periods of European history.³ His abiding interest was the history of geography and geographic discoveries, of which this article on Russian expansion was an example.⁴ It drew mainly on the Russian chronicles and cited the classic Russian historical works of Nikolai M. Karamzin and V. O. Kliuchevskii.

Between the appearance in 1908 of Beazley's article on Russian expansion into the north and Siberia and the outbreak of World War I, the following items touching on Russian history appeared in the pages of the *AHR*: a survey of the

² Byrnes, *Awakening American Education*, 63.

³ C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator: The Hero of Portugal and of Modern Discovery, 1394–1460* (New York, 1897); *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks* (Oxford, 1918); *Nineteenth Century Europe and Britain* (London, 1922); *On Some Causes of the Great War* (London, 1932); *Road to Ruin in Europe, 1890–1914* (London, 1932).

⁴ In addition to the early book on Prince Henry the Navigator and the *AHR* essay on Russian expansion, Beazley wrote or edited *John and Sebastian Cabot* (London, 1898); *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* (London, 1899); *Voyages and Travels Mainly during the 16th and 17th Centuries* (New York, 1903); *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (New York, 1949).

literature in Western languages on the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 by “A British Officer,” who had previously reviewed the literature on the Boer War for the journal (Volume 16, April and July, 1911); a documentary publication, “Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818–1825, I–II” (Volume 18, January and April, 1913); and a documentary survey by Inna Lubimenko, “The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars” (Volume 19, April 1914).

The correspondence of the Russian ministers (P. I. Poletíca and F. V. Tuyll), supplemented by communications from the Russian foreign ministry to the envoys, was edited (unsigned) by J. Franklin Jameson, the managing editor of the *AHR* from its inception in 1895 to 1901 and from 1905 to 1928. Copies of the ambassadors’ letters were provided by Worthington C. Ford, editor to the Massachusetts Historical Society and for many years a member of the *AHR* editorial board, who had earlier obtained them from the Russian foreign ministry archive in St. Petersburg. Copies of the ministerial dispatches to the ambassadors were gleaned by Jameson from the Russian embassy archives in Washington with the permission of Imperial Russian Ambassador George Bakhmétiéff (Bakhmetev). All the letters were in French.

Inna Lubimenko’s article was actually a study of Anglo-Russian relations during the reigns of the three tsars who corresponded with Elizabeth I: Ivan IV (“The Terrible”), Fedor Ivanovich, and Boris Fedorovich (Godunov), as well as an inventory and description of the letters in British and Russian repositories. One of a very few women historians in prerevolutionary Russia, Lubimenko (1879–1959) was a Petersburg scholar of the Academy of Sciences and author of a major study of Anglo-Russian trade relations (1912). She remained professionally active in the Soviet period until after World War II.⁵

Thus, before World War I, the sum of publications in the *AHR* having to do with Russia was two articles and one documentary publication, two of them concerned with Russian foreign relations and one the closely related question of Russia’s territorial expansion. No American scholar had as yet contributed anything on Russia to the journal, with the exception of Jameson’s editing of the embassy documents.

It could hardly have been otherwise. As Jameson wrote later in a survey of the first quarter-century of the *AHR*, the journal had welcomed from the beginning original, competent, and well-written articles “on any field of history,” but, he added, “a stream cannot rise higher than its source.”⁶ Only two American universities offered a course on Russian history before 1914: Harvard, where Coolidge had been teaching a semester course on northeastern Europe, mostly on Russia, since 1894, which he converted into a full-year Russian history course in 1908; and Berkeley, where his friend Henry Morse Stephens, a founder and

⁵ I. I. Liubimenko, *Istoriia torgovykh snoshenii Rossii s Angliiei*, vyp. I (Iur’ev, 1912); S. N. Valk, “I. I. Liubimenko,” *Trudy Leningradskogo otdeleniia Instituta istorii*, vyp. 2 (1960): 483–97 (with bibliography of her work).

⁶ J. Franklin Jameson, “The American Historical Review, 1895–1920,” *AHR*, 26 (October 1920).

long-time editorial board member of the *AHR* and president of the AHA in 1915, had established instruction in Russian history as early as 1902.⁷

As it turned out, Coolidge's plea for the study of Russian history in the United States had to wait on Coolidge himself to train an American historian of Russia before any results showed up in the pages of the *AHR*. The first article on Russian history to appear in the *AHR* by an American historian came twenty years after the journal's inception and was the work of Coolidge's student, Frank Golder: "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War" (Volume 20, July 1915). Golder later published two more articles in the *AHR*, one in 1920 on the Alaska Purchase (Volume 25, April 1920) and the other in 1926 on Russian-American relations during the Crimean War (Volume 31, April 1926).

As Golder's subjects indicate, his work was very much in the mold of his teacher's interests and of the earlier few articles on Russia that the *AHR* had taken on: Russia's expansion and international role, and in that respect it was of a piece with his Harvard dissertation, defended in 1909: "Russian Voyages in the North Pacific Ocean to Determine the Relations between Asia and America."

This was the age of empire, and both professor and student approached Russian history with Russia's imperial geography and role in world affairs in the forefront of their attention. Coolidge, whose main preoccupation was international relations (his principal published work was titled *The United States as a World Power* [1908]; he became founding editor of *Foreign Affairs* in the early 1920s), was essentially self-taught in Russian affairs, his interest evidently piqued by travel in Russia during his European graduate-student days in the late 1880s–early 1890s and a short stint as acting secretary of the U.S. legation in St. Petersburg in 1890–1891. He began his study of Russian then and spent two winter terms in Paris, where he studied Russian and apparently attended lectures by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu and Alfred Rambaud, two French pioneers in the study of Russian history and institutions. According to Robert F. Byrnes, Rambaud was an enthusiast of French imperial expansion and had written a study of Russian expansion.⁸

Golder (1877–1929), who was born in south Russia but was brought to the United States as a small boy and was entirely educated in this country, apparently came by his interest in Russian history as a result of a period spent teaching Aleut children in a government school in Alaska after his graduation from Bucknell: he decided to write the history of Alaska, and that provided the connection to Russian history. "The discovery of Alaska, which I had regarded as a beginning chapter of American history, I found to be the closing chapter of a period of Russian expansion."⁹

Although Coolidge passed on an interest in Russian affairs to many of his graduate students, some of whom would eventually teach Russian history courses in a variety of colleges and universities, Golder turned out to be one of only two students of his who defended a dissertation on Russian history. The other was Henry R. Shipman, whose dissertation, "Russian Foreign Policy under Catherine

⁷ Byrnes, *Awakening American Education*, 145.

⁸ Byrnes, *Awakening American Education*, 52.

⁹ Cited from Terence Emmons and Bertrand M. Patenaude, eds., *War, Revolution, and Peace in Russia: The Passages of Frank Golder, 1914–1927* (Stanford, Calif., 1992), xii.

I," was defended in 1904. Robert H. Lord, who would take over Coolidge's Russian history course at Harvard and teach it until 1927 when he left to join the priesthood, wrote on "Austrian Policy and the Second Partition of Poland" (1910), and Robert J. Kerner, who would supervise a number of dissertations on Russia at Berkeley in the 1930s–1950s, wrote his thesis on "Bohemia under Leopold II, 1790–1792" (1914). (Interestingly enough, Kerner's single book on Russia, *The Urge to the Sea*, was a study of Russian territorial expansion.)¹⁰

As a result, articles on Russia remained few and far between long beyond what can reasonably be called the inception period of the *AHR*. In fact, except for the Golder essays already mentioned,¹¹ a couple of contributions from Russian scholars, one on international diplomacy involving Russia and the other a report on the state of the historical profession in the Russian Revolution,¹² and two articles by other Coolidge students on Russian foreign relations,¹³ all in the late 1910s and early 1920s, there was to be nothing at all on Russia until after the end of World War II!

To put the matter slightly differently by way of summing up the first part of our inquiry: the only publications on Russian history by an American scholar using Russian-language materials to appear in the pages of the *AHR* in the first half-century of the journal's existence, 1895–1945, were Frank Golder's articles on Russian-American relations, which appeared between 1915 and 1926. The several other contributions to appear in the pages of the journal were also devoted to the history of foreign relations involving Russia among other countries, with the exception of Beazley's piece on Russian territorial expansion. Golder, who had been teaching Russian history at Stanford since 1923, died in early 1929. No other writing of any kind on Russia appeared again in the articles section of the *AHR* until after World War II.

The state of American academic scholarship on Russian history "at the inception" outside the pages of the *AHR* lies beyond the purview of this exercise, but a good deal about it can be surmised from the fact that, in addition to Golder's and Shipman's dissertations, only two other American dissertations on Russia of a historical character were defended in this country before World War I: both were

¹⁰ Robert J. Kerner, *The Urge to the Sea: The Course of Russian History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1946).

¹¹ The Golder essays on Russian-American relations were the fruit of his forays into the Petersburg archives beginning with a trip in 1914 sponsored by the Carnegie Institution, where Jameson, as head of the Department of Historical Research, was organizing inventories of archival sources on American history in various countries. He assigned Golder to do the job for Russia. Golder's contribution to Jameson's series was *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1917). On a later visit to Russia, in 1917, Golder collected documents for two more books: *Bering's Voyage: An Account of the Efforts of the Russians to Determine the Relation of Asia and America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1922–25); and *John Paul Jones in Russia* (Garden City, N.Y., 1927).

¹² The contributions by Russian scholars were Serge (Sergei) Goriainov, "The End of the Alliance of the Emperors," *AHR*, 23 (January 1918); and A. (Aleksandr) Presniakov, "Historical Research in Russia during the Revolutionary Crisis," *AHR*, 28 (January 1923). Goriainov (1849–1918), head of the foreign ministry archives in St. Petersburg, was an acquaintance of both Jameson (from international historical congresses) and, of course, Golder. Golder also knew Presniakov from his Petersburg visits.

¹³ Dexter Perkins, "Russia and the Spanish Colonies, 1817–1818," *AHR*, 28 (July 1923); and Robert H. Lord, "Bismarck and Russia in 1863," *AHR*, 29 (October 1923). Perkins had defended a dissertation on the reception of the Monroe Doctrine in Europe (1823–1824), including Russia (1914).

also Harvard dissertations, though neither was in the history department.¹⁴ The most significant American contributions to Russian history and current affairs remained works by a few talented and well-traveled amateurs, such as Eugene Schuyler and George Kennan.¹⁵

Thus the American historiography of Russia was barely existent before World War I, and its few manifestations were almost exclusively devoted to the traditional subject of foreign affairs, relations between states. It was untouched by the currents of the "New History"—ideas about "total history," that is, transcending politics and diplomacy to cover all aspects of human activity, with a focus on the evolutionary development of contemporary civilization and drawing on the new social sciences—that were being explicated in the pages of the *AHR* almost from the beginning¹⁶ and were given their classic expression before World War I in James Harvey Robinson's book *The New History* (1912). The preoccupations of the few pre-war American historians of Russia show that they were not taking a cue in their work from their Russian contemporaries, at least the very active Moscow school of historians, mostly the students of the great V. O. Kliuchevskii: since the 1880s, these scholars had been practicing enthusiastically a version of the New History that focused on social and economic structures.¹⁷

IF WE NOW TAKE A GREAT LEAP FORWARD to look at the state of American historical writing about Russia today, the contrast could hardly be more striking. One does not have to look beyond the pages of the *AHR* to see that, in purely quantitative terms, the situation has been revolutionized: articles on Russia are now a fixture of the journal, with at least one and sometimes several appearing in eight of the last twelve volumes through 1994. Without resorting to elaborate calculus, it seems safe to conclude that Russian/Soviet history now occupies a prominent place in the *AHR*'s international mix. (It is perhaps worth noting that this position was already occupied, if not well established, at least ten years before the commencement in 1985 of the tenure of editor David L. Ransel.)

¹⁴ Samuel Hazzard Cross, "The Contribution of G. F. Müller to Russian Historiography, with Some Consideration of A. L. Schlözer" (1916); and Johann G. Ohsol, "The Recent Agrarian Movement in Russia and Its Historical Background" (1914). Cross was a student of Leo Wiener, whose 1896 appointment to the Harvard faculty as an instructor in Slavic languages and literatures was the first of its kind in the United States. The appointment was made on Coolidge's initiative. Byrnes, *Awakening American Education*, 110–12. Jesse J. Dossick, *Doctoral Research on Russia and the Soviet Union* (New York, 1960).

¹⁵ Schuyler was a diplomat who spent a lot of time in Eastern Europe in the 1860s–1880s. His biography of Peter the Great, first published in 1884, went through many editions. (Although a diplomat most of his adult life, Schuyler earned a PhD at Yale in 1861, the first year that degree was granted there—it was awarded in the Department of Philosophy and Psychology; the thesis itself and even its title have apparently been lost [communication from the Yale manuscript and archives collection, June 1995]—and he was a lecturer for a time in the early 1880s at Cornell and Johns Hopkins.) George Kennan was a professional travel-writer and lecturer, whose lectures and articles for *Century* magazine containing an exposé of the treatment of political prisoners in Russia made him famous in the 1880s. (His material was published as a book, *Siberia and the Exile System*, in 1891.) Both Schuyler and Kennan also wrote other, less well-known, works on Russian Asia.

¹⁶ As in Earle W. Dow's article, "Features of the New History: Apropos of Lamprecht's 'Deutsche Geschichte,'" *AHR*, 2 (April 1897).

¹⁷ Terence Emmons, "Kliuchevskii's Pupils," *California Slavic Studies*, 14 (1991): 68–98.

This stream has risen, of course, because the source has been elevated. There is no need to recount here the well-known story of the proliferation of “area studies,” Russian/Soviet studies in the first place, in the post–World War II era of the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as the two global powers and of “cold war.”¹⁸ The coming together of government and foundation funding with scholarly interest produced a boom in Russian/Soviet studies, beginning especially in the “sputnik” 1950s. In historical perspective, the boom did not last very long: social science departments began to lose interest in the eclectic “area studies” approach no later than the 1970s, followed soon after by the foundations, and the last of the federal funding may disappear before this article is printed. The result, however, has been the creation of PhD programs in Russian/Soviet history in many universities other than Harvard—a development for which a modest groundwork was laid in the interwar years by Coolidge’s students in several universities, by Geroid Robinson at Columbia, and by Russian émigré historians, principally Michael Karpovich at Harvard (from 1927) and George Vernadsky at Yale. More than twice the number of PhDs in Russian history were defended in the 1950s—275, including works on Soviet politics, institutions, and foreign policy—than for the preceding fifty years, and the numbers increased radically in the following years: for the fifteen-year period 1960–1974, the corresponding number was 1,240!¹⁹

Although the rate of PhD production has fallen off since the early 1970s, the result of the programs has been the institutionalization of courses on Russian/Soviet history in virtually all universities and many four-year colleges as well as other predictable cumulative effects: the latest directory of members of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) lists almost 1,800 members with a special interest in Russian/ex-Soviet or East European history, and approximately 700 of the U.S. members identify Russian history as their first choice.²⁰ Many of them have published at least one book—typically, their PhD dissertation—and many more have published repeatedly. Thus, while PhD production in Russian history seems to have peaked some years ago, the production of books on Russian history continues to burgeon in keeping with familiar demographic effects and academic incentives.

Under these circumstances and in the absence of a statistical content analysis of the recent literature, an overall characterization of the state of the field is more than problematic. One can do no better than refer the reader to the superlative narrative introductions and the bibliographies on Russian and Soviet history presented by Daniel Kaiser and Daniel Orlovsky in Sections 34 and 35, respectively, of the American Historical Association’s *Guide to Historical Literature*, 3d edition (1995). A few qualitative impressions will have to suffice for this exercise.

¹⁸ See Abbot Gleason, “Russian and Soviet Studies in the United States,” *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, 32 (1983): 45–52; Robert F. Byrnes, *A History of Russian and East European Studies in the United States: Selected Essays* (Lanham, Md., 1994).

¹⁹ Jesse J. Dossick, *Doctoral Research on Russia and the Soviet Union, 1960–1975* (New York, 1976).

²⁰ Dossick, *Doctoral Research on Russia and the Soviet Union*, 1–11, 173 and following. Gleason, “Russian and Soviet Studies,” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, *Directory of Members, 1994–96* (Stanford, Calif., 1994). The breakdown by first choice was kindly printed out for me by the staff of the AAASS.

If we look at the “treatment” of Russian history in American scholarship today,²¹ we must conclude that in one respect at least—expansion of the scope of interest beyond politics, war, and diplomacy toward ever more inclusive areas of human experience and action—striking advancement has been made in realizing the old program of the New History, which is no doubt true of most other national or regional histories.²² If progress in history as an intellectual enterprise has not been a matter of deepening our understanding of causality or of the nature of relations among things in general (we are no more sophisticated in those respects than was Thucydides, according to Paul Veyne), but in *l’allongement du questionnaire*, then there has definitely been progress in Russian historical studies.²³ The lengthening of the questionnaire can also be understood chronologically, to include contemporary history or the history of the very recent past, and in that regard there has been progress, too, if only rather recently: the first treatment of post-imperial Russia in the pages of the *AHR* came in 1959 with two articles on foreign intervention in the Russian civil war.²⁴

To be convinced of these trends, one has only to look at the articles on Russian history in issues of the *AHR* for the last dozen years: these range from studies of *mentalités* and political culture in seventeenth-century Muscovy and in the nineteenth-century empire²⁵ to revisionist appeals to reconsider the social structure of imperial Russia or study the social history of the Russian Revolution;²⁶ from statistical analyses of the labor movement in 1917²⁷ and the dimensions of the gulag on the basis of archival evidence made available since the collapse of the Soviet Union²⁸ to a study of the peasant woman in Stalinist art²⁹ and the limits of Foucauldian analysis for the study of Russian modernization.³⁰

²¹ In the remarks that follow, I will scrupulously avoid the temptation to catalog and evaluate individual works of scholarship, citing only a few items as examples of trends or genres. An annual bibliography of American work on Russia, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe has been published by the AAASS since 1956.

²² Compare Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing* (1937; New York, 1963), chap. 15, “The New History and the Future of Historical Writing.”

²³ Paul Veyne, *Comment on écrit l’histoire* (Paris, 1971), chap. 10, “L’allongement du questionnaire.”

²⁴ Gaddis Smith, “Canada and the Siberian Intervention, 1918–1919,” *AHR*, 69 (July 1959); George F. Kennan, “Soviet Historiography and America’s Role in the Intervention,” *AHR*, 65 (January 1960). (The latter piece, a historiographical essay, appeared in the “Notes and Suggestions” section.) After the complete drought between 1926 and 1945, a total of three articles appeared in the *AHR* between 1945 and 1959, all devoted to Russian history no later than the first half of the nineteenth century: Walter Kirchner, “The Death of Catherine I of Russia,” *AHR*, 51 (January 1946); Jerome Blum, “The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe,” *AHR*, 62 (July 1957) (this piece was devoted to Russia only in part); John Shelton Curtiss, “The Army of Nicholas I: Its Role and Character,” *AHR*, 63 (July 1958).

²⁵ Valerie A. Kivelson, “The Devil Stole His Mind: The Tsar and the 1648 Moscow Uprising,” *AHR*, 98 (June 1993); Richard Wortman, “Rule by Sentiment: Alexander II’s Journeys through the Russian Empire,” *AHR*, 95 (June 1990).

²⁶ Ronald Grigor Suny, “Toward a Social History of the October Revolution,” *AHR*, 88 (February 1983); Gregory L. Freeze, “The *Soslovie* (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History,” *AHR*, 91 (February 1986).

²⁷ William G. Rosenberg and Diane P. Koenker, “The Limits of Formal Protest: Worker Activism and Social Polarization in Petrograd and Moscow, March to October, 1917,” *AHR*, 92 (April 1987).

²⁸ J. Arch Getty, Gábor T. Rittersporn, and Viktor N. Zemskov, “Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-war Years: A First Approach on the Basis of Archival Evidence,” *AHR*, 98 (October 1993).

²⁹ Victoria E. Bonnell, “The Peasant Woman in Stalinist Political Art of the 1930s,” *AHR*, 98 (February 1993).

³⁰ Laura Engelstein, “Combined Underdevelopment: Discipline and the Law in Imperial and Soviet Russia,” *AHR*, 98 (April 1993).

The impression of ever-increasing diversity of the historical literature on Russia one receives from the modest sample provided by the pages of the *AHR* is only compounded by a glance at the contents of the area studies journal *Slavic Review* or the list of books received on Russia and Eastern Europe that appears in every issue of the *Russian Review*. (Both these journals, incidentally, were founded during the wartime alliance between the U.S. and the USSR, the former at first under a different name.)

As a rule, historical writing is retrodictive: we know the end of the story at the outset and look backward in search of its “origins” or “causes.” The rule applies in spades to the bulk of American writing about Russian history since the takeoff in Russian studies that began after World War II. Until recently, “the end” was “1917,” that is, the Russian Revolution and its historically unprecedented outcome, “the first socialist state.” Spearheaded by a remarkable pleiad of young scholars who gathered around Michael Karpovich at Harvard immediately after the war and then went on to jobs in major universities from which they are just now retiring,³¹ the first postwar generation sought the causes of 1917 primarily in intellectual history or, more precisely, in the history of the Russian intelligentsia and the intellectual biographies of individual members of the intelligentsia. Preoccupation with the intellectual origins of Soviet Communism was, in retrospect and at the risk of terrible simplification, quite understandable: the twentieth century at mid-point seemed to have been shaped to a large extent by ideologies in power. Academic thought appears to have been preoccupied in general with questions of ideology in the 1940s and 1950s, judging from one’s memory of the reception in those years of such bench-mark works as those by J. L. Talmon, Hannah Arendt, Leonard Krieger, and H. Stuart Hughes.³² The Harvard group appears to have been particularly influenced by Isaiah Berlin’s views on the history of ideas, with which they became acquainted during his regular visits to Harvard in the immediate postwar years.³³

In chronological terms, the predominant focus was on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The preoccupation with intellectual history (more precisely, *istoriia obshchestvennoi mysli*, literally “history of thought about society,” which may be a designation peculiar to Eastern Europe) as the key to understanding the Russian Revolution began to dissipate in the mid-1960s, yielding to a somewhat

³¹ Principally: Leopold Haimson, Firuz Kazemzadeh, Martin Malia, Richard Pipes, Marc Raeff, Hans Rogger, Nicholas Riasanovsky, and Donald Treadgold. Not all of Karpovich’s students in those years wrote dissertations on intellectual history themes—Richard Pipes and Firuz Kazemzadeh wrote on aspects of “nationalities” policies and politics—but most did, and preoccupation with the prerevolutionary intelligentsia was virtually universal. A few well-known scholars with similar interests, such as Arthur Mendel and Sidney Monas, studied with Karpovich somewhat later.

³² Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951); J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London, 1952); Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom* (Boston, 1957); H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society* (New York, 1958).

³³ I am grateful to Andrew Snekvik for letting me see the interviews with members of the Harvard group that he conducted in preparing an honors thesis in the Stanford history department. Andrew Snekvik, “Historiographic Trends in Russian History after World War II in America: Karpovich, Berlin and the Harvard Group” (1995). Before the arrival of the postwar cohort, Karpovich had had only three PhD students (Oliver Radkey, 1939; Stanley Page, 1940; David Hecht, 1945). Between 1940 and 1958, Karpovich at Harvard produced thirty PhDs in Russian history; eighteen of them focused on intellectual history topics. Comparable figures for Columbia, Yale, and Berkeley are Columbia 21 : 8, Berkeley 10 : 1, Yale 9 : 1.

comparable preoccupation with social history, particularly the history of social movements.³⁴

The turn to the social history of modern Russia, of which the “social interpretation” of 1917, its origins and results, is a part, involved much more than taking cues from Soviet “class-struggle” historiography or the desire to lend an air of democratic legitimacy to the Bolshevik regime, as its more fulsome critics contend³⁵: it involved the penetration of area studies, beginning in the 1950s, by modernization theory (what Raymond Aron once called, much to the consternation of his State Department hosts, “Marxism with the class struggle left out”) and the whole approach to modern Russian history as the story of a country struggling to overcome “backwardness” that went with it. The penetration of the consciousness of historians (by and large, not a theory-oriented lot) by modernization theory, an eclectic sort of theory, to be sure, was probably due in no small measure to their rubbing shoulders with social science colleagues in the area studies centers that sprang up around the country in the 1940s and 1950s.³⁶ “Modernization” became a buzzword in the research-grantsmanship of the day.

Labor history, an important social-history subset, flourished in the 1960s–1980s, though not simply in imitation of Soviet historiography, which naturally focused on the proletariat in what was officially designated the “proletarian revolution.” On the contrary, I suspect a good case could be made for the argument that a major impetus was the appearance of E. P. Thompson’s *Making of the English Working Class* (1963), which provoked a reaction against Soviet historiography and its systematic neglect of working-class culture in favor of demonstrating the triumphal march of the Bolshevik party toward hegemony over the proletariat.³⁷ Of course, one could argue that in the general intellectual economy of things the amount of attention directed in American scholarship to labor history in a country with a very small working class (which was Russia’s case until the 1930s) betrays the influence of the Soviet model of the Russian Revolution.

If the paramount issue for American historians of Russia during the first two

³⁴ The two-part article by Leopold Haimson that appeared in the *Slavic Review*, “The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905–1917,” 23–24 (1964–65), is often cited as a signpost, or a catalyst, in this transition. A number of Haimson’s students went on to research issues of politics and social stratification in Russia for the period 1905–1917.

³⁵ See, for example, the review of books on workers and peasants in the Russian Revolution by Richard Pipes in the *Times Literary Supplement* (March 23–29, 1990): 305–06.

³⁶ The first big milestone in modernization-theory scholarship on Russia, a multidisciplinary affair supported by the Ford Foundation–funded Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the ACLS and SSRC and edited by Cyril E. Black, was *The Transformation of Russian Society: Aspects of Social Change since 1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). Black went on to write a number of other essays on comparative modernization that drew heavily on Russian examples, presenting Peter the Great (d. 1725) as the first “defensive modernizer,” and so forth, beginning with *The Dynamics of Modernization* (New York, 1966). Another important role in interpreting modern Russia in terms of modernizing strategies for overcoming backwardness was played by the Harvard economic historian Alexander Gerschenkron; see *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). The title essay of that collection first appeared in 1952 in *The Progress of Underdeveloped Countries*, B. Hoselitz, ed. (Chicago, 1952).

³⁷ Reginald E. Zelnik, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855–1870* (Stanford, Calif., 1971); and Charters Wynn, *Workers, Strikes and Pogroms: The Donbass-Dnepr Bend in Late Imperial Russia, 1870–1905* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), are early and recent examples respectively of American works on Russian labor that reflect, in different ways, the influence of both Haimson and Thompson.

decades of the postwar takeoff in Russian studies was the question of the causes of the Russian Revolution and its immediate outcome, the paramount issue for American historians today and for the foreseeable future is the causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union. We have here a very good example of how present-day events affect scholarly perceptions. In terms of research, this forward shift of “the end of the story” amounts to preoccupation with problems of post-1917 Soviet history.

To be sure, a forward movement of the chronological boundaries of historical writing on modern Russia was to be observed well before the collapse of the Soviet Union or even the advent of perestroika in the mid-1980s. To begin with, the turn to social history and problems of modernization tended to advance the opening boundary to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the “great reforms” of the 1860s that marked the beginning of the state’s commitment to modernization strategies, at the same time that it tended to bypass 1917 as the closing boundary, pushing it ahead to the early 1930s to Stalin’s “revolution from above.” By the mid-1980s, the bulk of new historical scholarship on modern Russia focused on the twentieth century, the late imperial and early Soviet periods.³⁸

Two discernible forces were involved, it seems, in this progression: the logic of the modernization paradigm, in which economic development, specifically industrialization, dictates periodization;³⁹ and the impetus to examine the internal dynamics—the periodization—of the Soviet period brought about by the death of Stalin and the “de-Stalinization” or “reform Communism” campaign launched by Khrushchev’s historic speech at the Twentieth Party Congress (1956).

Consideration of the complex intertwining and mutual reinforcement of these two forces and their involvement in broader currents of thought in American academia since the 1950s—“convergence,” “coexistence,” and “détente”—lies well beyond the scope of this little essay. In historical scholarship, the examination of developments of the Russian civil war and “War Communism,” of the 1920s and NEP, and of the “Stalin Revolution” of the late 1920s and 1930s, has taken place within the context of the well-known debate about the relation between “Leninism” and “Stalinism”: Was the totalitarian Stalin regime the logical development of the project begun in 1917 or an aberration (or, at the very least, a distinct period) in the historical evolution of the Soviet Union?⁴⁰

³⁸ This trend can be traced by consulting Jesse Dossick’s periodic listings of PhD dissertations in the pages of the *Slavic Review* since 1975 as well as volunteered listings of research in progress, which are printed periodically in the AAASS *Newsletter* (currently titled *NewsNet*). A recent issue of the latter included 44 items dealing with the history of Russia/Soviet Union before 1900 as a whole, 45 items on late imperial history (mostly post-1900–1917), and 92 items for 1917–present (predominantly 1917–early 1930s).

³⁹ A widely read narrative built on this paradigm, which relegates the Bolshevik revolution to a matter of the changing of the guard of modernizing elites, is Theodore H. Von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? A Reappraisal of the Russian Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1964). The aforementioned *Transformation of Russian Society* was likewise based on an implied periodization that downplayed the significance of 1917.

⁴⁰ Among the most widely noticed milestones in this debate are Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888–1938* (New York, 1971); and Robert C. Tucker, ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (New York, 1977). For an impressive, “post-Soviet” rejection of the discontinuity thesis, which is Cohen’s and, in sum, that of the *Stalinism* volume, see Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (New York, 1994). On the overall

On the whole, until the fall of the Soviet Union, “the end of the story” still remained the Bolshevik revolution and the new order it introduced. Forays into the Soviet period remained, for the most part, conceptually linked to the problem of defining the new regime, and, in chronological terms, few historians ventured beyond 1939.⁴¹ The absence of access to archives and many other sources of information on the Soviet period also impeded investigation of post-1917 topics in general, as did the highly politicized nature of most discussions concerning the Soviet Union. Both of these barriers have been removed to a significant degree, and “the end of the story” has shifted to 1991.

Although the cumulative effects of this shift will be some time in coming, it is clear that the process is already under way. The 1939 hurdle is the first that is being swept aside. New foci of attention are likely to center on questions of continuity and change (political, economic, foreign policy, social, and cultural) between the Stalin and post-Stalin Soviet Union: Was the system reformable?—and that invites detailed study of reform politics, from the first “thaw” under Khrushchev to the last under Gorbachev. Part and parcel of the current reorientation in historical study of Russia/FSU (the Former Soviet Union) is, of course, a shifting of attention toward the history of the Soviet “nationalities,” that is, toward non-Russians in ethnic terms and in political terms the former republics and other subdivisions of the Soviet Union. This shift of attention, which appears to have reached mass-conversion proportions among former “Kremlinologists” (mainly political scientists), is also taking place before our eyes in the current choices for dissertation topics now being made by graduate students in history.

While there are elements of fad in all this, there is no doubt that Russian/Soviet historical studies have traditionally been too “centrist,” focusing, for understandable reasons, on the central state in politics and on the Russians in culture, and that there is much to be done elsewhere. At the very least, historical research may provide a corrective to the tendency to confuse cause and effect in some of the current literature on ethnopoltics in the Former Soviet Union.

In terms of “methods” or conceptual approaches, it must be said that, for all the lengthening of the questionnaire that has occurred, American historical writing on Russia has traditionally tended to lag behind developments in the historiography of Europe and the United States, at least. It discovered social history some time ago, of course, and women’s history and gender issues have received a fair amount of attention in recent years. American Russianists seem to be keeping up with their colleagues, as well, in picking topics that deal with societal victims and the socially marginal. (One sometimes has the impression that these subjects serve the function of a surrogate proletariat for academic intellectuals in a post-Marxist context.) “Political culture” and “mentalités” have been with us for some years now, of course, and the “politics of identity” is appearing with increasing frequency in the new work on ethnic groups and nationalities. There has been something of a

subject of “totalitarianism,” with special attention to the debate about Soviet history, see Abbot Gleason, *Totalitarianism: The Inner History of the Cold War* (New York, 1995).

⁴¹ Compare Daniel T. Orlovsky, “Soviet Union,” Section 35 of the American Historical Association’s *Guide to Historical Literature*, 3d edn., vol. 2 (New York, 1995).

renaissance of peasant studies in recent years informed by perspectives of demography, anthropology, family history, and cross-cultural comparison.⁴²

Looking even at very recent publications and lists of work in progress, however, it is apparent that the American historiography of Russia is not very far into the "linguistic turn": in the most recent published list of works in progress, constituting several hundred titles, one finds no instance of the phrase "social construction of" and only one instance each of the words "representations" and "discourse."⁴³ Whether this situation should be considered an "advantage" or a "disadvantage" of backwardness is perhaps debatable.

There has been almost no mention here of the treatment of medieval or early modern history in recent American historiography, and I would be derelict to ignore it altogether. The fact is that earlier Russian historical studies have also flourished, on a more modest scale, along with the study of modern Russian history in the context already described. A few universities have had the resources and vision to create faculty positions specifically for early Russian history, and a considerable number of institutions have employed as generalists historians whose research work focuses on earlier Russian history.

There are objective, as well as subjective, reasons for the virtual absence of the historiography of early Russian history in this description of recent developments: the great bulk of history writing about Russia deals with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a situation by no means restricted to Russian historical studies but one that has been especially pronounced in a field whose development has been closely linked to contemporary political concerns. Moreover, the recent paradigmatic shifts that have occurred in the treatment of the modern period have affected the historiography of earlier times much less. This is particularly true of pre-Petrine history, where American scholarship has developed in an uninterrupted dialogue with a tradition of sophisticated Russian scholarship that survived the revolution. As Daniel Kaiser notes in his introduction to the new *AHA Guide*, American scholarship on pre-Petrine Russia has since the 1960s contributed significantly to a reassessment of fundamental political and social institutions: serfdom, slavery, social elites, bureaucracy and law, and so on, as well as to sophisticated analysis of manuscript traditions.

The same is true, to a lesser extent, of eighteenth-century scholarship, which has also received considerable stimulus from modernization theory and comparativist approaches to the development of early modern European statecraft. It has

⁴² Ben Eklof, "Ways of Seeing: Recent Anglo-American Studies of the Russian Peasant (1861–1914)," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 36 (1988): 57–79.

⁴³ Interestingly enough, discourse analysis has recently been offered as a way out of the deadlock polemic between the "social-history" (mechanistic) and "political" (voluntaristic) interpretations of the Russian Revolution. The novelty of the proposition reflects the state of the inquiry. Ronald G. Suny, "Revision and Retreat in the Historiography of 1917: Social History and Its Critics," *Russian Review*, 53 (April 1994). Of course, attention to rhetorical and discursive issues can be found in the work of a few historians, such as Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992). The study of mythic structures and semiotic analysis are also by no means unknown in American historical literature on Russia, as earlier work by Michael Cherniavsky and James Billington or the recent work of Richard Wortman demonstrates. Michael Cherniavsky, *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths* (New Haven, Conn., 1961); James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretative History of Russian Culture* (New York, 1966); Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

been preoccupied largely with the institution of the autocracy (*samoderzhavie*), the “enlightened autocrats” Peter I and Catherine II, the Europeanization of the nobility, and the penetration of modern Western thought and culture into Russia. Curiously, the study of the early nineteenth century seems to have fallen on hard times recently, having been largely abandoned, as it were, by the turn to social history and the related concentration on the post–Crimean War period, as noted.⁴⁴

IT SEEMS FAIRLY CERTAIN THAT for the immediate future the central focus of new historical scholarship will be fixed on the post-1917 history of Russia/FSU. At the same time, a renewed interest in prerevolutionary history, especially the history of the late imperial period, can be expected under the impetus of new archival opportunities. (The opening of the Soviet archives has been a matter not only of Soviet-period records.)

In methodological and thematic terms, much of this scholarship will probably continue to look rather old-fashioned to colleagues who do European or American history. There are some good reasons for this, principal among them the accumulation of a big agenda of questions dealing with basic issues of fact, politics, and policies that could not be properly addressed until very recently. We still lack a coherent, continuous-narrative political history of the Soviet Union as a whole or of its national entities.

In 1990, I attended an “all-Union” conference in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History that had been convened to discuss the crisis in the historiography of the Soviet period brought about by the discrediting of the official legitimacy myth, the servicing of which had been the principal occupation of Soviet historians of the “socialist period” until as recently as 1987. Much to my astonishment, one well-known Moscow historian, established but still young, proposed to his colleagues that they forgo the task of writing a demythologized political history of the Soviet period without benefit of “Marxism-Leninism.” Instead, he suggested, they should take their cue from their American peers and proceed to the writing of social history. Most of those present rejected this advice as a total solution and accepted the idea that the task of writing the modern political history of their country essentially *ab ovo* would have to be shouldered. We can hope that this sentiment will yield a new and mutually rewarding dialogue with an international community of scholars whose largest single constituency is in the United States.

⁴⁴ *Guide to Historical Literature*, 3d edn., Section 34; R. P. Bartlett and P. H. Clendenning, eds., *Eighteenth Century Russia: A Select Bibliography* (Newtonville, Mass., 1981); Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State* (New Haven, Conn., 1983). I could find only a half-dozen works in progress on the first half of the nineteenth century in the most recent AAASS newsletter.

Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century

BONNIE G. SMITH

SINCE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the claims of history to be scientific have rested not only on its presumed objectivity but also on the actual work performed in the pursuit of truth. "Every 'historical fact,'" historian Michel de Certeau contends, "results from a *praxis* . . . It results from procedures which have allowed a mode of comprehension to be articulated as a discourse of facts."¹ Certeau mirrors the findings of historians of science that intense and detailed activity necessarily precedes the production of scientific facts. Likewise, historical innovators in the nineteenth century were quick to claim that scientific truth about the past was grounded in a rigidly adhered-to set of practices—foremost among them, seminar training and archival research. These practices stimulated extraordinary excitement in the West, so much so that young men traveled thousands of miles to participate in seminars and—before the blessings of central heating, rapid travel, and technical aids—to work assiduously in archives. My contention is that these two practices of scientific history, the seminar and archival research, were as foundational to and influential in the profession as the ideals of truth and objectivity. More than any individual work or historian, these two practices captured the imagination of young men and allowed them to develop historical prowess by exercising their individual judgment according to a set of rules learned in seminars and applied in research. On the one hand, the new procedures associated with professionalization and scientific history produced skilled men who felt themselves to be part of a brotherhood, a republic, a peer group. On the other, they yielded distinctive ways of imagining historical work, ways that included highly gendered fantasies, that also enticed people into the profession and shaped its nature.

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¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, Tom Conley, trans. (New York, 1988), 30.

The suggestion that objective historical work has displayed powerful signs of gender, sex, and masculinity will perhaps not surprise anyone. But a second contention of this essay is that gendered descriptions of work were not merely signs of bias, momentary lapses in objective standards, or some other shortcoming for which our own judgment could correct. Following the lead of historians of other disciplines, I hope to show that the formation of a practicing collectivity of historians and their many metaphorical and emotional descriptions of scientific practices were intertwined with historiography, accompanying and facilitating the adoption of a scientific method. Philosopher of science Mary Hesse has demonstrated the ways in which natural scientists rely on metaphors (one thinks of "waves," "packets," "elevators," and "big bangs") as predicates that help explain and even contribute to the make-up of an explanandum. Thus, for Hesse, metaphor is central to the progress of knowledge in the sciences.² Along similar lines, I argue that gender was constitutive of procedures in scientific history and that the complex uses of gender were pivotal to scientific advance. At the same time, the unacknowledged connection between historical rationality and gender has had consequences, notably the development of the profession as an overwhelmingly male enterprise. As J. H. Hexter maintained some fifty years ago, historical pursuits have been "pretty much stag affairs."³

Historians have been slow to acknowledge the influence exercised in the profession by seminars and archival research, preferring to believe that we are molded by ideals. Yet these two practices worked what Bruno Latour has called (in the case of the scientific laboratory) "a reversal of fortunes" for the proponents of a professional, university-based discipline.⁴ As the nineteenth century opened, archival research was by no means the universally accepted road to historical

² Mary Hesse, *Revolutions and Reconstructions in the Philosophy of Science* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980), xvi–xx, 111–24. Another important philosophical understanding of the role of metaphor comes from Donald Davidson, who maintains that metaphors are causal to the extent that they open the way to new knowledge by allowing people to approach conventional problems in new ways. Davidson, "What Metaphors Mean," *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation* (Oxford, 1984). For a comparative elaboration of both points of view, see Richard Rorty, *Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth* (Cambridge, 1991), 162–72. I do not employ "metaphor" with the precision of analytical philosophers but accept the shared position of Davidson and Hesse that metaphor is not just decorative and that it is pertinent to cognition and knowledge.

³ J. H. Hexter, review of Mary Beard, *Woman as Force in History*, in *New York Times Book Review* (March 17, 1946): 5. My thanks to Judith P. Zinsser for this reference.

⁴ This study is influenced by Latour's study of laboratory life, especially *The Pasteurization of France*, Alan Sheridan and John Law, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 59–93; as well as Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987). Although many national studies of the professionalization of history and the rise of the social sciences have influenced this article, I am not considering national differences but focusing on common institutional development. Nonetheless, many works provide important background to national developments, notably Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York, 1991); John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in the United States* (Baltimore, Md., 1965); William R. Keylor, *Academy and Community: The Foundation of the French Historical Profession* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Horst Walter Blanke, *Historiographieggeschichte als Historik* (Stuttgart, 1991); T. W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (New York, 1982); Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge, 1986); the indispensable classic, G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1913); and the new classic, Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988). The biographies, letters, and papers of individual historians have also been indispensable to this study.

truth, nor was the seminar the premier way of instilling sophisticated historical knowledge. Between 1750 and 1830, historians were probably most often trained as jurists and theologians, though others were bankers or bureaucrats writing as an avocation. Moreover, historical practices and impulses were expressed in a variety of ways that had not been reduced to a formal method, and historians themselves had as yet little institutional power. Alongside the meticulous research of the Benedictine monks, for instance, were the colorful historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, the Porter sisters (Jane and Anna Maria), and Sophie Cottin. Whereas at the University of Göttingen, historians were successfully developing scholarly methods and pedagogy,⁵ in many other European states, universities and academies staged the teaching of historical knowledge more spectacularly. Even into the second half of the century, huge audiences—often said to be composed largely of society women—crowded in to hear these lectures. “All the world might come,” reported one American attending a course at the Collège de France, “and the audience, varying with each lecture, was composed of women, travellers, and old men, of whom many chose this opportunity for their afternoon nap.” Only “here and there a young man was seen.”⁶

Thus, in its pedagogy, audience, methodology, and practices, history was less disciplined in the early years of the century than it was to be later. Furthermore, in this age of revolution, the content and focus of history were less settled. Did it encompass the study of culture, as Voltaire, Herder, de Staël, and others contended? Or was it primarily an account of great wars and great men, as court historians had long preferred? Should one tell the truth about great men? What was the status of the past in an age when revolution discredited much that had gone before? Would history be Whiggish, as a revolutionary trajectory suggested, or would it become a tool of the post-1815 conservative consensus? German romantics followed historical traces in monuments, folk tales, language, and ancient ruins, while a different cohort emphasized written evidence. For still others, evidence hardly mattered at all. Style was also undetermined. History could take the form of epic poetry, as in the work of Lucy Aikin; the historical play was a popular form; and a few proto-professional historians were even coming to see journalism as a historical medium, not just a rival.⁷ Many nineteenth-century

⁵ For the varied German training of historians prior to professionalization, see Horst Walter Blanke and Dirk Fleischer, *Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungshistorie* (Stuttgart, 1990), 2: 771–811; for France, Donald R. Kelley, *Historians and the Law in Postrevolutionary France* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); for the United States, Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship*, 6–25, 150–57. On scholarly work at Göttingen in the eighteenth century, see Hans Erich Bödeker, Georg G. Iggers, Jonathan B. Knudsen, and Peter H. Reill, eds., *Aufklärung und Geschichte: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft in 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1986); and for early modern French research, one example is Blandine Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens et la monarchie*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1988).

⁶ Ephraim Emerton, “The Practical Method in Higher Education,” *Methods of Teaching History*, G. Stanley Hall, ed. (Boston, 1885), 44. Many others reported that European lecture halls were lacking in vigorous young men, and the perception was widespread. Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante; ou, La formation de Tout-Paris, 1815–1848* (Paris, 1990), provides copious evidence for France; Jacob Burckhardt at mid-century lectured to Basel society; and there are reports of English and German university lectures having numerous women in the audiences. The lectures of Heinrich von Treitschke later in the century were often cited as an exception for drawing hundreds of young men eager to hear his militantly nationalistic brand of history. But the oft-reported perception of audiences stocked with women and old men should count as having some meaning to observers.

⁷ No single work adequately covers the range of historical production, the numerous historical

conventions, procedures, and tendencies remain vital to certain historical writers today. By the end of the century, however, the seminar and archival research had gained ascendancy over other historical practices, set the standards for historical writing as the investigation of past politics, and become the criteria for success within a flourishing profession. Even amateurs did archival work, and some had the benefit of seminar training. Like most other professions in the modern period, history developed a sharper institutional profile by training historians in a distinct methodology, endowing them with expert knowledge, and providing them with credentials. This article explores the practices that molded that profile.

The ascent of scientific history through the growing power of its practices had gender implications, too. Seminars and archives were spaces reserved mostly for professional men, and it is in this context that the professional work of historical science can be seen as enmeshed in the development of masculinity in the nineteenth century. Discussions of the rise of intellectual disciplines in modern times have identified mastery, domination, and other characterological attributes as integral to professionalization and have mostly classified them as bourgeois or middle-class traits.⁸ Yet enough evidence exists to suggest that part of the appeal of these new practices was the way in which they proposed a masculine identity worthy of and equal to the arduous quest for objectivity. Disciplined by the seminar to become venturesome "citizens," young professionals set out for the archives, where they hoped to break open the gates of the documentary "harem," save the "fairy princesses" residing therein, and find truth in the process.

questions, or the variety of historical writers during this period. Some helpful studies include June K. Burton, *Napoleon and Clio: Historical Writing, Teaching, and Thinking during the First Empire* (Durham, N.C., 1979); Charles Rearick, *Beyond the Enlightenment: Historians and Folklore in Nineteenth Century France* (Bloomington, Ind., 1974); Roland Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France; Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo* (Geneva, 1974); Stanley Mellon, *The Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the French Restoration* (Stanford, Calif., 1958); Laurence Goldstein, *Ruins and Empire: The Evolution of a Theme in Augustan and Romantic Literature* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1977); Anne F. Janowitz, *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Peter Hanns Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975); Karl Hammer and Jürgen Voss, eds., *Historische Forschung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1976); Edward Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Berlin, 1936); Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); Suzanne Marchand, "Archeology and Cultural Politics in Germany, 1800–1965: The Decline of Philhellenism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992); Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790–1860* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1995); and Bonnie G. Smith, "Women's Contribution to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750–1940," *AHR*, 89 (June 1984): 709–32; Michael Warner, *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

⁸ See, for example, Burton J. Bledstein's characterization of Andrew Dixon White in *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1976), 129–58. Notable exceptions to the tendency to overlook the development of masculinity in professionalization include Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); and Barbara Melosh, "The Physician's Hand": *Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing* (Philadelphia, 1982). The voluminous literature on professionalization includes such helpful works as Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago, 1988); Charles E. McClelland, *The German Experience of Professionalization: Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era* (Cambridge, 1991); Geoffrey Cocks and Konrad H. Jarausch, eds., *German Professions, 1800–1950* (New York, 1990); Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Bildungssystem und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleichen* (Stuttgart, 1985); Gerald L. Geison, ed., *Professions and the French State, 1700–1900* (Philadelphia, 1984); Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society in England since 1880* (London, 1989).

THE HISTORICAL SEMINAR before 1900 was a fledgling institution of such international magnetism that young men traveled great distances to participate and sent passionate letters home about their experiences in it. University professors wrote reports about the seminar and circulated them widely, and university officials and even ministers of education sought to gain control over it. This new site of historical learning originated sometime between 1825 and 1831 when Leopold von Ranke invited a handful of students to work with him weekly in his home.⁹ Interest spread across Europe and to the United States. Seminars functioned, Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins University enthused, as “laboratories where books are treated like mineralogical specimens, passed about from hand to hand, examined, and tested.”¹⁰ To Ephraim Emerton of Harvard, the seminar was essential to “illustrate and enforce this truth,” that history “has a scientific method.”¹¹ Even seventy years later, Walter Prescott Webb in his presidential address to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association could rhapsodize about the historical seminar as an expeditionary adventure to an “unknown country,” in which the professor was the leading trailblazer and the students “a crew of axe-men, observers, hunters and scouts, front, flank and rear.”¹² The founding generations of the historical profession believed that instituting the historical seminar would transform knowledge, and later generations would gain almost their entire professional training in seminar work while finding their most important evidence in archives.

For all the invocations of Ranke’s written works, his books have long been superseded by other scholarship and are rarely read; his seminar, however, continues to generate a powerful cultural influence.¹³ Begun as “historical exercises” (*exercitationes historicae*), Ranke’s seminar brought chosen young men to his home for the close scrutiny of documents. There, according to Wilhelm von

⁹ My purpose is not to provide a general history of seminars before Ranke but rather to chart the expanding influence of Ranke’s seminar. Expert work on the philological seminar by William Clark, “On the Dialectical Origins of the Research Seminar,” *History of Science*, 27 (1989): 111–54, follows the development of state-sponsored philology seminars in the German universities from four early modern educational institutions: professorial chairs, private courses or collegia, pedagogical seminars, and private societies. Clark provides a comprehensive list of philological seminars from the mid-eighteenth century to 1838. On the much later establishment of the philosophy seminar, see Ulrich Johannes Schneider, “The Teaching of Philosophy at German Universities in the Nineteenth Century,” *History of Universities*, 12 (1993): 199–338. Citing nineteenth-century sources, Schneider characterizes the seminar as evolving from a method of “conversational teaching” rather than placing the primary emphasis on research as Clark does. On the various false starts in founding historical seminars before Ranke’s took hold, see Max Lenz, *Geschichte der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1910), 3: 246–48. Two recent helpful books on Ranke are Georg G. Iggers and James M. Powell, eds., *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1990); and Wolfgang J. Mommsen, ed., *Leopold von Ranke und die moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1988). See also David Aaron Jeremy Telman, “Clio Ascendant: The Historical Profession in Nineteenth-Century Germany” (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1993).

¹⁰ Herbert Baxter Adams, “New Methods in the Study of History,” *Journal of Social Science*, 18 (May 1884): 255.

¹¹ Ephraim Emerton, “The Historical Seminary in American Teaching,” quoted in Adams, “New Methods in the Study of History,” 246.

¹² Walter Prescott Webb, “The Historical Seminar: Its Outer Shell and Its Inner Spirit,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 42 (1955–56): 9.

¹³ The seminar of the nineteenth century as discussed in this article is not exactly the same as its offspring, the contemporary seminar. Today’s seminar often substitutes a discussion of recent books for scrutiny of primary sources as a way of checking secondary works.

Giesebrecht, students felt initiated into the processes of Ranke's "workshop" as they watched in wonder at displays of his scholarly virtuosity and erudition. Rapt in admiration, they were also amused at Ranke's "jubilation" at exposing a forgery or a mistaken scholarly move.¹⁴ The earnest atmosphere in the seminar was in marked contrast to the rancorous lecturing scene, where Ranke and Friedrich von Raumer, "in defiance of each other, [chose] to lecture at the same time."¹⁵ Perhaps more as legend than history, others conjured up Ranke as a ludicrous lecturer: "He had a habit of becoming so absorbed in his subject, as to slide down in his chair, hold his finger up toward the ceiling, and then, with his eye fastened on the tip of it, to go mumbling through a kind of rhapsody, which most of my German fellow-students confessed they could not understand. It was a comical sight."¹⁶ Former student Jacob Burckhardt, who accompanied Ranke on a research trip in the 1840s, noted disapprovingly that the professor exuded an air of intrigue in hopes, Burckhardt believed, of suggesting some secret diplomatic mission behind his trips to archives.¹⁷ Most former students, however, agreed that his true intelligence and character fully revealed themselves only in the seminar.¹⁸

As the seminar method in history evolved from the closely related philological seminar of the late eighteenth century, professors amassed documents for students to investigate, bringing original manuscripts or printed compilations of documents into class.¹⁹ In Julius Weizsäcker's seminar on German history at Göttingen, held one day in the university because of an illness in his home, the professor arrived with his servant in tow, "a solid German woman of a certain age, who carried in her bare arms a huge rush basket" filled with volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.²⁰ Professors usually assigned topics for students to investigate from original sources, but in some seminars students were given complete freedom to choose topics that most interested them.²¹ What mattered most was that students learn "uniquely and alone the application of correct

¹⁴ Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Gedächtnissrede auf Leopold von Ranke* (Munich, 1887), 14–15. The word "workshop" was more often used by participants in the first half of the century. Later, "laboratory" became increasingly prevalent.

¹⁵ Jacob Burckhardt to Heinrich Schreiber, August 11, 1840, *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, Alexander Dru, ed. and trans. (London, 1955), 57.

¹⁶ *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York, 1907), 39. See Gunter Berg, *Leopold von Ranke als akademische Lehrer* (Göttingen, 1968), which establishes this point.

¹⁷ Jacob Burckhardt to Albrecht Wolters, July 20, 1843, in Dru, *Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, 82–83. Burckhardt did not like Ranke as a person but appreciated his seminar teaching.

¹⁸ Charles Seignobos, who visited an array of German universities late in the 1870s, made the same comparison between the capacities of a certain history professor in seminar and his abysmal performance in lectures, where he gave "a prolix lesson, confused and without life. It is hardly believable that one could explain things he knows so well so badly." Seignobos, "L'enseignement de l'histoire en Allemagne," *Revue internationale de l'enseignement*, 1 (janvier-juin 1881): 575.

¹⁹ Some examples of the multitudinous literature on the relationship between philological methods and the development of historical science include Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 214–43; and Marchand, "Archeology and Cultural Politics in Germany, 1800–1965." William Clark traces a longer road to professionalization within the academy in "On the Ironic Specimen of the Doctor of Philosophy," *Science in Context*, 5 (1992): 92–137, which argues that it was the changing nature of the doctoral degree itself that launched research.

²⁰ Paul Frédéricq, "De l'enseignement supérieur de l'histoire," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 25 (1882): 45.

²¹ See, for example, Charles Kendall Adams's report on his seminar at the University of Michigan begun in the 1860s, quoted in H. B. Adams, "New Methods in the Study of History," 249–50. He

methods of historical inquiry.”²² Each member of the seminar presented his findings and then often faced a critic designated to respond to the student’s investigatory methods, with the teacher himself providing necessary corrections to and emendations of the presentation. The professor might also help the group as a whole work through batches of documents concerning a particular issue or time period.

Professionals claimed that the search for historical truth in the seminar gave birth to a new community based on an agreement to find the authentic or real past. It was a “*Gesellschaft*,” reported Everton of Harvard, “a society, a club, presided over by a professor, but composed, not of subject students, but of members.”²³ Within this community, the rules of etiquette, often set by women in ordinary social situations, fell by the wayside in the search for historical truth contained in documents.²⁴ Theodor Mommsen, alumnus of Ranke’s seminar, and Johann Gustav Droysen each refused a visiting Belgian scholar entry to their seminars because “the criticism was so severe, so merciless that the presence of a stranger was impossible.”²⁵ Colleagues in seminars formed a defined collectivity, coming within several decades after Ranke’s first “historical exercises” to develop their own identity. Seminar members in Germany gathered after each meeting in history clubs and associations with fixed rules and rituals, all of them communities devoted to the furtherance of historical study. Seminar members often worked on common publications, giving rise to many reports on the “cooperative” method that the specialization in document-based history entailed. The fruits of Ranke’s seminars were published as the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter dem Sächsischen Hause*, and those of Droysen appeared as *Hallesche Abhandlungen zur neueren Geschichte*.

Seminars proliferated, especially as Ranke’s students set up their own, and became pilgrimage sites for increasing numbers of young men from foreign countries. Germany had attracted foreign intellectuals concerned with the progress of secular and scientific philosophy, but by the middle of the nineteenth century some young men were concentrating more narrowly on the scientific practices that only occurred in the history seminar.²⁶ They dreamed of attending; even as late as 1887, Andrew Little of Oxford exulted in a letter to his mother at actually participating in Ludwig Weiland’s seminar in Göttingen after he had “looked forward to [it] as a vague possibility for two years now.”²⁷ The imperative of the seminar for apprentice scholars lay in its ability to give historical science a

reports that, contrary to the usual practice in German seminars, he had experimented in letting students choose a topic, with excellent results.

²² Giesebrecht, *Gedächtnissrede von Leopold Ranke*, 14.

²³ Emerson, “Practical Method in Higher Historical Instruction,” 34–35.

²⁴ On the importance of women to the salon, see, for instance, Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven, Conn., 1988). For middle-class women’s role in ordinary society, see, for example, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class* (Chicago, 1987); Bonnie G. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1981).

²⁵ Frédéricq, “De l’enseignement supérieur,” 26.

²⁶ For the U.S. case, see Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), esp. chaps. 3–5.

²⁷ Andrew Little to Mrs. David Little, April 28, 1887, cited in F. M. Powicke, *Modern Historians and the Study of History* (London, 1955), 76.

force and focus it had not had before. Future leaders in the consolidation of professional history such as Herbert Baxter Adams of the United States and Gabriel Monod of France did seminar work and, indeed, gained their prominence from having done it.

The seminar fixed the serious training in history in a single location: the professor's study at home or, somewhat later, the university seminar room, which, unlike the public lecture, displayed a kind of power by localizing the entirety of historic experience under the eyes of a small and self-contained community. Occasionally, the seminar room was likened to the paternalistic "workshop in which the experienced master teaches his young apprentices the deft use of the tools of the trade."²⁸ Whereas the lecture hall was public, the seminar set the conditions for historical engagement, restricting it to a small place where entry was gained by invitation only. In middle-class homes, the man's study was often the most lavish room in the house, and for many it exuded an air of traditional male command and domination.²⁹ In the seminar room, manuscripts were laid out on a large central table or two, gathering the stuff of past politics and the state where students and teachers could jointly scrutinize its meaning.

As the history seminar became institutionalized and state-supported, its venue began shifting to the university. At the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, started late in the Second Empire in order to upgrade French higher education through scientific methods, Gabriel Monod's seminar first started in his Paris apartment but was then moved to two small rooms in the Sorbonne. These rooms, according to one quite unscientific description, had "something intimate about them which gave a certain charm to the lessons. It was a tiny, adorable spot."³⁰ The atmosphere of intimacy was enhanced by the contrast with the huge lecture halls (where orators such as Heinrich von Treitschke enthralled as many as 700 students), by the proliferation of locks and keys to doors, desks, and cabinets, and by access restricted to those showing special talent for or commitment to historical research. Ernest Lavisse set boundaries to historical training by locking his classroom door.³¹

The seminar room itself bounded the community, giving it order and definition. Early observers of the seminar took pains to describe the procedures and especially the physical features of how documents, books, newspapers, tables and chairs, desks, and other furnishings were arranged. Such informal accounts soon gave way to state-financed visits and official reports. The oft-quoted and translated Belgian historian Paul Frédéricq, whose lengthy studies of European seminars in

²⁸ Charles Gross to Herbert Baxter Adams, quoted in Adams, "New Methods in the Study of History," 234.

²⁹ For one example, see Julia Garnett Pertz Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1304.2, Folder 52, Julia Garnett Pertz to Mrs. Taylor, April 28, 1842, in which she describes G. H. Pertz's receiving room and library. An important analysis of men's studies in relationship to urban household space and household authority can be found in Gabor Gyani, "Domestic Material Culture of the Upper-Middle Class in Turn-of-the-Century Budapest," paper presented at the Hungarian-American IREX Conference on Material Culture, New York, January 1993.

This article does not claim that this was the first time that teaching took place at home; rather, it tries to capture the texture of that experience for students.

³⁰ Paul Frédéricq, "L'enseignement supérieur à Paris," *Revue internationale de l'enseignement* (June 15, 1883), 742.

³¹ Keylor, *Academy and Community*, 71.

the 1870s and 1880s included detailed accounts of seminar rooms, proved helpful to other scholars trying to institute the proper atmosphere, the right procedures, and adequate bibliographical holdings. Charles Seignobos reported on the books in the Leipzig seminar room, adding that the room for meetings of the seminar itself “seemed to us unworthy of both so great a university and so flourishing a seminar.”³²

Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins was the person who made the most famous use of this information, and of his own experience in Germany, building on it to create and publish a diagram for the perfect history seminar room. His room included—in addition to the obligatory “Seminary Table with new books and current periodicals”—a newspaper bureau, map bureau, alcoves for various historical topics, revolving bookcases, desks for graduate students, a card catalog, and washroom. Adams prescribed the ways in which materials should be moved from one part of the room to another, from one desk to another, from one shelf to another, depending on the pertinence of a particular document to weekly seminar work. Other elements of the seminar room, though omitted from Adams’s plan, included a red cover on the table, portraits of great historians gracing the walls, and a large banner reminding members that “History is past Politics and Politics present History.” Adams so cogently presented his diagram as a utopia of historical practice that by the early 1880s European scholars who heard of it and his photographs of the Hopkins seminar room sought them out: William Stubbs of Oxford, for example, wanted “the diagram, etc. of your historical laboratory.”³³

Proponents of seminars everywhere adopted a common, civic language to suggest that the character of a man was transformed and perfected through the new methods of historical study. Disdainful of aristocratic displays of inborn flair and brilliance, seminars produced scholars prepared for hard work, provided with technical competence, and skilled in critical thinking. The students in Henry Adams’s experiment with the seminar method became an industrious and dauntless collectivity, transformed from gentlemen into professionals: “The boys,” he noted, “worked like rabbits, and dug holes all over the field of archaic society; no difficulty stopped them; unknown languages yielded before their attack, and customary law became as familiar as the police court.”³⁴ Seminar history would avoid the kind of superficial education offered in unreformed universities, where any “gentleman” was said to be able to do history.³⁵

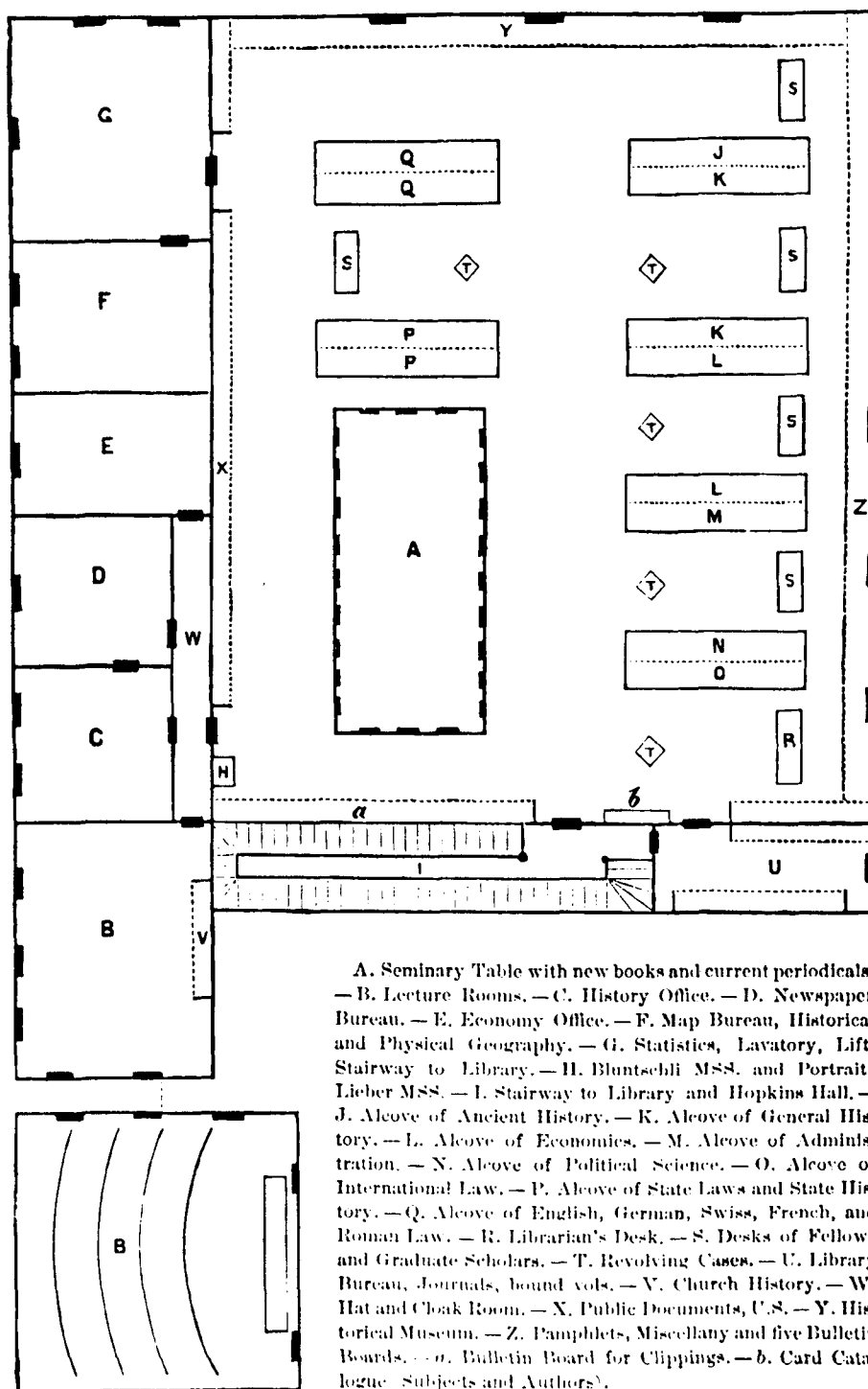
Proponents of seminars articulated their values in terms that we could call republican and middle class: a man trained in the close study of documents,

³² Seignobos, “L’enseignement de l’histoire en Allemagne,” 591 n. 1.

³³ See Daniel Coit Gilman to Herbert Baxter Adams, July 15, 1883, in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 69.

³⁴ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (1918; New York, 1931), 303.

³⁵ William Clark maintains that non-“showy” proceedings were characteristic of the German philological seminar of the late eighteenth century, unlike traditional displays of academic prowess in *disputationes* and earlier kinds of seminars. See Clark, “From the Medieval *Universitas Scholarium* to the German Research University: A Sociogenesis of the German Academic” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986), 525–27, 543–50.



Herbert Baxter Adams's plan for the perfect history seminar room. From G. Stanley Hall, ed., *Methods of Teaching History* (Boston, 1885), 147. Photo courtesy of General Research Division, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Ernest Lavisse told candidates for the *agrégation* in 1880, was a “useful man.”³⁶ A seminar demanded, according to one professor, “manly work,” and it differed markedly from both aristocratically patronized academies and the sociable salon where eighteenth-century knowledge had been debated. Sundered from the pretenses and posturings of Old Regime knowledge and conspicuously based on work, the seminar allowed (as in the case of Ranke) the transparent, autonomous, and middle-class self to come into being. Georg Waitz’s seminar in the 1860s, recalled a student, operated according to Waitz’s own values—“integrity and candor . . . an impartiality which made him worry less about his reputation than about the progress of science, the absence of *parti pris*, of any fanaticism, of all mischievous vanity.”³⁷ Professional history depended on research skill and work rather than on the vanity-driven rhetorical tricks of drums-and-trumpets narrative.

The nineteenth-century seminar promoted in miniature the interactive public sphere, forming a masculine marketplace of knowledge in which many traditional hierarchies—such as estate, age, or status—were leveled in the presence of expertise. In Waitz’s seminar, another scholar observed, “a student having made an original observation, Waitz exclaimed that he himself had learned something on a topic he thought exhausted, and pulling a small silver pencil from his pocket, he noted it in the margin of his copy.”³⁸ Dealing in demonstrable truth, seminar participants created a true community in which male virtue operated, as each person performed on behalf of the collectivity. On the one hand, their work made them autonomous, and, on the other, they surrendered individuality for a common brotherhood of professional practitioners. Their shared commitment to textual analysis and archival work made them “a grand republic of workers,” as Stubbs put it in 1867, ending the notorious jealousies of earlier practitioners.³⁹ Yet the maintenance of the republic was a demanding task. Students, such as Mommsen’s, ran a gauntlet of harsh criticism whenever the community saw the slightest error or laziness creeping into their work.⁴⁰ The communal norms of the seminar experience became the basis for a proliferation of fraternal history associations and history clubs; in Germany, the seminar was regularly followed by a meal in a restaurant or pub. The seminar propagated a range of subsidiary collective institutions wherever it came to dominate historical work.

The seminar’s ability to generate an extraordinary array of coordinate clubs, associations, and other programs further established its magnetism as the center of professional historical community. Duplicating the operations of the hardworking middle-class entrepreneur, the history seminar promoted an expanding market for historical goods, all of them stamped with its imprimatur. The seminar’s offspring reached almost imperialist proportions. Herbert Baxter Adams, for example, posted a huge map of the United States to which he affixed

³⁶ Ernest Lavisse, “Concours pour l’agrégation d’histoire et de géographie,” *Revue internationale de l’enseignement*, 1 (janvier–juin 1881): 119.

³⁷ Gabriel Monod, “Georges Waitz et le séminaire historique de Goettingue,” *Portraits et souvenirs* (Paris, 1897), 102–03.

³⁸ Frédéricq, “De l’enseignement supérieur de l’histoire,” 28.

³⁹ William Stubbs, “Inaugural Lecture,” in *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History* . . . (1886; New York, 1967), 12.

⁴⁰ Frédéricq, “De l’enseignement supérieur,” 26.

markers noting the places where his former seminar members were introducing modern historical methods and called these his "colonies." "So I am a Margrave, am I?" a former student wrote Adams from Berkeley. "Here then the Margrave sends in his report of his dealings with the Huns and Slavs."⁴¹ Making forays into unconquered reaches himself, Adams traveled throughout Virginia, Wisconsin, and other states, gathering information about regional historical societies and urging his former students to build local power bases for seminary history.⁴²

More important, the historical seminar came to provide an imperative for transforming the entire system of teaching history in the West, bringing it within the orbit of seminar-trained historians. Part of this imperative had to do merely with expanding the amount of, and respect for, historical subject matter, because in most countries history was little valued or taught. Whether in Germany or the United States, the study of the classics without historical context or content dominated the secondary curriculum. At the Lycée Charlemagne in Paris, young men composed Greek and Latin declamations for historical figures without knowing that Greece and Rome were different civilizations. "I thought the author taught at the beginning level was the one who came first in time . . . [and] I knew nothing of the history of France."⁴³ When Johns Hopkins opened, there was no undergraduate teaching of history until a graduate fellow from the seminar introduced it. Adams worked to found the American Historical Association in the 1880s as a showpiece for seminar research, and the Association almost immediately established the famous "Committee of Seven" to draw up a national program for the reform of historical curricula in the schools.⁴⁴ But the United States was far from an isolated instance of the expansionist nature of the historical seminar, fast becoming the center from which historical standards emanated. The reforms in historical training then in process in Paris, Lavissee announced to graduate students, "will one day be felt in the humblest primary school of the humblest village."⁴⁵

Although international travel by professionalizing historians occurred during extraordinarily tense, nationalistic times and although historians were quick to draw comparisons about pedagogy and research, the acceptance of the seminar transnationally had the effect of making historical methods appear transcendent and universal, removed from the political, religious, and epistemological quarrels of the century. Located in a professor's office or in a specially designated room, the seminar nonetheless acquired an international status that made personal, marked, and national space vanish in the name of a common methodological truth that yielded the past. The seminar thus led to a forgetfulness of the conditions of history's production, particularly the gendered, middle-class, and civic imaginings that inspired historical science. In this way, the seminar spiritualized

⁴¹ Charles H. Levermore to Herbert Baxter Adams, January 29, 1887, in Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 94. Military metaphors were also common but not incongruous given the republican ideology of "armed virtue" and military involvement in imperialism at the time.

⁴² For one example of Adams's travels, see Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York, 1973), 69, 97–98.

⁴³ Ernest Lavissee, *Souvenirs* (1912; Paris, 1988), 223, 234–35.

⁴⁴ See especially W. Stull Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876–1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, Md., 1938).

⁴⁵ Lavissee, "Concours pour l'agrégation," 130.

and universalized the undertaking, purifying it of such contingencies as partisan politics, economic interests, and personality. It was, as one scholar noted, "a silent, reasonable world, where the only action is thought, and thought is free from fear."⁴⁶

Seminar devotees were not reluctant, however, constantly to invoke the "manliness" of the seminar or its commitment to "manly work." For Gabriel Monod, the seminar professors were the general staff and the members the army, while Lavissee saw the entire enterprise as an army doing battle against outmoded educational practices.⁴⁷ According to Monod's pupil Gabriel Hanotaux, who trained at the *Ecole des Chartes* early in the 1870s, seminar training had "a kind of male beauty."⁴⁸ For Emerson, "The name 'Seminarium' denotes the fertilizing power of the historical 'Gesellschaft.'"⁴⁹ A British historian called the seminar "a bed in which to sow the seeds of intellectual effort."⁵⁰ More than a century after the emergence of the historical seminar, Walter Prescott Webb made explicit its associations with male fecundity, declaring that the word originated "from French and Latin *seminalis*, French *semen*, again pertaining to or consisting of seed, source, first principle, germinal, originaire."⁵¹ The seminar rejected the femininity of the public lecture or salon; although scholars might attend the latter, the seminar replaced it as the focal point of their republic of letters. Even in the United States, where higher education for women was proceeding at a rapid rate, Charles Kendall Adams, who first introduced the seminar at the coeducational University of Michigan in 1870–1871, had only a "polite toleration" for women students and was quoted as saying, "Of course the young women could not do seminary work."⁵²

A pioneer in expanding the seminar system, Johann Gustav Droysen conflated the active manliness of the seminar man with history/time as a whole and posited it as the opposite of nature/space: "How is it then that human observation construes certain series of phenomena in the restless movement of things more according to their temporal side, and others more according to their spatial, taking the former as History, the latter as Nature?"⁵³ The natural world was one of recurring cycles, of a period repeating itself, that which sluggishly fills space, while the world of history was that of individuality, restless succession, and

⁴⁶ Webb, "Historical Seminar," 23, quoting Francis Cornford.

⁴⁷ Keylor, *Academy and Community*, 71, 265 n. 58.

⁴⁸ Gabriel Hanotaux, *Mon temps*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1933–40), 1: 229.

⁴⁹ Emerson, "Practical Method in Higher Education," 35.

⁵⁰ Arthur P. Newton, quoted in Margaret M. Spector, "A. P. Newton," in Herman Ausubel, J. Bartlet Brebner, and Erling M. Hunt, eds., *Some Modern Historians of Britain: Essays in Honor of R. L. Schuyler* (New York, 1951), 293.

⁵¹ Webb, "Historical Seminar," 10. Webb is incorrect in noting the French word "semen," which does not exist. Rather, the word is *sperme*. Elizabeth Vincentelli pointed out this error in Webb's analysis.

⁵² Charles Forster Smith, *Charles Kendall Adams: A Life-Sketch* (Madison, Wis., 1924), 22. In a letter to Herbert Baxter Adams, February 9, 1886, C. K. Adams places his first seminar in 1869; Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, 79. This is not to say that women did not have their own fantasies about the seminar or that the male metaphors absolutely excluded them. For instance, many women's seminaries were established in the nineteenth century. I would like to thank Carl Schorske for this point.

⁵³ Johann Gustav Droysen, *Historik: Vorlesungen über enzyklopädie und Methodologie der Geschichte* (Munich, 1958), 411.

constant inquiry.⁵⁴ Droysen's comparison of the active individual of scientific history with the passivity of female periodicity and nature merely replicated the terms that physicians used to delineate sex roles in the nineteenth-century West. Like the interwoven invocations of work, civic virtue, and transcendence with specifics of scientific methodology, the inveterate usage of gender hierarchies to characterize the scientific project served to constitute historical practice out of the normative politics of the times.

The seminar experience as a founding practice of scientific history was stimulating because it converged with the attractively progressive concept of male citizenship. There were certainly national differences in seminar development: in England, although scholars flocked to seminars on the Continent, professionals adopted republican language, and historians such as F. W. Maitland tried to set up seminars, the practice never displaced the tutorial system at Cambridge and Oxford.⁵⁵ But, even in the monarchical German states, according to Charles McClelland, universities were noted for a certain efflorescence of republican principles of citizenship, including academic freedom as part of modernization.⁵⁶ The transparent subject, the active and achieving scholar, a bounded community of historians cooperating like virtuous citizens—all these attributes of the seminar had also come to structure masculinity by the mid-nineteenth century. As in republican-based theory, the seminar member from the beginning was considered a kind of participatory, universal citizen who was implicitly gendered male and whose autonomy was shored up by the excluded and dependent status of women.⁵⁷ The seminar was thus an extraordinarily powerful institution, producing *men* with specific disciplinary prerogatives and communal solidarity.

The republican paradigm in scholarship, as in politics, was open to reform, resistance, and revolt. Its considerable power was never total, nor was its identity with expressions of national vitality and its congruence with male privilege seamless and consequently invisible. Seminar work often provoked rituals of shaming and mockery. At times, insecurity, not success, could be read in the seminar's proliferation: Herbert Baxter Adams and Henry Adams directed their respective seminars to find the Teutonic origins of U.S. institutions, an old

⁵⁴ Droysen, *Historik*, 411–15.

⁵⁵ The complicated story of scientific history in Britain is summarized in J. P. Kenyon, *The History Men: The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance* (London, 1983). Alfred Pollard and others outside of Oxford conducted well-known seminars, while a long list of scholars at the other institutions called for their regularization. See Reba N. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1994). One interpretation for the persistence of the tutorial system may be found in Linda Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994). On Maitland's various seminars, see C. H. S. Fifoot, *Frederic William Maitland: A Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 98.

⁵⁶ See Charles E. McClelland, "Republics within the Empire: The Universities," in Jack R. Dukes and Joachim Remak, eds., *Another Germany: A Reconsideration of the Imperial Era* (Boulder, Colo., 1988), 169–80.

⁵⁷ On republican rhetoric and values, see among many works Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: La transparence et l'obstacle* (Paris, 1971); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984). See also Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992). On the construction of politics and the public sphere as excluding what were designated feminine qualities, see Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

cultural bias reinforced by their admiration for German power after the Franco-Prussian War. Monod, Lavisé, and others attributed the French defeat of 1870 to the lack of seminar and philological training for French historians; and, although they promised a “manly” future for their trainees, the uninitiated were by implication feminized or unmanned.⁵⁸ Such anxieties could spur students to prodigious efforts to emerge with the masculinity promised by the seminar, but some, such as the seminar-trained J.-J. Bachofen, rejected the “Prussianization” of the historical field with its attendant “smoke-filled rooms,” “vain erudition and ostentation,” and “bootlickers” of the new scientific masters. Bachofen resigned from the University of Basel and proceeded to produce the bizarre *Das Mutterrecht*.⁵⁹ Jacob Burckhardt, similarly trained, refused the “call” to teach at Berlin and turned to art history and to giving lectures on such topics as the history of cooking.⁶⁰ Out-and-out warfare (such as the Franco-Prussian conflict) inspired the spread of seminars; belligerent, destructive acts occurred in the room itself; and, in the history field at large, the coordinated ruination of some careers and the advance through the ranks of the more favored protégées shaped the profession.⁶¹

Some of the seminar’s most avid followers introduced heterodox methods, which shows the seminar’s suppleness in practice. Lucy Maynard Salmon, trained in the University of Michigan seminar and committed to archival research, introduced the seminar method at Vassar College. Salmon was remembered as an upstanding member of the Vassar community who stressed citizenship and courageous public behavior. But, while adopting this republican stance, she so twisted the course of her seminars that, though held in high esteem, they were called “Miss Salmon’s Laundry Lists.” Instead of having her students study state documents, she “threw” on the seminar table stacks of laundry lists, train schedules, cookbooks, architectural designs for housing, and other artifacts of everyday life. At her death, Salmon left an unfinished manuscript on a decorative, highly feminine object—the fan—along with thousands of notes on the shape, color, design, and uses of fans in history. Castigated by reviewers and scorned by publishers after her turn toward the history of the mundane, Salmon nonetheless showed that in the case of feminine intrusions (as in nationalist passions) the doors of the seminar room could never be sufficiently secured.⁶²

⁵⁸ Accounts of the nationalistic impulses of professionalizing historians in the nineteenth century are legion and may be found in primary sources such as Holt, *Historical Scholarship in the United States*; in older surveys such as Keylor, *Academy and Community*; and in new monographs such as Robert Southard, *Droysen and the Prussian School of History* (Lexington, Ky., 1995).

⁵⁹ On Bachofen’s quarrels with professionalization, see especially Lionel Gossman, *Orpheus Philologus: Bachofen versus Mommsen on the Study of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1983), esp. 4, 28–29.

⁶⁰ See Felix Gilbert, “Jacob Burckhardt’s Student Years: The Road to Cultural History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 47 (1985): 249–74; Werner Kaegi, *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie*, 7 vols. (Basel, 1947–82).

⁶¹ See, for just one example, the academic in-fighting over the editorship of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History* (London, 1963), 63–98. Roger Chickering’s *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life (1856–1915)* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1993) describes the ostracism of Karl Lamprecht, who controlled the Leipzig seminar. The letters and papers of nineteenth-century historians bear ample witness to the struggle for place, the personal vendettas, and the intense rivalries that simultaneously shaped the profession.

⁶² Information on Salmon can be found in Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon* (New York, 1943). Lucy Maynard Salmon Papers, Vassar College Archives, the fan manuscript is in Box 13, 50–51. Beatrice Berle in an interview with the author, October 12, 1985,

THE SEMINAR SYSTEM produced, tested, and inspired the professional historian, incorporating the language of republicanism and masculine citizenship into scientific history and thus connecting the innovative practice of seminar study to the political imagination. The coordinate practice of archival research, however, was imagined differently. Early in his extraordinary career of incessant archival study, Leopold von Ranke described documents sequestered in archives as “so many princesses, possibly beautiful, all under a curse and needing to be saved.”⁶³ Ranke was hardly alone in depicting archives in such highly charged terms. For Léon de Laborde, head of the French national archives under the Second Empire, “A library is some thing, archives are some one . . . a someone who lives and breathes.” Before professionalization, Laborde claimed, the archives had been “raped” and “mutilated,” its “arms and legs ripped apart,” its “head” taken “cruelly” away from the body.⁶⁴ Professionalizers promoted a reliance on the methodical examination of state documents found in archives to anchor history’s universal truth. This truth resulted from the common though expert citizen’s hard work and skill in finding authentic documents. However, the archival quest that followed hard on the heels of seminar training often jettisoned the language of citizenship for that of love, melodrama, and obsession.

To cite just the French case, from the beginning of the new regime, archives and other repositories in France with their documentary and manuscript sources were sites of contest and intrigue and therefore far from neutral spaces. The French revolutionary and Napoleonic periods witnessed intense archival struggles, and these raised the first hint of the modern archival obsession. On July 29, 1789, the French National Assembly decreed the founding of archives for its proceedings. Over the next decade, a stream of legislation regulating French archival material poured from successive assemblies. The Jacobins decreed the destruction of documents bearing the “least vestiges of the monuments of an abhorrent dynasty,”⁶⁵ and this increased archival drama. It seemed possible that the entire documentary past of France would go up in flames along with titles, deeds, and other documents pertaining to agricultural property and services.

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the archivist Armand Gaston Camus, this did not happen. The Terror ended, and more moderate men came to power, but the saga of European archives in modern times had only begun. When Napoleon conquered Europe, he also confiscated its archives and gradually began to construct an enormous Palais des Archives on the Quai d’Orsay. The shell of this building had reached about two meters high by the fall of the empire, and vast quantities

described Salmon’s seminar; see also Beatrice Berle, *A Life in Two Worlds* (New York, 1983). J. B. Ross provided other important insights into Salmon’s method and teaching at Vassar, interview with the author, May 1985.

⁶³ Ranke to Bettina von Arnim, February 6, 1828, Leopold von Ranke, *Das Briefwerk*, Walther Fuchs, ed. (Hamburg, 1949), 139.

⁶⁴ Léon de Laborde, *Les archives de la France, leur vicissitudes pendant la Révolution, leur régénération sous l’empire* (Paris, 1867), 63–64 and *passim*. My thanks to Jennifer Milligan for this citation. This essay does not explore the complex history, debates, and rivalries (to which Laborde refers) among proponents of archives and proponents of libraries. It considers interest in manuscript rooms of national libraries and in rare bound volumes as part of the research commitment.

⁶⁵ Decree of 7 messidor, An II, quoted in Henri Bordier, *Les archives de France* (Paris, 1855), 6. On this history, see also de Laborde, *Les archives de la France*, 1–156.

of archival material, including state and other papers, had been transported from Geneva, Belgium, Tuscany, Spain, the Netherlands, many German states, the Papal States, and Piedmont to Paris. Napoleon's defeat refocused attention on archival material, specifically on the return of most of these papers, a change of focus that seemed to make high interest in archives permanent, as the drama of the nation-state and its archives intertwined. Scholars such as G. H. Pertz drove themselves to build published collections of documents such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* as part of a quest for the national past. Sponsored by Baron von Stein, Pertz struggled to gain access to the papal archives, initially reviewing some 24,000 documents in 1822 and copying some 1,800.⁶⁶ Other scholars were now hot on the trail of collections, bribing archivists and seeking influence with politicians for their turn with this sequestered, "original," and "authentic" material. As procedures became somewhat more regularized, scholars from most European countries, often motivated as much by patriotism as by scholarship, published compilations of original state papers, especially from pre-modern times.⁶⁷

Ranke became renowned for his forays into the archives. Educated in classical philology, he was so expert in comparing sources and sorting out competing accounts of an event that critical history was later said to have begun with the writing of his *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1824), a book that earned him a post at Berlin. For four years (1827 to 1831), Ranke enjoyed a research leave, spent primarily in the archives of Vienna and various Italian states. He produced histories of the popes, of the Reformation, and of different European nations and continued his research in European archives. Ranke taught his method of examining archival sources in his famous seminar, thus aligning the two practices as crucial to distinguishing the scientific history undertaken by professional men from the dilettantish prattle of the salons or the lectures in the university and academy, where men and women thronged to hear celebrated historians, and Sir Walter Scott's wildly popular historical novels.

The language of work authorized archival study to differentiate itself from the grand tour of the European aristocrat. To study in the archives was an arduous, joblike quest undertaken by expert citizens. Scholars subjected themselves to innumerable hardships and inconveniences to pursue scientific knowledge, and they traveled to libraries, archives, and other repositories as a professional requirement. Eugène Burnouf, traveling on the Continent and in England in search of manuscripts during the 1830s, described in lurid detail the sleepless nights in coaches, the hard beds, the "sad collection of meat and vegetables cooked in water," the generally atrocious English food, the "ugly clothes, horrible dinner parties," the homely wives of fellow scholars, and other indignities he had to endure.⁶⁸ These hardships notwithstanding, the commitment to historical practices inspired by German philology, which searched for original and authentic meanings based on strict rules for the use of evidence, spread across Western Europe and the United States.

⁶⁶ Stein invoked the ideology of the fetish: "The history of the Pharaohs, the life of the gazelles and monkeys is studied, but nothing is done for the history of our people." Quoted in Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 66–67. For Pertz, see Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises*.

⁶⁷ On some of the most important compilations, see especially Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises*.

⁶⁸ *Choix de lettres de Eugène Burnouf* (Paris, 1894), see esp. 144–206 and 198, 205–06.

Scholars filled letters, memoirs, even their historical writings with intimate reflections on their travels. Ranke described the beautiful maidens he met en route, the sensual poetry he read along the way, and the splendid apparel of society women he met in various capitals, thus revealing the additional attractions of archival study. Traveling to Prague, he saw “the hundred towers of the old city . . . [I]n the museum I found not only pictures but manuscripts.” As the trip continued, he encountered an eighteen-year-old “lightly clad beauty,” whom he had to “take under my cloak” because of the cold.⁶⁹ Trips to archives were imagined as feats of prowess, often taking place after mountain climbing in Switzerland or as part of extensive tramping from one country to another. James Anthony Froude claimed to have examined more than 100,000 manuscripts on the Continent and in England. The climbing, the tramping, and the great discoveries were reported back to scholars at home, arousing intense curiosity about research. “My dear Freeman,” an ailing J. R. Green wrote a colleague, “I wish I could have been with you on your northern campaign . . . [It would] drive me wild with delight.”⁷⁰

Once reached, the archives revealed facts and evidence from which the historian impartially and rationally constructed a scientific account of past reality. But Ranke, for instance, described his work in one repository: “Yesterday I had a sweet, magnificent fling with the object of my love, a beautiful Italian, and I hope that we produce a beautiful Romano-German prodigy. I rose at noon, completely exhausted.”⁷¹ He called another collection “absolutely a virgin. I long for the moment I have access to her . . . whether she is pretty or not.”⁷² Throughout the century, other historians described archives in sensual or bodily terms, sometimes using violent depictions. For Charles-Victor Langlois, French archives had been “mutilated” over the centuries, like “the parts of the body . . . scattered across all of France and of Europe: *corpus disjecta*.”⁷³ A young researcher avid to get into the foreign ministry archives in the 1870s was determined “to force open the doors and thrust past the keepers of the harem.”⁷⁴

Archives evoked this kind of imagery, and they also provided a place where scenarios of pollution and danger might be envisioned. To earlier scholars, archives had seemed like “Augean stables” in need of purification.⁷⁵ Nineteenth-century historians had similar feelings. Archives were dusty and dark, since light was the enemy of old documents, fading the ink; excessive temperatures were also damaging. The French archives, it was claimed, were a place of utter chaos up until the 1840s, when the Soubise palace was completely refurbished and expanded. Cartons of documents littered the halls and stairways, ceilings were

⁶⁹ Leopold von Ranke to Heinrich Ritter, October 4, 1827, in Ranke, *Das Briefwerk*, 114–15.

⁷⁰ J. R. Green to E. A. Freeman [1870], in *Letters of John Richard Green*, Leslie Stephen, ed. (New York, 1901), 259; Waldo Hilary Dunn, *James Anthony Froude: A Biography* (Oxford, 1963), 581.

⁷¹ Ranke to Ritter, October 28, 1827, in Leopold von Ranke, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 54 vols. (Leipzig, 1867–90), 53–4: 175.

⁷² Leopold von Ranke to Ferdinand Ranke, November 11, 1836, in Leopold von Ranke, *Neue Briefe*, Bernhard Hoefl and Hans Herzfeld, eds. (Hamburg, 1949), 230.

⁷³ Ch.-V. Langlois and H. Stein, *Les archives de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1891), 1.

⁷⁴ Hanotaux, *Mon temps*, 2: 8.

⁷⁵ For examples of the use of this term, see Donald R. Kelley, “Jean du Tillet, Archivist and Antiquary,” *Journal of Modern History*, 38 (1966): 337–54.

falling, and thefts and other irregularities frequently occurred.⁷⁶ In 1851, Heinrich von Sybel, examining the papers of the Committee of Public Safety, encountered “the dust of the year 1795.”⁷⁷ In any archive, decay was evident everywhere, not only in the records of the past but also in the dead bugs, bits of rodent excrement, worms, hairs, nail clippings, and water damage to old paper and script. Illegible writing, strange languages, shorthand, and secret codes all made archives places of mystery.

There was also the inaccessibility of the archives themselves: readers, once they gained entry, usually saw a restricted number of documents brought into conservators’ offices or some reading area. The Vatican Library was known for having no catalog but also for the 204 steps to the archival tower and for a further separation between the repository and the room set aside for readers.⁷⁸ Inaccessibility only heightened the mystery of the archives, and scholars wrote excited letters to other historians, friends, and family about the number of folios or cartons exposed to them each day. In 1848, revolutionaries stormed and occupied the Vatican archives to discover its alleged secrets. Descriptions of archival practices had added a sense of forbidden knowledge and images of middle-class sexual prowess to the configuration of historical study as work and civic virtue.

The quest for original sources could require some sacrifices. The Chartiste Gabriel Hanotaux noted the effect of being “buried in the dust of my old parchments.” In the 1870s, he spent his youth working on Cardinal Richelieu’s papers, resulting in a “sweet pain etched on my pale cheeks and weighing on my bowed back.”⁷⁹ Others surpassed Hanotaux in evoking not just pain but morbidity. Writers often used the scholar’s proximity to documents and old books as a metaphor of disease and ill-health. That towering novel of Victorian probity and balance, *Middlemarch*, depicted a desiccated scholar whose work was fruitless and ultimately destructive. Sitting with his stacks of folios, Edward Casaubon showed “a melancholy absence of passion in his efforts at achievement, and a passionate resistance to the confession that he had achieved nothing.” If his spirit had shriveled, his body was in no better shape: “Digestion was made difficult by the interference of citations, or by the rivalry of dialectical phrases ringing against each other in his brain.”⁸⁰ Still others saw manuscript-based scholars as “dead from the waist down.”⁸¹ Historians also described their immersion in documents and old books in dire terms. Attributing the onset of blindness to excessive study in libraries and repositories, Augustin Thierry imagined his scholarly frenzy as a kind of patriotic sacrifice: “I gave my country all that a soldier gives [who is] mutilated on the field of battle.”⁸² The death of the scholar Otfried Müller on a

⁷⁶ Bordier, *Les archives de France*, 26–48.

⁷⁷ Heinrich von Sybel, *Vorträge und Abhandlungen* (Munich, 1897), 365.

⁷⁸ Owen Chadwick, *Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives* (Cambridge, 1978).

⁷⁹ Hanotaux, *Mon temps*, 2: 63, 36.

⁸⁰ George Eliot, *Middlemarch: A Study of Provincial Life*, David Carroll, ed. (Oxford, 1986), 408, 274–75.

⁸¹ Robert Browning, “The Grammarian’s Funeral,” *The Poems and Plays of Robert Browning* (New York, 1934), 172.

⁸² Augustin Thierry, *Dix ans d’études historiques*, 6th edn. (Paris, 1851), 23.

research trip to Greece was that of “a martyr in the land of his spirit, . . . a hero on his shield.”⁸³

Thierry depicted his own research as a kind of delirium, an ecstasy, while Theodor von Sickel described a moment in 1861 when Lord Acton, passionate to obtain a papal document, set out to burglarize the Vatican archives. He was taken into custody by Italian troops.⁸⁴ Autobiographical and other accounts of historical scholarship shared with authors of fiction and nonfiction hints of the dangerous possibility that the pursuit of documents and rare books might contain elements of irrationality, madness, or perversion. Thinking of the scholars and collectors around him, the bibliophile and author P.-L. Jacob exclaimed that “Paris is surely the paradise of madmen and bibliomaniacs.”⁸⁵ From the 1830s on, writers staged the thirst for documents and books as a real and dangerous obsession. To use just the French case, in the 1830s alone Charles Nodier and Gustave Flaubert were but two who produced notable stories about “bibliomania,” which in the nineteenth century meant a crazed fixation on documents, manuscripts, and rare books that one wanted to observe, touch, or own at all cost—including death.⁸⁶ Some decades later, Jacob noted that a bibliomaniac would become faint at the sight of the greengrocer wrapping produce in a manuscript, while archivists in Marseilles reported in 1869 that obsessed Prussian scholars had been stealing documents for some two years.⁸⁷ In both cases, documents aroused such powerful emotions that strong men fainted and upright ones committed crimes. Thus, in the midst of scientific reliance on documents, obsession with them could separate some scholars from their wits, indeed, from all those faculties necessary to judge the true from the false. An epistemological knot took shape: obsession blurred the lines between science and delusion and could turn the rational words of the manuscript into a mere object of overwrought desire.

Tales of documentary obsession called into question the reliability of research, central to the claims of professional scholarship. Given the pains professionalizers took to distinguish their practices from those of earlier, religiously and philosophically motivated work, it seems paradoxical that they would use the language of obsession to describe their own endeavors. But historical scholars, in their descriptions of archival and manuscript work, adopted a vocabulary that was specifically useful to them, a language of love, obsession, and, more particularly, fetishism. The latter involved strong emotional fixations on objects or parts of the body not usually evocative of such emotions. Powerful attachment to an object one

⁸³ Ernst Curtius, *Ein Lebensbild in Briefen*, quoted in Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 40.

⁸⁴ Theodor von Sickel, *Römische Erinnerungen* (Vienna, 1947), 45–46, 133–37, 170–71, 184–85.

⁸⁵ P.-L. Jacob [Paul Lacroix], *Les amateurs de vieux livres* (Paris, 1880), 49. This is not the only time in history when people had an obsession with books and manuscripts. For instance, a fascinating fourteenth-century work, Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, E. C. Thomas, trans. (1345; Oxford, 1970), touts the importance of books. This is a general *topos* in literature, but I contend that the amount of fiction calling attention to maniacal behavior in the nineteenth century is much greater. Even if it were not, the *topos* needs to be examined (as does any other longstanding phenomenon such as the state or the economy) for its historical specificity.

⁸⁶ Charles Nodier, *Le bibliomane* (1834; Paris, 1894); Gustave Flaubert, “Bibliomanie,” *Oeuvres complètes* (1837; Lausanne, 1964), vol. 1.

⁸⁷ *Lettres de Léopold Delisle: Correspondance adressée à Louis Blancard* (Paris, 1912), xiii, n. 3.

believed to have magical power as well as an overwrought commitment to some idea or ritual also defined fetishism in the nineteenth century.

The language of obsession and fetishism had the same kind of currency among intellectuals and provided a similar developmental impetus to historical science as did republicanism. Working its way into scholarly language, the concept of fetishism in particular was central to three middle-class preoccupations of the time: economic value, rational knowledge, and love. Karl Marx focused his attention on questions of fetishism and value in the concept of commodity fetishism.⁸⁸ Other scholars not only adopted the language of love and obsession but also focused their studies on the concept of fetishism both to delineate boundaries between true and false knowledge and to score points against intellectual and cultural practices they did not like, cementing in the process their claims to rationality. Early in the century, scholars working with travel accounts and ethnographic material built a complex picture of fetishism as an irrational commitment, usually by non-Western peoples, to ordinary items (such as a shell or a piece of fabric) believed to possess magical or divine properties.⁸⁹ This account of fetishism situated it in pre-scientific thinking, making it the opposite of modern rationalism. Beginning with Portuguese traders and then passing to Enlightenment *philosophes'* accounts of African customs, fetishism became crucial in telling exactly how such Western practices as trade and "rational thought" had value. The seemingly bizarre value Africans attributed to objects seen as valueless to Western traders and the efficacious properties they also attributed to these objects made the definition of the "fetish" a symbol of African backwardness. As progressive interpretations of human history developed, "fetishism" was integrated into the historiography of religion and the nascent science of anthropology as an originating and primitive moment from which conceptions of the divine became progressively more enlightened.⁹⁰

The concept of fetishism as derived from religious practice allowed scholars more emphatically to reject history based on totemic monuments and ruins, to avoid commonplace objects (rocks, feathers, and the like) in favor of hard-to-get documents, and to eschew the study of culture and society (the locus of fetishistic practice) for the more elevated, even transcendent, reaches of the state.⁹¹ Scholarly journals used the language of the debased object to defeat practitioners of amateur and narrative history and their use of "rhetoric," characterizing such

⁸⁸ See Karl Marx, *The German Ideology* (London, 1965), 91.

⁸⁹ On this question, literary scholars and anthropologists can offer important background to the historiography of the concept: see William Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, I," *Res*, 9 (Spring 1985): 5–17; Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, II: The Origin of the Fetish," *Res*, 13 (Spring 1987): 23–45; Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, III: Bosman's Guinea and the Enlightenment Theory of Fetishism," *Res*, 16 (Autumn 1988): 105–23; Emily Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago, 1986); Emily Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca, 1993); and Laura Mulvey, "Some Thoughts on Theories of Fetishism in the Context of Contemporary Culture," *October*, 65 (Summer 1993): 3–20.

⁹⁰ Pietz, "Problem of the Fetish, III," 111 and *passim*. According to Pietz, Westerners as early as the eighteenth century were also condemning African fetishism for its unenlightened standard of beauty and misguided notions of sexual potency.

⁹¹ On the training to reject ordinary objects, monuments, and so on as evidence and to avoid everyday life as a subject, see Bonnie G. Smith, "The Adolescent Road to Historical Scholarship," *History of Education Quarterly*, 33 (January 1994): 563–77.

work as full of “tawdry trappings,” “tinselled embroidery,” and “allurements of style.”⁹² Good history was “unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, without stilts, buskins, tinsel, or bedizenment.”⁹³

In addition, the study of fetishism allowed professional historians to confront epistemological problems involved in the study of documents. One of the primary experts on fetishism, professor of history at the Collège de France and director of the National Archives (1868–1888), Alfred Maury addressed issues of knowledge and rational thought in the case of such image-producing experiences as overconcentration, dreams, hallucinations, and ecstatic trances.⁹⁴ From the stigmata of saints to the efficacious results of fetishistic worship, such deluded beliefs, Maury showed, stemmed from natural, explicable causes, whether they be immoderate consumption of coffee (in the case of some teen-aged convulsionaries who in 1857 professed to speak Latin) or the perils of an overly ascetic religious life (in the case of ecstasies and saints). Because it assigned transcendent meaning to ordinary objects, fetishism was viewed as a lower form of mental activity than intense scientific study. Several of Maury’s books specifically considered the hallucinatory results of “prolonged concentration on the nervous system” wherein overconcentration on a thought, image, or text could lead one to believe an illusory occurrence, for example, to be real or true. From concentrating too hard, one could find truth in false evidence or efficacy in a material object. This was precisely the problem of the fetish (as Maury outlined at length), but it unwittingly raised doubts about the truth that historians claimed to find in intense study of a document. In *Magic and Astrology*, Maury’s way out of this problem was to reassure readers, after taking them through a biographical morass of deluded ecstasies, that in the case of delusion from overconcentration “it is always women who predominate.”⁹⁵

Comforting as such conclusions could be to some, others remained troubled by the presence of fetishism in scientific work. If the intense study of documents produced false results, then well-trained and well-meaning researchers were being deluded by their evidence. For example, the international controversy over the

⁹² “Prefatory Note,” *English Historical Review*, 1 (1886): 5; reviews of S. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate 1649–1660*, and Georg Busolt, *Handbuch der griechischen Geschichte*, in *English Historical Review*, 13 (1898): 167, 125; see also Lord Acton’s praise for Ranke’s writing “without adornment,” in John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (1906; New York, 1961), 39; “Gardiner’s Personal Government of Charles I,” *Saturday Review* (December 22, 1877): 774.

⁹³ Richard Hildreth, *The History of the United States of America*, 6 vols. (New York, 1849–52), 4: vii.

⁹⁴ L.-F.-Alfred Maury’s work includes histories of classical Greece and Rome and several histories of learned societies in France from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, but he also wrote serious accounts in French of *Magic and Astrology in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (1860) and *Sleep and Dreams* (1861). These last two works went through many editions.

⁹⁵ L.-F.-Alfred Maury, *La magie et l’astrologie dans l’antiquité et au moyen âge; ou, Etude sur les superstitions païennes . . .*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1877), 353, 370. Maury in the name of science constantly eroded the position of scientific scholars. When writing about fetishism, shamanism, and other magical practices, he maintained that shamans were “attentive observers of humans and of all their weaknesses, adept at penetrating from the surface to the depths of human conscience.” Fetish priests were often “organized into a powerful and respected caste, and possessed, like the Chaldeans, secrets for working prodigies that could astonish the imagination.” Once these priests and shamans acquired the skills for summoning up truths about the dead, or even their very presence, “they become the object of public esteem” (*ibid.*, 17, 19, 39, 20). Maury’s work pointed to an anxiety about truth that had not existed in such foundational works as Wilhelm Humboldt’s, in which the imagination was to fill in essential connections that were missing from documents.

origins of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which erupted with particular virulence late in the 1870s and continued for decades thereafter, pitted careful researchers against one another. The reasoning from the existence or nonexistence of specific documents directly ordering the massacre yielded contradictory conclusions and led some scholars, such as French archivist Henri Bordier, to claim that the new methods were unsatisfactory. These methods, he argued, could not deal with negative evidence, and they produced accounts fixated on one particular document or series of documents to the exclusion of common sense and reason.⁹⁶

Philosopher Michèle Le Doeuff has shown that when intellectuals reach the limits of explanation, need to "soften an aporia" (a philosophical problem or incompatibility), or work past a "blind spot," they often use an already validated image from earlier philosophers.⁹⁷ In the case of history, the problems of truth in archival research were softened by applying an alternative and less troublesome metaphor than that involved in the scholarship on religious fetishism: the normative language of love and gender. One historian dismissed the problem of delusion in archival work as that of "how to avoid being seduced, intoxicated, and bewitched by the issues whose essence oozes from these leather bindings and heaped up cartons." These words eradicated delusion or fascination as an epistemological problem; instead, one moved through the thorny issues by expressly being swept up in love and seduction. One obviously *would* succumb, but the articulation of the normative papered over the philosophical difficulty.⁹⁸ Using gender normalized and naturalized an epistemological impasse that studies of religious fetishism had attempted but had not always succeeded in resolving.

Just as novelists were adding a richly sexual component to fetishistic themes in their work, inventing heroes who became obsessively devoted to delicate feminine shoes, tiny gloved hands, fans, and other objects that stood for the totality of a living woman, so historians were sheltering their commitment to documents in the safe haven of sexually fetishistic or amorous metaphors. One caressed a rare book, wrote the historian Hanotaux, because it was "enveloped in skin like a woman."⁹⁹ Expressions of fetishism as an attachment to an object that enabled sexual and not just religious feelings protected one from excessive attachment to the archive and thus gained in resonance. Ranke's characterization of his archival research as driven by "desire" and "lust" invoked the fundamental truth of sex, while his metaphors of princesses and virgins sheltered him in pure love. "Each discovery," Seignobos and Langlois exclaimed about finding an untouched document in a dusty archive, "induces rapture."¹⁰⁰

The vocabulary of a diluted masochism and morbid descriptions of research (from Thierry's "attacks of paralysis" and "frequent vertigo" experienced while

⁹⁶ For an account of this controversy as well as extensive bibliography, see Herbert Butterfield, *Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1955), 191–201.

⁹⁷ Michèle Le Doeuff, *The Philosophical Imagination*, Colin Gordon, trans. (London, 1989), 92.

⁹⁸ Hanotaux, *Mon temps*, 2: 36–37.

⁹⁹ Gabriel Hanotaux, *Les bibliophiles* (Paris, 1924), 36.

¹⁰⁰ Charles-V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1898).

working¹⁰¹ to the “sweet pain” etched on Hanotaux’s “pale cheeks”) hint at the language of sexual dysfunction that also came to be connected with fetishism.¹⁰² But here, too, the move from religious fetishism to sexual fetishism neutralized the threat that a madman’s untruth might vitiate the results of historical science: “To love one must suffer,” the alienist Alfred Binet wrote in his 1887 study of fetishists.¹⁰³ Elements of suffering and torture that a man claimed to endure bravely became centerpieces of archival fantasies in which the quest cruelly foregrounded masculine courage. Researchers emphasized the foul conditions and the pollution of death and femininity in their work. Irish historian William Lecky, who traveled extensively to local archives in France, Spain, and Italy searching for obscure manuscripts, noted a heat so ferocious that “it is scarcely possible to exist with one’s clothes on; and the garrulity of French ladies, the ceaseless cracking of whips, barking of dogs, and other atrocious sounds make me perfectly miserable, especially as I am trying vainly to understand the theology of the Gnostics and the philosophy of Scotus Erigena.”¹⁰⁴ Personal discomfort was accompanied by alienation at being separated from friends. Ranke complained about the early hours, the quality and quantity of documents, and the lack of letters and sociability, while others noted in their diaries agonizing schedules for research trips and difficult relations with archivists. Heading for the archives, Ranke felt himself “no different from Hannibal.”¹⁰⁵ There were metaphors of endurance, access, and control: accounts of pitched battles that raged for editorships of archival collections and the settling of personal scores by getting admission to repositories revoked.¹⁰⁶ In the fantastic foundational metaphors of nineteenth-century researchers, the archives and their contents were indeed something against which one waged a “northern campaign”; they were “so many princesses, possibly beautiful, . . . needing to be saved” at all cost. Invoking the image of the tortured chivalric knight, Lord Acton described history as “the heroic study of records.”¹⁰⁷

The language of love was transcendent, and so was that of archival scholarship. Just as practices of fetishism were exhilarating, allowing its adherents to fantasize that they had surpassed the normal bounds of sexual pleasure, overcome the messy facts of gender identity, or eradicated distinctions between life and death, the scientific study of inert documents would, early historians theorized, “awaken and stimulate a sensibility for reality.”¹⁰⁸ Charles Seignobos explained the power

¹⁰¹ Thierry to Claude Fauriel, June 1829, quoted in Rulon Nephi Smithson, *Augustin Thierry* (Geneva, 1973), 22.

¹⁰² See Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993), chap. 6, for elaboration.

¹⁰³ Alfred Binet, “Le fétichisme dans l’amour: Etude de psychologie morbide,” *Revue philosophique*, 24 (1887): 143–67.

¹⁰⁴ William Lecky, August 19, 1863, in Elizabeth Van Deden Lecky, *A Memoir of the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky* (London, 1909), 38.

¹⁰⁵ Leopold von Ranke to Bettina von Arnim, February 6, 1828, in Ranke, *Briefwerke*, 139. These are common allusions among researchers.

¹⁰⁶ See, for instance, Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises*, on the many intrigues over controlling various sections of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

¹⁰⁷ Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, 22.

¹⁰⁸ Wilhelm von Humboldt, “On the Historian’s Task” (1821) in Leopold von Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History*, Georg G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, eds. (Indianapolis, Ind., 1973), 8–9.

of the fetishistic document: "A friend writes me, 'It's raining.' His letter is a material fact that allows me to prove the material fact of rain." Beyond this trivial information, however, one attended to the letter scrupulously, taking in its import in order to enter "the exterior world of the past . . . [and] the thought of the author."¹⁰⁹ Ultimately, documents and their contents lay in archives to allow, as Wilhelm Humboldt had earlier remarked, the "fusion of the inquiring intellect and the object of inquiry." Overcoming the fundamental divide between life and death, the expert in the critical study of documents claimed to enter the mind of the dead. Michelet, after an alleged twenty years of daily work in the archives, professed to hear their moans, murmurs, and muffled cries.¹¹⁰

Historical scholars, like maniacs and fetishists who devoted themselves to their obsessions, described a work experience far different from that of ordinary people. Historians spoke of soaring above the common herd by their assiduous veneration and appreciation of a manuscript's true value. "Happiness for me is not just pleasure; I have renounced it . . . My object is the good, or Being," the young Hippolyte Taine wrote a friend. He claimed kinship not with people of his own day but with men in the past, "Greek and ancient."¹¹¹ Other historians described stripping away the extraneous aspects of life such as social engagements, pleasure trips, and amusements to practice the higher devotion to documents. "I am predestined for solitude. Wherever I am, I will be alone," wrote Ranke, frequenter of salons and museums and companion of lovely young women.¹¹² Mandell Creighton, who revised scholarship on the popes with the addition of cultural material, wrote tirelessly to his fiancée about *Entsagung*, or renunciation. Creighton questioned the value of interacting with other humans when scholarly reality was so important,¹¹³ and he hoped to lead a luminescent life distinct from the quotidian. Critical scholarship could be brutal, but its demands led its practitioners to articulate a heightened, elated sensibility that bespoke transcendence. The sensibility that soared to the farthest reaches of universality was the opposite of ordinary interests and biases, making the idealistic language of historical objectivity parallel the language of fetishistic love.

Regulations for archives and libraries usually prohibited women, children, and uncredentialed men from entering, and these regulations furthered the possibilities for transcendence. Seminar rooms and men's studies at home served a similar function as "closets" or "cabinets," both terms synonyms for the male study.¹¹⁴ The closet, cabinet, or study was the site of contemplation beyond the reach of ordinary life, a space for men—but so clearly threatened that Herbert Baxter Adams needed numerous keys to the locked doors, desks, and cabinets in the Hopkins seminar room. J. R. Green announced the most important restriction

¹⁰⁹ Charles Seignobos, "Les conditions psychologiques de la connaissance en histoire," *Revue philosophique*, 24 (July 1887): 8–9.

¹¹⁰ Humboldt, "On the Historian's Task," 8; Jules Michelet, "Préface de 1869," *Histoire de France*, 18 vols. (Paris, 1876), 1: xxxvi.

¹¹¹ Hippolyte Taine to Prévost-Paradol, March 2, 1849, in *Taine: Savie, sa correspondance* (Paris, 1905), 1: 51.

¹¹² Leopold von Ranke to Heinrich Ranke, November 1827, in Ranke, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 53–54: 179.

¹¹³ *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D.*, Louise Creighton, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1906), 1: 80–83.

¹¹⁴ See Apter, *Feminizing the Fetish*, 39–40.

on a future wife to be that she not cross the threshold of his study.¹¹⁵ The closet or cabinet had further associations with sheltering forbidden kinds of books, documents, art works, or information, usually sexual, from any but men's eyes. Though displaying republican health and manly vigor, the seminar room also became a shrine to the fetishistic document or rare book.

Historical research constantly remade itself in the metaphors of commitment to love objects. At the end of the nineteenth century, Lord Acton edited the *Cambridge Modern History*, a synthesis of modern research designed to overcome the problem of mastering the outpouring of original research. Acton saw this synthesis as a timely one because "most of the official collections in Europe have been made public, and nearly all the evidence that will ever appear is accessible now." In other words, "the final stage in the conditions of historical learning" was at hand, and some hundred writers, all of them well trained in scientific history, would be so objective in writing this complete history that "nothing shall reveal the country, the religion, or the party to which the writers belong."¹¹⁶ Acton thus continued the rhetoric of transcendence, but he was utterly unable to write a monograph because of what Arnold Toynbee would later call the "will-o'-the-wisp of omniscience"—yet another aspect of historical perversion.¹¹⁷ Despite this, Acton became, for Toynbee and other later historians, a sign of the superhuman erudition of the historian, one with "hundreds" of cardboard boxes of meticulously noted facts and "a miracle of learning."¹¹⁸ Dead historians, whose work was no longer read, much less discussed, were invoked with emotional resonance as an authorizing and enabling image with magical powers. One only had to utter the name Acton, and visions of his vast library with tens of thousands of rare and new books, documents and manuscripts, and hundreds of boxes of note cards would emerge to reinspire the tasks of scientific history. Historiography became a string of such names that lacked a meaningful "signified" but that served efficaciously—that is, fetishistically—to anchor young and old to scientific history's language of universal aspirations.

SCIENTIFIC HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY staged middle-class men's quest for competence and achievement or, in other terms, their will to professional power. The practices of professional history carved out a space where scientific history—that is, history as knowledge and as secular truth—could be written, judged, and promoted. The scientific seminar became the centerpiece of disciplinary power. In it, a "community" or "brotherhood" of true scholars took shape, archival findings were reverently displayed for scrutiny, and each fledgling professional showed his mettle and received his credentials. Meanwhile, the archives were the richly imagined repositories of knowledge and the guarantors of truth around which the historical community reached a republican-style consensus.

¹¹⁵ J. R. Green to W. B. Dawkins, July 25, 1859, Stephen, ed., *Letters of John Richard Green*, 30.

¹¹⁶ Lord Acton to contributors to the *Cambridge Modern History*, *Lectures on Modern History*, 315–16.

¹¹⁷ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History: The Inspiration of Historians*, vol. 10 (Oxford, 1954), 24–41.

¹¹⁸ James Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (New York, 1903), 386.

The contradictions of the republican metaphor have today become as apparent as its enabling aspects, and nowhere is this more pertinent than in the professionalization of history. While competing drives for professional power often introduced a real distrust into this community of virtuous practitioners, the thirst for documents and its epistemological difficulties were often explained in the nineteenth-century vocabulary of fetishism, love, and heterosexual desire. Aiming to find a consensual truth, professionals in the seminar and archives relied heavily on gender—a concept riddled with hierarchy and dichotomy at the time and one that eliminated many people from consensus-making. The enterprise was thus built on fissures that were widened in the journals, associations, and other institutions generated by historical science. Ruthless or obsessive practices in the name of historical truth coexisted with articulations of community and rationality in the name of that same truth. Expressions of objectivity were often made in highly sexed metaphors—metaphors that appeared “natural” because modern ideology took sexual difference as natural. The practices of scientific history were simultaneously unifying and fragmenting, productive of democracy and redolent of hierarchy, committed to knowledge and dressed in fantasy.¹¹⁹ An important point to stress, however, is the productivity of historical science’s contradictions. Scientific history was not driven by the noble dream of objectivity alone but rather by objectivity *and* the fantastical ingredients (some of them mentioned here) from which it was constructed. In the spaces left open by these contradictions and by the inescapable reliance on metaphor, the innovative or those who were merely different might try to find new directions.

¹¹⁹ In stressing the complexity of the practices of objectivity, I take my cue from Allan Megill’s important editorial introduction (“Four Senses of Objectivity”) to two issues of the *Annals of Scholarship*, 8 (1991): 307–10, devoted to scientific practices in a number of fields. Another exploration of the conflict between gender and the democratic aspirations of U.S. historians may be found in Joan W. Scott, “American Women Historians, 1884–1984,” *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 178–98.

The Past and Present of Environmental History

ALFRED W. CROSBY

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the American Historical Association scheduled in Cleveland, Ohio, for the end of December 1918 never took place. It was canceled, according to the next issue of the *American Historical Review*, on the recommendation of the health officer of that city "because of the epidemic of influenza then prevailing in Cleveland." When the cancellation was next mentioned in the journal, two decades later, it was blamed on the postwar congestion on the railroads, and the flu was downgraded to "an additional good reason for avoiding nonessential gatherings."¹

In the last four months of 1918, the Spanish flu, as it was called, killed 3,156 in Cleveland, nearly 20,000 in Ohio, upwards of half a million in the United States, and something in excess of 20 million in the world. It was a more efficient killer than World War I and the greatest single demographic catastrophe, in terms of absolute numbers, yet suffered by humanity.² But the members of the American Historical Association, whatever their reaction as human beings may have been, as historians were indifferent to this nearly universal calamity.

The generation of historians who were twenty-five years of age when the first issue of the *AHR* appeared in 1895 and seventy-five at the end of World War II was devoted almost exclusively to what Bernard Bailyn called *manifest* history in his Presidential Address to the Association in 1981, that is to say, devoted to "the story of events that contemporaries were clearly aware of, that were matters of conscious concern, were consciously struggled over, were, so to speak, headline events in their own time even if their causes and their underlying determinants were buried below the level of contemporaries' understanding."³ Professional historians had no interest, certainly no burning interest, in what we today call environmental history, the story of humanity as an often passive or distracted participant in local, regional, and world-wide ecosystems.

There was no absence of contemporary events and trends in addition to the flu epidemic to stimulate interest in environmental matters. There were catastrophes: Krakatoa's detonation in 1893 set off a tsunami that drowned 40,000, the explosion of a comet or asteroid over the Tunguska River, Siberia, in 1908, flattened 2,000 square kilometers of forest. There were calamities: from 1896 to 1898, rinderpest, previously unknown in sub-Saharan Africa, appeared in the

¹ *American Historical Review*, 24 (April 1919): 249; *AHR*, 44 (January 1939): 237.

² Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge, 1989), xiv, 207, 214, 217.

³ Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," *AHR*, 87 (February 1982): 9.

Horn of Africa, probably brought in with Asian cattle imported by the Italians to feed their army fighting in Somalia. This disease swept south, traveling as fast as twenty-five miles in a day, slaughtering myriads of cattle and wild ungulates, reducing large numbers of Africans to hunger and even starvation and death, disrupting their societies and opening the way for European imperialistic advances.⁴ There were tragedies: on August 12, 1883, the last quagga, a species of zebra of which there had been vast herds at the time of the seventeenth-century Dutch settlement of the Cape Colony, died in an Amsterdam zoo.⁵ On September 1, 1914, the last passenger pigeon in the world, "Martha," died in a zoo in Cincinnati, Ohio. She was the last of billions, the last of a species that had comprised an estimated 25 to 40 percent of all bird life in North America.⁶ The *Bison bison* (buffalo), which may have existed in the scores of millions at the beginning of the nineteenth century—certainly in the tens of millions—had by the first issue of the *AHR* been reduced to a few hundred.⁷

During the lifetimes of the first cohorts of the Association, the grasslands of the northern and southern temperate zones—plain, pampa, veldt, and steppe—hitherto the support of small riverine populations and a few nomads, were altered in flora and fauna in the service of international capital and to satisfy the needs of millions of new city dwellers. Cities were growing faster than cities had ever grown before, and so cattle, sheep, and wheat displaced buffalo, guanaco, kangaroo, antelope, ostrich, emu, rhea, and native grasses and forbs.⁸ Australia, the land of marsupials, which had no sheep whatsoever in 1788, had 100 million of these placental mammals when the first issue of the *AHR* appeared.⁹

The world's human population, increasing faster than ever before, doubled between 1850 and 1950,¹⁰ and migrated farther, more swiftly, and in greater numbers. Millions steamed out of Europe, 1.3 million to the United States in one year alone, 1907,¹¹ literally more living biomass than had ever crossed an ocean in such a short time.¹² Forests that were ancient when humans had first cultivated wheat and maize were felled in the demand for building materials and fuel. Loggers were clear cutting the forests of southern Brazil and India and elsewhere. The forests of white pines that had extended in their millions from the Atlantic through the America's Great Lakes states were nearly gone by the end of the nineteenth century. The preservation of the remaining forests was a major

⁴ Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850–1950* (London, 1977), 66–68, 70, 74–75, 126–32; Thomas P. Ofcansky, "The 1889–97 Rinderpest Epidemic and the Rise of British and German Colonialism in Eastern and Southern Africa," *Journal of African Studies*, 8 (Spring 1981): 31–38; Pule Phoofole, "Epidemics and Revolutions: The Rinderpest Epidemic in Late Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa," *Past and Present*, no. 138 (February 1993): 112–43.

⁵ Robert Silverberg, *The Auk, the Dodo, and the Oryx: Vanished and Vanishing Creatures* (New York, 1967), 106.

⁶ A. W. Schorger, *The Passenger Pigeon: Its Natural History and Extinction* (Madison, Wis., 1955), 205.

⁷ "Bison," *Encyclopedia Americana* (Danbury, Conn., 1993), 4: 19.

⁸ D. B. Grigg, *The Agricultural Systems of the World: An Evolutionary Approach* (London, 1974), 241–83; Dan Morgan, *Merchants of Grain* (New York, 1979), *passim*.

⁹ "Sheep," *The Australian Encyclopedia* (Sydney, 1979), 5: 314.

¹⁰ Paul Demeny, "Population," in *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action: Global and Regional Changes in the Biosphere over the Past 300 Years*, B. L. Turner II, ed. (Cambridge, 1990), 43.

¹¹ *Encyclopedia of American History*, Richard B. Morris, ed. (New York, 1965), 471.

¹² Many migratory birds cross seas, but few cross oceans.

political issue in the United States, with Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot (U.S. Forest Service) as the Galahads of conservation.¹³

Congeries of cities in the northeastern United States, in Great Britain's Midlands, and in the Ruhr burgeoned and thickened like secondary growth after a burn in a tropical forest. Buenos Aires, which had a population of 40,000 in 1800, had 1.5 million in 1914.¹⁴ Chicago, little more than a convenient location for portage of canoes in 1800, had 2 million inhabitants a century later.¹⁵ Every city shoveled mountainous quantities of wastes, organic and inorganic, into adjacent waters and trailed smoky, particulate-laden, and even poisonous plumes of polluted air mile after mile downwind.¹⁶

American historians were fully, almost painfully, conscious of immense and accelerating change but did not yet think of it ecologically. Frederick Jackson Turner's paper "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," delivered to the Association in 1893, seemed halfway to environmental history, with all its references to the tidewater region, the fall line, aridity west of the 99th meridian, cattle, pigs, salt, grasses, etc., but never reached that destination. Turner pointed to the "end of the frontier" announcement in the 1890 census report as the obituary of this major factor in American history but not because of the frontier's biological ramifications. The frontier's most important influence, he said, had been in the promotion of individualism and democracy.¹⁷

In Turner's Presidential Address to the Association in 1910, he again expressed awe at the momentum of change: "The transformations through which the United States is passing in our own day are so profound, so far reaching, that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that we are witnessing the birth of a new nation in America." He again veered toward environmental history, warning that the population was increasing faster than the food supply and that the problem was no longer how to blaze trails through the forests but how to save them; and yet he did not take the next step and start to write environmental history. He continued to think politically and parochially, not biologically, comparing contemporary America not to ancient Attica when it was being deforested and over-grazed but to America of the Revolution or the Constitutional Convention or the Civil War.¹⁸

Another early president of the Association, Henry Adams, was appalled by the momentum of change.¹⁹ He warned that humanity was emptying the organic treasury of the planet, exhausting reservoirs of petroleum and natural gas, digging

¹³ Charles F. Carroll, *The Timber Economy of Puritan New England* (Providence, R.I., 1973), 31, 35–36; Michael Williams, *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (Cambridge, 1989), 198–99, 22–23, 228–29; Richard B. Tucker and John F. Richards, "The Global Economy and Forest Clearance in the Nineteenth Century," in *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective*, Kendall E. Bailes, ed. (Lanham, Md., 1985), 577–85; Richard P. Tucker, "The Depletion of India's Forests under British Imperialism: Planters, Foresters, and Peasants in Assam and Kerala," in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, Donald Worster, ed. (Cambridge, 1988), 118–40; John R. McNeill, "Agriculture, Forests, and Ecological History: Brazil, 1500–1984," *Environmental Review*, 10 (Summer 1986): 122–34.

¹⁴ "Buenos Aires," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 4: 711, 712.

¹⁵ "Chicago," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1972), 5: 485.

¹⁶ Brian J. L. Berry, "Urbanization," in B. L. Turner, *Earth as Transformed by Human Action*, 113–15.

¹⁷ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (1947; New York, 1962), 293, 333–34.

¹⁸ F. J. Turner, *Frontier in American History*, 311–13.

¹⁹ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1931), 494–96.

up the peat bogs, razing whole forests, systematically decimating large animals, and replacing them and many wild plants with feebler domesticated organisms. Yet when he sought a law, a principle, to help him to comprehend the significance of the rate of change, he looked not to the life sciences, as we might think a historian would, but to physics. That science confirmed his pessimism with the Second Law of Thermodynamics, nature's promise of universal entropy, an effective antidote for faith in eternal progress but of little use to historians with nascent environmental interests.²⁰ Adams mused that continued acceleration of change "would require a new social mind," not that this mind might have to think in biological terms.²¹

Historians could not see what they were not ready to see. One wonders why. After all, proto-environmentalists and geographers such as Pierre Poivre and Alexander von Humboldt had witnessed ecological disasters following European exploitation of tropical colonies, particularly deforestation, and had published extensively on the subject in the eighteenth century.²² The Darwinian revolution in the life sciences, fundamental to environmental history, had already transformed the biological and social sciences. George Perkins Marsh, author of *Man and Nature* (1864), had pointed to "the dangers of imprudence and the necessity of caution in all operations which, on a large scale, interfere with the spontaneous arrangements of the organic and inorganic worlds," and he had provided page after page of examples to illustrate his thesis. John Wesley Powell had produced a brilliant report on the arid lands of the American West in 1878, warning that plans to cut down its mountain forests and irrigate the lowlands would lead to frustration and, probably, disasters.²³ In October of 1897, even the *AHR* made a contribution of sorts to America's sensitivity to its natural context: Mary E. Woolley's article "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America."²⁴ It was the nearest thing to environmental history, article or book review, to appear in the journal in its first thirty years.

Although none of these discussions of natural life had much influence on historians, one great naturalist, Charles Darwin, did. Charles Francis Adams (Henry's brother and another president of the Association) declared that the first day of October 1859, the date of the publication of *Origin of Species*, "was the dividing line between us and the historians of the old school."²⁵ Roscoe Thayer (in the Presidential Address he did not deliver to the Association in 1918 because of the epidemic) proclaimed that evolutionary theory "has opened to us . . . the process by which we and all other living things, and all forms of matter, live."²⁶ Yet the effect of Darwin's writings on historians was not to stimulate them to write

²⁰ Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 492, 497; Henry Adams, *A Letter to American Teachers of History* (Washington, D.C., 1910), 79, 131, 188.

²¹ Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 498–99.

²² Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (Cambridge, 1995), 179–84, 366–68.

²³ George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 3; Preston E. James, *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas* (Indianapolis, 1972), 208–09.

²⁴ Mary E. Woolley, "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America," *AHR*, 3 (October 1897): 56–66.

²⁵ C. F. Adams, "The Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifters," *AHR*, 6 (January 1901): 199.

²⁶ Roscoe Thayer, "Vagaries of History," *AHR*, 24 (January 1919): 185–86.

environmental history so much as to encourage, via Social Darwinism (the least comely spinoff of his theory) racist and other grossly oversimplified explanations of historical trends and events.

American historians were representative of their profession in paying little attention to the influence of environmental change. Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, possibly the two most famous European historians of the first half of the twentieth century, explained human behavior with only peripheral references to environmental factors. This is not surprising in Spengler, who was not really a historian but a sort of sage for whom the record of humanity was pertinent insofar as it could be mined for illustrations for his preconceptions. Toynbee was more of a historian, yet anyone who scans the indexes of his gigantic *A Study of History* for such items as soil, rainfall, cattle, fish, disease, or extinction will be disappointed. Aldous Huxley went through the index of Volume 6 of Toynbee's masterwork and found five citations for Popilius Laenas, two for Porphyry of Batanaea, "but the word you would expect to find between these names, Population, is conspicuous by its absence."²⁷ Toynbee does mention insects a few times in the massive volumes of *A Study* (much of which is devoted to the Mediterranean basin, malarial for thousands of years) but never as a major factor and often merely analogically, as in "Insects . . . Arrested civilizations, analogies with, iii, 88–9, 106 *seqq.*"²⁸

Historians were purblind in considering environmental matters. They were trained to value written eyewitness accounts above all else, but the real ore of environmental history is only occasionally found in diaries or memoirs. They were trained to specialize, to devote their lives to the minute study of small patches of history; environmental historians must be generalists because environmental changes are rarely affairs of days, weeks, or even years and are often only discernable regionally, even continentally. Most historians were immured in the past few hundred years and ill-equipped to think, for instance, of America environmentally. A mature consideration of human influence on the Western Hemisphere must involve an examination not of the subject since 1775 or 1607 or even 1492 but since the first arrival of humans many millennia ago. For orthodox historians, the starting line for American history was only a step or so back from the present, which anyone who has seen the pyramids at Cholula or the Cahokia Mounds must think absurd.

Historians of the Association's first generations were, with very few exceptions, marooned on one side of the chasm between the sciences and the liberal arts, a chasm that was getting deeper of late. When, in James Harvey Robinson's Presidential Address to the Association in 1929, he recommended utilization of sources not yet fully exploited, he was referring to literature.²⁹ The data environmental historians needed were to be found in government reports and scientific journals filled with talk and numbers and charts about such illiberal matters as stream flows and pollen counts.

When the *AHR* first appeared, the science of ecology, indispensable to the

²⁷ Aldous Huxley, *Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Other Essays* (New York, 1956), 221.

²⁸ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, 10 vols. (London, 1951–54).

²⁹ James Harvey Robinson, "The Newer Ways of Historians," *AHR*, 35 (January 1930): 254.

environmental historian, did not exist. In 1866, German biologist Ernst Haeckel had coined the word ecology (*oecologie* in its first appearance, derived from a Greek term referring to the affairs of a family household), but there was no such independent science for long after the turn of the century, and what we would call ecological research attracted little attention inside or outside the sciences.³⁰ There was, for most historians, no way yet to think about the environment except as Henry David Thoreau had, that is to say, less scientifically than philosophically or, if you will, sentimentally.

The astigmatism of historians was not unique: it was shared by nearly all citizens of the industrialized nations. They did not, in most cases could not, think of themselves or of their species as equal or subordinate partners with the other organisms in the biosphere (a word that, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, did not appear in English until the very end of the nineteenth century and then not again for a decade).³¹ The ancient belief of human beings as inferior to the angels but surely above and somehow independent of the rest of life still reigned. The chain of being had not yet been unclinked, drawn into threads, and woven as the web of nature.

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY IN AMERICA seems to have had several beginnings before it was finally well launched. In 1926, Avery Odell Craven's *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606–1860* appeared, received a positive review in the *AHR* the next year,³² and triggered a succession of studies that continues to this day, agreeing, disagreeing, and expanding on its thesis. But the historical profession as a whole took little notice. In 1931, Walter Prescott Webb's classic *Great Frontier* appeared, and its concentration on climate, flora and fauna, wild and domesticated, of the grasslands of North America definitely represented an environmental approach.³³ The writing of the history of the American West would never be the same again, an effect reinforced by the Dust Bowl disaster of the 1930s; but again the profession as a whole was unmoved. The first of James C. Maalin's books, the unambiguously environmental and heavily scientific *Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History*, appeared in 1947, but few read it. A number of good books with environmental content were reviewed in the *AHR*—for instance, Andrew Hill Clark's fascinating *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants, and Animals* (1949) and Harold Innis's valuable *Cod Fisheries* (1940), a study, for once, about a piece of ocean, not land—but historians paid them little attention. Neither the profession nor the public was yet conscious of a need for environmental history.

All was not static, however. There were a number of intellectual developments prerequisite to environmental history under way in the early twentieth century. Archaeologists, now beyond merely digging up art objects, were shifting their attention to how ancient peoples had lived and were utilizing new techniques to

³⁰ Peter J. Bowler, *The Norton History of the Environmental Sciences* (New York, 1992), 364–69.

³¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d edn., 2: 210.

³² *AHR*, 32 (April 1927): 610–11.

³³ *AHR*, 37 (January 1932): 359–60.

learn about ancient climates and ecosystems. As their knowledge accumulated, the line between prehistory and history faded, tempting historians to push farther and farther back, and enabling those with environmental interests to ask and sometimes to offer answers to questions about the land, waters, and ecosystems over longer periods than Frederick Jackson Turner had ever taken into consideration. In an odd way, prehistory and undocumented history were especially fertile fields for environmental historians. Where there were no documents, historians had to content themselves with the vast and enduring: soil fertility, erosion, climate, nutrition, disease burden, flora and fauna.

Ecology became a mature science and a source of encouragement and instruction for the historian. Figures such as Frederic E. Clements and Charles Elton established it as a separate science and provided some of its basic techniques and concepts. Clements's "succession" and "climax" have since been modified and even discredited, but they served first ecologists and then historians well for many years. Arthur G. Tansley's term "ecosystem" made its debut in 1935 and has had a longer useful life.³⁴ The science these men helped to found was initially somewhat "holistic," not a very respectable characteristic according to some scientists, who have since subjected ecology to mathematical discipline.³⁵ But early ecology was useful to environmental historians, who have been obliged by the nature of their scattered and impressionistic data to be holistic.

Studies in geography were undergoing changes that made this discipline useful and even inspirational to historians with a burgeoning interest in the environment. In the first years of the twentieth century, Paul Vidal de la Blache of the Sorbonne replaced simple-minded and easily dismissed geographical determinism with *possibilism*, a proposition that nature does not dictate but does set limits and offers a finite number of possibilities to people, who then, according to the limits and possibilities of their own culture and genius, make choices. De la Blache emphasized not political units, the bailiwicks of kings and generals, but regions with natural and cultural borders, and he was interested not simply in what the environment did to humans but in what they did to the environment. He mapped and analyzed the distribution of *Homo sapiens*, the plow, wheel, domesticated animals, and systems of transportation across the globe. His most important work, *Principles of Human Geography*, was published in French in 1921 and appeared in English translation in 1926. It has enjoyed a number of reprintings, including several since World War II, and remains influential among geographers and not a few historians.³⁶

Carl Ortwin Sauer was the most influential American geographer during the middle decades of this century. He defied categorization, concerning himself with what humanity did to site, as well as vice versa, sometimes focusing on such subjects as language distribution and the origins and dispersions of agriculture and, in his last years, writing out-and-out history. His work fascinated and stimulated historians, most particularly Latin Americanists at his home university,

³⁴ Bowler, *Norton History of the Environmental Sciences*, 374–76, 520, 529–30.

³⁵ Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1994), 301–15.

³⁶ James, *All Possible Worlds*, 246–49; P. Vidal de la Blache, *Principles of Human Geography*, Millicent T. Bingham, trans. (London, 1965).

the University of California at Berkeley, who, in turn, influenced historians in other fields.³⁷

American geographers aspire to scientific accuracy and produce tightly focused studies with a strong mathematical component and a minimum of theory: studies that contain useful facts for environmental historians but not generalizations they can test against the versions of the past summoned up from the record. Fortunately for the historians, mid-century geographic studies, like those in ecology, were intelligible and useful to outsiders. Sauer declared that geographers “welcome whatever work is competent from whatever source, and claim no proprietary right. In the history of life the less specialized forms have tended to survive and flourish, whereas the functionally self-limiting types become fossils.”³⁸

French historians were, as a group, the first to scorn “manifest history” and to make a sustained and intellectually powerful attempt to examine humanity as a collectivity in interaction with the organic and inorganic world. Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, in the years immediately before World War I, had rebelled against the kind of historiography that sought truth about the forest of human experience by cataloguing and describing individual trees. They turned from the minutely factual history of Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos to writing history of general trends and factors of extended duration. They looked to de la Blache and to Emile Durkheim, the sociological theorist, for guidance, emphasizing the social and collective, a bias that has often led historians to a consideration of the interaction of humanity and the environment.³⁹

The most influential work of France’s innovative historians to appear between the wars was Febvre’s *Geographical Introduction to History*, published in English in 1925 and many times since. It is a magisterial work, including as subcategories such subjects as climate, climatico-botanical areas, hunter peoples, fisher peoples, nomadism, and roads. The author rejects the old argument about geographical determinism versus humanity’s free will: “The difference is really a frivolous and a purely academic distinction which leads to nothing,”⁴⁰ a statement of liberating revelation with which Sauer and today’s environmental historians would heartily agree.

The most spectacular and influential achievement of post-World War II French historians has been Fernand Braudel’s massive *La Méditerranée et le monde Méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II*, first published in 1949 and, after revision, again in 1966, and in English in 1972–1973.⁴¹ The translation is still in print two decades later despite its length, well over 1,000 pages, and despite the many

³⁷ James, *All Possible Worlds*, 399–400, 406, 531. For those unfamiliar with Sauer’s work, I recommend, for starters, *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, John Leighly, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1974); *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Language in Northwestern Mexico* (Berkeley, 1934); *Seeds, Spades, Hearths, and Herds: The Domestication of Animals and Foodstuffs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1966).

³⁸ James, *All Possible Worlds*, 399–400, 406, 531.

³⁹ Stuart Clark, “The *Annales* Historians,” in *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences*, Quentin Skinner, ed. (Cambridge, 1985), 180–82.

⁴⁰ Lucien Febvre, *A Geographical Introduction to History*, E. G. Mountford and J. H. Paxton, trans. (New York, 1925), 361.

⁴¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972–73).

thousands of copies already sold. Its opening chapters, the most original, are devoted to the *histoire de la longue durée*, which is a matter of environmental factors, of "man in his intimate relationship to the earth which bears and feeds him." Man, Braudel wrote, in a sentence that George Perkins Marsh could have written a century earlier, is "a prisoner of climate, of vegetation, of the animal population, of a particular agriculture, of a whole slowly established balance from which he cannot escape without the risk of everything's being upset."⁴²

DESPITE THE POWERFUL INFLUENCE FRENCH GEOGRAPHERS and historians have enjoyed in the United States, their work did not initiate the surge in environmental history in America. Febvre, Braudel, and the others provided confirmation for ideas germinating in American minds and served as monuments behind which American environmental historians could retreat when attacked for their audacity, but other factors operating closer to home were the chief stimuli.

Frontier history *circa* 1950–1960, though no longer as prestigious as it had been in Turner's heyday, still attracted young historians. Turner had been attacked—demolished, said some—but the heart of his thesis survived, the proposition that the frontier had been very important in American history. Such history had an undeniable environmental factor: the advance by the Old World peoples had been profoundly affected by geography and biology, and it involved a dramatic alteration of ecosystems: cattle for buffalo, wheat for buffalo grass, gold miners for grizzly bears. The historian of the frontier was, to use a biological term, "preadapted" for environmental history.

There were changes in attitude among Americans in general that cleared the way for environmental history. Thoughtful Americans were beginning to realize that Henry Adams had taken poetic license but not leave of his senses when he wrote that "every American who lived into the year 2000 would know how to control unlimited power."⁴³ World War II and the Cold War provided support for his prophesy. For instance, the word "blockbuster" did not come into the language as a descriptive term for a particularly expensive and popular movie or for a real estate agent specializing in placing African Americans in white neighborhoods but as the name of a World War II bomb so big that it could destroy an entire city block. The word was freed up for new uses when the weapons dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki reduced all traditional explosives to minor status. The fusion bombs of the Cold War in turn demoted the fission bombs to second class. By the 1960s, radioactive fallout could be detected around the planet, and the claim that humans could destroy the planet was a cliché. No longer could anyone dismiss offhandedly the books and articles of historians who argued that humans had over the ages radically influenced the environment.

The triumphal moon landing was another stimulus for environmental history. Although this achievement confirmed for many a faith in the ability of science and technology to solve all our problems, to others the moon looked forbidding, while

⁴² Clark, "Annales Historians," 185.

⁴³ Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 495.

the earth, remarkably photogenic, appeared to be the only (the suitable word seems odd for a planet) *lovely* thing in the solar system—and *small*.

The reaction of C. P. Snow, physicist and novelist, to the moon landing seemed oddly out of step in 1969, but it is one that many have adopted since:

The solar system is dead, apart from our world: and the distances to any other system are so gigantic that it would take the entire history of mankind from paleolithic man to the present day to traverse—at the speed of Apollo 11—the distance to the nearest star. We can explore a few lumps in our system, and that is the end . . . As a result of supreme technological skill and heroism, we are faced not with the infinite but with the immovable limits.⁴⁴

The moon shot had the paradoxical effect of converting many to earth worship.

The environmentalist movement of the 1960s and after was the engine that drove environmental history. What had been a discontinuous mutter of complaint rose to a continuous shout audible even in the halls of academe. The new environmentalists of the Cold War era were different from old conservationists of the era of the Square Deal and the New Deal. The old conservationists wanted to assure the conservation of resources for future use, that is, the harvesting rather than the mining of nature. The new environmentalists wanted to preserve as much of primordial nature as still existed because of its intrinsic value, an almost religious yearning, and to defend an allegedly damaged biosphere so that the human species might survive, a yearning thrumming with anxiety.

The new environmentalism did not detonate but grew and therefore has no precise birthday, but for the sake of convenience we can date its scientific debut from a 1955 symposium at Princeton, with Carl Ortwin Sauer presiding as one of three co-chairs. This symposium produced a two-volume anthology, *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, dedicated to George Perkins Marsh.⁴⁵ The theme of the conference was unabashedly ecological: "Man is dependent upon other organisms both for the immediate means of survival and for maintaining habitat conditions under which survival is possible."⁴⁶

The new environmentalism as a popular movement had been germinating for some time—Fairchild Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet* caused a stir in 1948, Aldo Leopold's *Sand County Almanac* a greater one in 1949, and Peter Matthiessen's *Wildlife in America*, 1959, maintained the spirit—but the movement did not surface as "manifest history" until Rachel Carson's jeremiad on DDT, *Silent Spring*, appeared in the *New Yorker* and then as a book in 1962. Its message was both scientifically informed and evangelical: "The 'control of nature' is a phrase conceived in arrogance, born of the Neanderthal age of biology and philosophy, when it was supposed that nature existed for the convenience of man."⁴⁷ Carson transformed environmentalism from an elitist to a popular movement. At last, there was an audience for environmental history.

⁴⁴ C. P. Snow, "The Moon Landing," *Look*, 33 (August 26, 1969): 72.

⁴⁵ *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, William L. Thomas, Jr., ed., 2 vols. (Chicago, 1956). This still-valuable work has been supplemented by B. L. Turner, *Earth as Transformed by Human Action*.

⁴⁶ Paul B. Sears, "The Processes of Environmental Change by Man," in Thomas, *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, 2: 471.

⁴⁷ Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Greenwich, Conn., 1962), 261.

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY WAS ALREADY UNDER WAY when Rachel Carson did for environmentalism what Harriet Beecher Stowe had done for abolitionism, but the first new environmental historians were a tentative lot, not yet particularly conscious of themselves as a separate school. The heyday of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mao Zedong was not comfortable for those with doubts about humanity's capacity to improve on nature. The pioneers of environmental history approached their subject obliquely, concentrating on its political manifestations or on attitudes toward the subject, rather than about the subject itself, as historians often do when unsure of their footing. Samuel P. Hays's *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (1959) and Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967) are fine books from this period.

Some of these pioneers were not historians. Geographer and Sauer protégé Clarence J. Glacken proffered *Traces on the Rhodian Shore* (1967), a massive and invaluable history of Western Civilization's conception of the environment from the earliest times to the eighteenth century. Some were historians but were not in the mainstream of the profession. Lynn White, Jr., an expert on medieval technology, published a declaration of war against complacency. He cited the man-centered Judeo-Christian tradition as the primary cause of the environmental crisis.⁴⁸ In the same year (modesty does not quite forbid my mentioning), I sprinkled a pinch of salt over the laceration White had torn open by declaring that the conquistadors had not won Mexico and Peru with Christian evangelical enthusiasm or even with their military prowess so much as with their loathsome infections.⁴⁹ In the following year, an article by Philip D. Curtin appeared dealing directly with the role of infectious disease in the transatlantic slave trade, an article that ten years before would have been written by a specialist in medical history and, almost certainly, have been destined for obscurity rather than broad and lasting influence.⁵⁰

The 1970s was an encouraging period for environmentalists, a decade that began in the United States with the first Earth Day and the formation of the Environmental Protection Agency and that spawned in the next few years the Clean Water Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the Environmental Pesticide Control Act. Simultaneously, environmental history emerged as a separate and independent school of scholarship. The entire August 1972 *Pacific Historical Review* was devoted to environmental history. The May–June 1974 issue of *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* had a similar focus and was prefaced by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's definition of the field as embracing climate, epidemics, natural calamities, population explosion, urbanization, industrial overconsumption, and pollution. William H. McNeill published *Plagues and Peoples* (1976), a history of disease and humanity from African origins to the present, not a medical history as

⁴⁸ Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis," *Science*, 155 (March 10, 1967): 1203–07.

⁴⁹ Alfred W. Crosby, "Conquistador y Pestilencia: The First New World Pandemic and the Fall of the Great Indian Empires," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 67 (August 1967): 321–37; rpt. in *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972), extended and broadened in *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge, 1986).

⁵⁰ Philip D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly*, 83 (June 1968): 191–216.

usually conceived but an examination of humanity in an ecological context. McNeill's British mentor, Arnold Toynbee, in *Mankind and Mother Earth* (1976), published posthumously, proclaimed what he may never have imagined—may not have been able to imagine—in his prime years: "Since Man is rooted in the biosphere and could not survive apart from it, Man's acquisition of the power to make the biosphere uninhabitable is a threat by Man to Man's own survival."⁵¹

Environmental historians, like environmental activists, hoped that the progress of the 1970s would be a prelude to greater things. The 1980s, the era of President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, dampened that hope, but institutions founded in the previous decade, such as the EPA, survived and provided bases for further work. Environmental historians had also created an institution of their own, and it too survived to provide mutual support and a site for scholarly communication for specialists who received little encouragement from the profession at large. Philip Curtin noted in his Presidential Address of 1984, "The discipline of history has broadened enormously in the postwar decades, but historians have not." He warned of "the dissatisfied drift away from the American Historical Association toward more specialized associations."⁵² Environmental historians had already drifted away in 1976. John Opie, Roderick Nash, Wilbur Jacobs, Donald Worster, Samuel Hays, and others had resorted to a time-honored technique of American outsiders. They founded their own sect, the American Association for Environmental History, with its own journal.⁵³

The results have been both positive and negative. Environmental historians have gained the advantages of each other's company and advice but, too often, as a matter of preference, write for and talk to each other exclusively. Mainstream historians are only beginning to feel the influence of the new school: the last ten years of the *AHR* includes more pages on film than on environmental history. Environmental history exists as an independent subdivision of the discipline of history, but it remains a minor one. The job listings in the newsletter of the Association show little evidence of a professional consciousness of the environmental crisis.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY is nearly twenty years old, and environmental history is older than that, old enough to possess distinguishing characteristics. Its practitioners may be looked on as innovators, but they are stoutly old-fashioned and unfashionable in some ways. They tend to be more interested in dirt than in perceptions, per se, of dirt. They have no doubts about the reality of what they deal with, nor about their ability to come to grips with it. They may squabble about the details of the story of the extinction of edible fish in the Passaic River in the early years of our century or megafaunal extinctions in North America at the end of the Pleistocene, but they have no qualms about

⁵¹ Arnold Toynbee, *Mankind and Mother Earth: A Narrative History of the World* (New York, 1976), 563.

⁵² Philip D. Curtin, "Depth, Span, and Relevance," *AHR*, 89 (February 1984): 1, 2.

⁵³ Philip G. Terrie, "Recent Work in Environmental History," *American Studies International*, 27 (October 1989): 44.

assuming that these extinctions truly happened. They do not suffer from epistemological malaise.

On the other hand, they are avant-garde in the agility with which they leap over the concertina wire that divides the humanities from the sciences. They expect to read articles and books on geology, demography, meteorology, epidemiology, or agronomy and, after some struggle, to understand them. They have taken to heart the complaint of medical historian Richard Shryock, back in 1936, that historians have too often ignored materials immediately at hand, materials that "are for all practical purposes 10,000 miles away, simply because they are within buildings occupied by professional schools."⁵⁴ Environmental historians have discovered that the physical and life sciences can provide quantities of information and theory useful, even vital, to historical investigation and that scientists try and often succeed in expressing themselves clearly.

America's environmental historians, because they are conservationists, rile conservatives. They are as concerned with depreciation of ecosystems as others are with depreciation of the dollar. They are comfortable with suggestions about subtracting estimations of environmental degradation when calculating gross national product. Yet they often fail to be politically correct by definitions common on the traditionally Marxist wing of American intellectual life. Most American environmental historians agree with the judgment of their Indian counterparts, Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, that dialectical materialism is simply not materialistic enough to be of much help. Marxists, say these two, are too quick to be satisfied with analyses of modes of production "without investigating the ecological context, i.e. the soil, water, animal, mineral and vegetative bases of association in which the infrastructure is embedded."⁵⁵

The ideology of environmental historians is at its root biological. They doubt the ultimate sense of many of the choices that humanity has made, especially in the last few hundred years, in exploiting the earth. They are worried about the durability of the intricate organic and inorganic relationships that support us all. Their guiding principles are not those of the boosters, Adam Smith and Karl Marx, but those of the worriers, Thomas Malthus and George Perkins Marsh, whose ideas we are all currently testing.

⁵⁴ Richard H. Shryock, "Medical Sources and the Social Historian," *AHR*, 41 (April 1936): 459.

⁵⁵ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 12.



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One hundred years ago this December, as the conventional history of film dates it, the Lumière brothers, Louis and Auguste, first lit up the screen for a public showing of film and the cinema was born. Like many such conventions, this one is more convenient than precise: the Lumières had been showing their films privately through most of the year, and, in New York, Thomas Edison had been showing, but not projecting, films for over a year. In fact, 1895 was a year of remarkably convergent inventiveness in film technology, with Max and Emil Skladanowsky showing films in Germany in November, both Woodville Latham and the team of Thomas Armat and C. Francis Jenkins unveiling projection systems in the United States and R. W. Paul and Birt Acres making films in England that were presented to the public within weeks of the Lumière showing. (For a useful sketch of these developments, see Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction* [New York, 1994], 8–11.)

One way or another, this year marks the centennial of film. And historical films were part of the product from the beginning, with the making of *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (1895) for Edison (John L. Fell, *Film and the Narrative Tradition* [Norman, Okla., 1974], 205). When Thomas Cripps notes, in his interview with Ken Burns in the June centennial issue of the *AHR*, that “a medium outside of print has intruded in those hundred years [on the turf of professional historians]” (“Historical Truth: An Interview with Ken Burns,” *AHR*, 100 [June 1995]: 742), it is perhaps worth noting that the intrusion was there from the start.

Movies like *Execution* are history (and filmmaking) at its absolute simplest, of course: single-shot reenactments with minimal narrative. It would take the development of the set of filmic conventions (intercutting scenes, changing camera positions, montage) that came to characterize narrative and feature-length films, and that differentiated narrativity in film from narrativity in stage melodrama, for films to present distinctive visions of history. But the consolidation of those narrative conventions was essentially complete by 1910 (Fell, *Film*, 12). The historical feature films of D. W. Griffith—from his re-creation of biblical-era decadence in *Intolerance* (1916) to his infamous invocation of the Klan as heroes of Reconstruction in *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and his melodramatic epic of the French Revolution (and comparative argument about American and Russian revolutions), *Orphans of the Storm* (1922)—can be taken as markers of the full arrival of film history, and markers, too, of the problematic relationship between film history and professional historians.

To commemorate the coinciding centennials of film and the *American Historical Review*, it seemed appropriate to focus on that most quintessential and most perennial of Hollywood historical genres, the western. Like history itself, the western was there from the inception of American film: Edison’s first shorts included footage of Buffalo Bill and Annie Oakley re-creating moments from their Wild West Show. And from the start, if there were cowboys, there had to be Indians: Edison also featured a reenactment of the Sioux Ghost Dance (Fell, 205). It was a western, Edwin Porter’s *Great Train Robbery* (1903), that helped shape the distinctive form of the narrative feature film; westerns that filled the cinemas in the first decades of the century, mass-produced by such early stars as Tom Mix, William Hart, and Broncho Billy (Gilbert M. Anderson); westerns such as Raoul Walsh’s *In Old Arizona* (1929) that, with the crack

of the rifle and the pounding of horses' hooves, ushered in the sound era. (For a general overview of the genre and its development, see George N. Fenin and William K. Everson, *The Western from Silents to Seventies* [New York, 1973].) And it is the western that, presumed dead only a decade or so ago, has been revitalized in the wake of Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven*.

The Hollywood western was constructed from the outset in the shadow of Frederick Jackson Turner's conception of the frontier, first enunciated in 1893. Since Patricia Nelson Limerick suggested at the 1995 American Historical Association Board of Editors' meeting that the *AHR* film reviews might include an overview of recent westerns, it is perhaps fitting to frame the western-theme reviews that open this section in the form of a partial response to issues raised in her reevaluation of Turner ("Turnerians All," *AHR*, 100 [June 1995]: 697–716). Limerick notes the "anxiety lodged at the center of the Frontier Thesis" in her account: "if the frontier had ended, as Turner said it had, then what force could keep those crucially American pioneer ideals alive and vital?" (p. 707). The answer could be found in the new frontier of technological imagination, the film. "Long after the frontier period . . . , the conception of society, the ideals and aspirations which it produced, persist in the minds of the people," Limerick quotes Turner as writing in 1911 (p. 707). By 1911, one of the vehicles for that persistence was the western film.

Yet at the same time that the western enshrined a set of myths of the frontier, it remained a flexible genre, one whose conventions could be shifted to fit changing times. Limerick assists Turner in revising his thesis to fit the terms of a presentist history, one that recognizes the conditioning of historical questions by present circumstances: "*Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time*" (p. 708; italics in original). The western film embodies just such a constantly renewed rewriting of the past.

In asking for an overview of recent westerns, taking *Unforgiven* as a starting point, I suggested that the review address the cultural meaning of the new western; Philip Deloria, taking on the assignment and selecting a slate of recent westerns to review, directly confronts the ways in which new westerns do (and sometimes do not) illustrate the shifting demands placed on this history by our own time. And, as ever, where there are cowboys, there must be Indians. David Rich Lewis and Colin Calloway, addressing, respectively, documentary and feature treatments of Native Americans produced by Turner Broadcasting, frame their commentaries, like Deloria, in terms of changing contemporary images of the Indian. (Had Disney's *Pocahontas* been released a month or two sooner, it might have made an interesting addition to the section.) But where the question of the contemporary cultural significance of the approaches taken by historical films provides the central issue for Deloria, for both Rich and especially Calloway the more focal issues are historical accuracy and the relation between film treatments and other available histories.

This difference in emphasis leads us to the more basic question of how historians should approach historical films. Since the *AHR* film section was conceived in 1988, that question has been central and a major point of debate. In his contribution to the *Forum* on history films, which preceded the first film reviews in the *AHR* ("History in Images/History in Words," vol. 93 [December 1988]), Robert A. Rosenstone laid out a set of categories of historical film (dramatic, documentary, and experimental, later labeled postmodern) and detailed the forms of historical presentation, and thus the appropriate terms of analysis, characteristic of each (pp. 1178–84). The categorization is one he has developed and elaborated on subsequently (see, for example, "The Historical Film as Real History," in *Film-Historia*, 5 [1995]: 5–23). Without questioning his basic divisions, I would like to suggest a different set of categories, arrived at by turning his framing question inside out. Rosenstone asks, "What sort of historical world does each film construct?" ("Historical Film," 7). I would ask instead: how does history itself function in the worlds films create? There are essentially three answers to my question, albeit not entirely distinct (since some films fall between categories); implicit in the answers is the appropriate response of historians to a particular historical film.

The Distance of History. In many historical films (including the great majority of what Rosenstone categorizes as historical drama, the standard period-piece fare, but also many documentaries), history is another place, its difference from the present its fundamental

characteristic. Set firmly in the past, such films do not underline the connections between past and present.

The historian can take two approaches to such a work. First, he or she can treat it as history, basing a critique on both its historical accuracy and its place in current historiographic debate. This approach is entirely appropriate when filmmakers claim to be practicing history, as Ken Burns explicitly does ("Historical Truth," 742, 745–46) and as any director who takes on a period piece implicitly does. Robert Brent Toplin notes, "if filmmakers are, in effect, historians, some of the questions typically posed about authors are applicable to them" ("The Filmmaker as Historian," *AHR*, 93 [December 1988]: 1226–27). Issues of historical accuracy, bias, and knowledge thus become fair game. Such is the approach taken, for instance, in Elizabeth Ewan's review of *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*, or Linda Mitchell's evaluation of *The Advocate*, or Douglas Egerton's treatment of *Jefferson in Paris*. Such analyses are not merely turf-guarding by professional historians but essential contributions and correctives to popular forms of historical presentation.

An alternative to such an approach, one that fits Limerick's notion of presentism in history, asks a different set of questions entirely, focusing instead on the historical choices film histories entail. Why these particular histories, why these particular approaches, what do they tell us about how present concerns inflect conceptions of the past? This approach corresponds to what John E. O'Connor has noted is the nearly self-evident "need to study film and television in connection with social and cultural history" ("History in Images/Images in History," *AHR*, 93 [December 1988]: 1202), the task made only somewhat more difficult by the fact that the social/cultural history in question is that of the present moment. This is the approach taken not only by Deloria on westerns but also by Zhiwei Xiao in his assessment of recent Chinese historical films, J. José Cruz in his review of two French treatments of the colonial past, Katerina Clark in her analysis of two post-Soviet Russian features, and myself in discussing *The Madness of King George*.

The Presence of History. Other historical films emphasize the linkage between past events and present circumstances, underlining the centrality of history in the shaping of contemporary identity. The forms such treatments can take vary from historical reflections grounded in the present (such as Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* or the two films about African-American migration to Chicago reviewed here by John Findling) to histories that clearly speak to contemporary issues (as in Spike Lee's *Malcolm X*, with its closing nod to the beating of Rodney King) to films set in the present but informed by a deep historical consciousness (whether fictional, like *Once Were Warriors*, here analyzed by James O. Gump, or nonfictional, like *Black Is . . . Black Ain't*, reviewed here by Elizabeth Hadley Freyberg). The tone can vary, too, from history as celebratory presence (as in *Not Just Passing Through*, also treated by Hadley Freyberg) to the burden of history (as in *Before the Rain*, discussed by Catherine Portuges).

In all these films, it is the subjective experience of history that provides a center, the personal sense of the presence of the past that informs the film. Historical accuracy may still be an issue, but it is likely to be far less central to an analysis of the film. The historian can supply more historical background (as, for instance, Gump does) or explore the context of a particular historical consciousness (as Portuges does) or trace the changing dynamic of a historical genre (as Deloria does). But, one way or another, such films insist that historians address their social and cultural context, that the present's demands of the past be the focus of attention.

The Meaning of History. A relatively rare group of films addresses the nature of history itself, usually by challenging the basic conventions of both historical and film narrativity. This category corresponds to what Rosenstone designates the experimental or postmodern film. Rosenstone's favorite example of the form is probably Alex Cox's *Walker* (1987; see, for example, Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* [Cambridge, Mass., 1995], chap. 6); my own would be Derek Jarman's *Edward II* (1992; see my review in *AHR*, 98 [October 1993]: 1164–66). More than any other form of historical film, works such as these present a fundamental challenge to historians because they force us to interrogate our own categories of analysis. Such work, as Hayden White notes, "brings under question the conventional (nineteenth-century) notions of 'realistic' representation to which

many contemporary historians . . . still subscribe" ("Historiography and Historiophoty," *AHR*, 93 [December 1988]: 1199). Films like these may make historians nervous, but they also demand of us that we evaluate our own grounds for historical knowing, even if only to reconfirm the basis of our historical practice.

I shall close with a few notes about the criteria for inclusion of historical films in this review section. Like Rosenstone, I insist on including fictional as well as documentary features. There will always be objections to such a practice, as in David Herlihy's assertion that films "cannot serve as independent statements regarding the past. They are illusions and must be recognized as such" ("Am I a Camera?" *AHR*, 93 [December 1988]: 1192). Illusions or not, it must also be recognized that fictional historical films, from *Birth of a Nation* to Lee's *Malcolm X* or Oliver Stone's *JFK*, have a major influence on popular historical understanding and provide a platform for professional historians' debates. Such works certainly function "as independent statements regarding the past" as far as their audiences are concerned. If historians ignore such works, they remove themselves from the public debate about the past.

Because the cultural moment that produces historical reflection interests me, I find it useful to commission several films on particular or related topics in single reviews to explore their intertextuality and their shared or different relation to a set of present concerns. In the case of, for instance, Deloria's survey of westerns, Cruz's paired review of *The Lover* and *Indochine*, Clark's treatment of *Burnt by the Sun* as well as *The Interpretation of Dreams*, or Xiao's analysis of recent Chinese historical films, I hope the reader will find such conjoinings fruitful.

I share Rosenstone's commitment to provide as fully global as possible a survey of historical film. In part because of the focus on the western genre, in part because of what films came to my notice over the past year, this year's section reflects a strong northern bias. I will balance that with greater attention to African, Latin American, and Middle Eastern film work in the future.

Finally, in this first year as contributing editor, I have accumulated numerous debts of gratitude. Several are worth singling out for mention: David L. Ransel for his belief that I could fulfill the task and his help along the way; the members of the *AHR* editorial board for their support and advice; editorial assistants Patrick Leary and Clayton Black for suggestions of reviewers; and for technical advice Dan Ladely (Mary Riepma Film Theater, Lincoln, Nebraska) and Cindy Foley (Facets Multimedia, Chicago). Last but not least, I would like to thank Robert A. Rosenstone, not only for providing reviewer files and advice but, more important, for breaking the ground and for establishing high standards for this review section.

AMERICA

Unforgiven. Produced and directed by Clint Eastwood; screenplay by David Webb Peoples. 1992; color; 130 minutes. Distributor: Warner Brothers.

Posse. Directed by Mario Van Peebles; screenplay by Sy Richardson and Dario Scardapane. 1993; color; 113 minutes. Distributor: Gramercy/Polygram.

Bad Girls. Produced by Charles Finch, Andre F. Morgan, and Albert S. Ruddy; directed by Jonathan Kaplan; screenplay by Ken Friedman and Yolande Finch. 1994; color; 104 minutes. Distributor: Twentieth Century Fox.

The Ballad of Little Jo. Written and directed by Maggie Greenwald. 1993; color; 124 minutes. Distributor: Fine Line.

Tombstone. Produced by James Jacks, Sean Daniel, and Bob Misirowski; directed by George P. Cosmatos; screenplay by Kevin Jarre. 1993; color; 129 minutes. Distributor: Image Entertainment.

Geronimo: An American Legend. Produced by Walter Hill and Neil Canton; directed by Walter Hill; screenplay by John Milius and Larry Gross. 1993; color; 116 minutes. Video distributor: Columbia TriStar.

The western, it seems, must regularly confront exaggerated reports of its premature demise. Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven* offers yet one more opportunity—if we choose to take it—to see the western as a form being laid to rest. It is undeniably strange to encounter Eastwood, the mysterious “man with no name,” as a reformed gunman turned widowed, pig-farming family man. And even when he decides to kill one last time, Eastwood's William Munny relentlessly demythologizes and rehumanizes the familiar violence embraced by the genre. If Eastwood, who, many agree, kept the western alive through the lean years of the 1970s and 1980s, has adopted an end-of-genre feel (and hinted that he has made his last western), can the genre itself be far behind? Apparently not, for in the three years following *Unforgiven*, a veritable herd of new westerns has arrived on the screen, each suggesting a further refiguring of frontier mythology.

Eastwood has kept the western alive, in part, by radically transforming it. Just as Raymond Chandler and Dashiell Hammett refigured the western hero as urban detective in order to respond to a declensionist strand in post-frontier popular culture, so Eastwood turned his squinty, unshaven gunfighter into “Dirty Harry” Callahan at an equally opportune cultural moment. In that light, it may perhaps be more appropriate to imagine the exhaustion of urban detective conventions and to view *Unforgiven* as both a personal closure for Eastwood and a reinvigorating return to genre roots marked by a deeper fascination with moral ambiguity.

Although the new films follow *Unforgiven*'s lead in cycling from the urban back to the



Director Clint Eastwood sets up a shot in *Unforgiven*. Courtesy of Warner Brothers.

frontier, most draw on the iconography and plot lines of the classic western in more simplistic ways. Their glance backward often avoids genre history altogether in favor of evocations, reversals, and reaffirmations of the standard western myth: progressive white men replacing frontier anarchy with order and civilization. The simplicity makes sense. If the frontier mythos represents a bedrock narrative of American identity, rewriting it allows one to stake a powerful claim to America and to jostle for position in a perpetually contested social order. Such a project leaves little room for the ambiguity and self-reflexiveness of *Unforgiven*.

Mario Van Peebles' *Posse*, for example, offers an inescapably presentist reading of a western past. The opening segment rewrites frontier "history" in terms of automatic weapons and carjackings, the familiar signifiers of urban street life. If Van Peebles is in dialogue with a genre, it is that of the blaxploitation films of the 1970s. The appearance of his father (director Melvin Van Peebles), along with '70s icons Isaac Hayes and Pam Grier and '60s comedian Nipsey Russell, make explicit intergenerational connections. Van Peebles' camera technique draws heavily on the MTV rap-video angles and moves of these figures' cultural descendants, performers such as Tone Loc and Big Daddy Kane, who play prominent roles in the film. The West that most deeply concerns Van Peebles is Rodney King's Los Angeles. It comes as no surprise (and provides a certain amount of pleasure) when, during a gun battle, one hears a plaintive voice ask, "Can't we all get along?"

Van Peebles seeks to use the western to rethink contemporary society by both inverting frontier mythology and offering a self-consciously revisionist history. *Posse* would place black men at the center of American consciousness not through the experience of slavery (which is, after all, a black story) but through the western, the form of which speaks inevitably to the hegemony of white males. The film starkly reverses the familiar colors of civilization and avagery. Protagonist Jesse and his band of cowboy civilizers are black (with a white ethnic sidekick), and they save a black town from manifestly white villains.

A similar inversion of the western form occurs along gender lines in Jonathan Kaplan's *Bad Girls*, in which a group of four women—already marginalized as prostitutes—move completely outside the boundaries of “civilization.” This boundary crossing is crucial, for, as they become societal outlaws, the women are freed (and perhaps required) to become gender outlaws as well.

The film opens with a particularly masculinist montage: head bad girl Cody Zamora shoots down a nasty leading citizen and prepares stoically to “die like a man” at the hands of a mob. After a standard rescue scene, the bad girls struggle with a recalcitrant wagon wheel, get runaway horses under control, kill and eat rattlesnake (not necessarily a traditional iconic move but a revealing comment on the phallus and the garden nonetheless), and boy-bond together around a bottle and a campfire. *Bad Girls* reorients the iconography of the classic western to assert that, given a “level playing field,” women can compete successfully with men. Following a final, frenzied gunfight, for example, Cody confronts psychotic rapist Kid Jarrett. “I got no bullets,” he laughs, implying that, although she will kill him, her triumph will be artificial (an aleatory instance of Affirmative Action, if you will). She tosses him a bullet and sneers, “Pick it up, put it in, die like a man,” then proceeds to blow him away in a duel of complete and perfect equality.

The film's evocation of a compensatory social group bears traces of *The Wild Bunch* (1969), to be sure, but is better compared to *Thelma and Louise* (1991). Like the heroes of the latter film, the bad girls can only find their level playing field on the far side of the law, where power is violence and is freely exercised by those with little to lose. Anarchy, of course, has no place in the finale of the classic western. Neither does it wash for the bad girls, who would prefer to settle down with sensitive men and run an Oregon sawmill. Reentering society, however, means giving up their six-shooters and submitting to convention. *Bad Girls* lacks the courage of *Thelma and Louise* in making the options clear, but one cannot help but feel that the bad girls will face the same final choice: submit to the social restraints of gender or embrace the abyss.

The most complex of the new films, and one that moves beyond simply inverting the western, is *The Ballad of Little Jo*. It begins where *Bad Girls* leaves off, suggesting the impossibility of a single woman living a decent life in society. Cast out by her father after getting pregnant, harassed debutante Josephine Monahan cuts her hair, scars her face, and becomes “Little Jo,” perceived by the miners of Ruby City as a determined, if somewhat odd, young man. If Monahan experiences the same freedom in society that the bad girls found outside it, then that liberty offers little more than a grim, lonely future. Based on a real life, *Little Jo* moves beyond improbable bad-girl fantasy to engage more complicated questions of history, genre, and the construction of gender.

Rather than instantly turning Jo into a competent woman through a celebratory montage, for example, the film traces a lifelong learning curve as she confronts the rituals of work and masculinity. She toughens her hands digging for gold, learns the ways of tobacco, navigates saloon culture, masters the omnipresent weaponry, and is finally forced to kill men. At each point along this journey, Jo's doubled identity calls attention to the socially constructed nature of masculinity and men's desperate need for Others against whom they can define themselves. Even as she acts as a man, Jo experiences the pain of these Others—“dudes,” a deaf-mute prostitute, a Chinese railroad worker dangling in a noose—who, as defining objects of masculinity, are always figured as feminine.

In one of the film's best genre twists, two staple elements of the western plot—the ethnic sidekick and the sure death awaiting miscegenist lovers—are refigured in a subtle examination of the dynamics of race and gender. The two outsiders, cross-dresser and Chinese cook, set up house together, laughing self-consciously at the image of Chinese men as “ravishers and opium smokers.” Yet when Jo, thinking of returning to eastern domesticity, makes a dress and starts baking a pie, the implied masculine and racial dominance she had been able to wield disappears, and the gendered nature of power is made clear. Her lover/sidekick rages through the kitchen, telling her to put on her pants and tend to her herds. “You can't even bake a pie!” he screams in a moment of supercharged irony.

If *Bad Girls* is an Affirmative Action film, *Little Jo* is deconstructionist. The bad girls remain women and act as men. Little Jo becomes a man and yet, despite the privilege that comes with

masculinity, longs to be a woman. *Bad Girls* offers a cautionary tale about the limits of social tolerance. *The Ballad of Little Jo* suggests that any success in challenging social norms may be problematized, both by an "essential" female (or male) nature and by the inevitable social constructions that make us all gendered subjects. Where *Unforgiven* lays bare the moral ambiguity at the heart of the western, *Little Jo* does the same for equally important notions of freedom and individualism.

All of these films move in both hegemonic and counterhegemonic directions, evoking freedom and revealing social restraints while moving simultaneously to contain utopian impulses. Jo Monahan may be a free man with a vote, but she is also trapped in a prison erected by self and society. Likewise, there is no reason to expect that the more overt messages of post-*Unforgiven* westerns should display a monolithic politics. George Cosmatos's *Tombstone*, for example, reasserts the primacy of white male violence and the uninverted western, suggesting that traditional masculinity is the vital underpinning for the "family values" on which society is founded. Like *Posse*, *Tombstone* begins by linking the western to present-day urban disorder. As images from early westerns play on the screen, the viewer hears about a frontier of killers and thieves and a chaos "worse than Los Angeles or New York." The film's bad guys are "the Cowboys," a red-sashed youth gang described as "the earliest example of organized crime in America."

In this particular refiguring, the Cowboys are opponents of traditional family values. The opening scene makes this clear, as the gang ruthlessly slaughters, tortures, and rapes at a Mexican wedding celebration, cutting off prospective domesticity (quite literally) at the knees. Arrayed against this frontier amalgamation of welfare mothers, Crips, and Bloods are the Earp brothers, who, with new wives, have reunited in the ur-suburbs of Tombstone. "Thanks for bringing us together, Wyatt," the reformed saloon gals and mothers-to-be tell the would-be patriarch Earp at a chipper family reunion.

What ensues is a bloody running battle, as Earp and alter-ego Doc Holliday kill hundreds of red-sashed gangstas in order to ensure peace and domestic tranquillity. George Stevens's *Shane* (1953) set up a similar dynamic in which masculine violence laid the foundations for family and community. In *Shane*, however, the violent hero had to leave the community, which was not to be tainted by his redemptive act. *Tombstone's* Earp faces no such consequences. In fact, in a perfect 1990s spin, he leaves his wife, takes up with a rich actress, and becomes a low-level Hollywood celebrity who hobnobs with Tom Mix and William S. Hart, influential figures in the early years of western film.

With its credit-roll nod to Earp's twentieth-century reality, *Tombstone* makes a half-hearted attempt to escape the pre-1890 timelessness that characterizes western mythology. The historical continuity between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been an abiding premise of the New Western history, one that operates in direct contravention to Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis" and the popular variations offered by Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, John Ford, and others. Nowhere has this rigid periodization operated with greater power than in narratives involving Indian people, who always seem to disintegrate into the bloody snow of Wounded Knee, never to be heard from again. Walter Hill's *Geronimo: An American Legend* is no exception.

The film is the logical extension of the cross-cultural buddy film, which ranges from Delmer Daves's *Broken Arrow* (1950) to Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990). Unlike *Dances*, however, *Geronimo* refuses simply to invert the "bad Indian/good white" formula, aiming instead for a more sophisticated treatment that intertwines the overlapping perspectives of Geronimo and the men assigned to bring him in. Unlike any of the other films' paired opponents, Geronimo and Lieutenant Charles Gatewood can "just get along," and they do so despite the unpleasant circumstances surrounding the military campaigns. Yet the film is also heavy with a familiar teleology. As the railroad carries the caged Chiricahuas off to exile in Florida, Geronimo is made to recite the same death speech Indians have been reciting for American mythmakers for over two hundred years: "Now my time is over. Now maybe the time of our people is over."

Ironically, the film ends with a scroll noting that Geronimo lived another twenty-two years

as a prisoner. These years might have made the more interesting film. Geronimo, relocated to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, realized that he could sell his own image as a "savage" celebrity to eager Anglos at fairs and expositions. At train stopovers, for example, he sold autographs and buttons ripped from his coat—replacing the buttons en route to the next stop, where the ritual would be repeated (Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place* [Norman, Okla., 1976], 415–27). In some ways, Geronimo made a smoother adjustment to modernity than did many other Americans, participating with apparent relish in an economic system just beginning to do the serious work of making images into commodities. His twenty-two years as a celebrity prisoner were perhaps more "legendary" than the few years he spent evading the U.S. Army.

Hollywood would chuckle at such a suggestion, a reality that reveals the limits of filmic innovation and points back to *Unforgiven*. Eastwood's curious achievement lies in his film's ability to demythologize without recourse to history. *Unforgiven* leaves one gasping and confused, as myth and anti-myth lock in a postmodern struggle over meaning.

Since the advent of the modernist western in the 1940s (*Shane* providing a reasonable marker), the definitional boundaries of the western have been increasingly open to question. Is *The Wild Bunch* a "real" western? What about *Dirty Harry* or *Star Wars*? Has the western disappeared, not from any exhaustion of its forms but in the cross-pollenizing flurry of fragmentation, citation, and assemblage that marks the postmodern questioning of purity and origin?

It strikes me, however, that *Unforgiven* and its recent successors suggest that some postmodernisms are more compelling and enlightening than others. The nostalgic pastiche and often random quotations of *Bad Girls*, *Posse*, and *Tombstone* suffer in comparison with the internal reflexivity and deconstructionist inclinations of *Little Jo* and especially *Unforgiven*, a film that comments simultaneously on itself, the genre, contemporary society, and the frontier myth. *Unforgiven*'s open-ended closing scene, in which a frightening, psychotic Eastwood glares into the rain, having restored the mythic violence the film painstakingly worked to demythologize, marks the film as the first significant refiguring of the genre in a postmodern context. Far from marking the end of the western, *Unforgiven* may signal another transformation of the genre, a transformation that the films of 1993 and 1994 tended, to their detriment, to overlook.

Philip J. Deloria

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The Native Americans. Produced by Patricia Foulkrod and Michael Grant; directed by John Borden, Phil Lucas, and George Burdeau. Screenplay by Hanay Geiogamah and Michael Grant. 1994; color; three parts, six hours. Distributor: Turner Broadcasting System Productions, Inc.

While Ted Turner and Jane Fonda were "going western" with their mega-ranch and bison herd in Montana, Turner Broadcasting System announced production of a series of television movies, special news reports, a documentary, and a companion publication about Native Americans. Ted Turner said the projects developed from his own interest in American history and his outrage at the "systematic campaign to eliminate indigenous people." Calling the production "a guilt trip for us to a degree," he did not assume a guaranteed profit against the estimated \$30–40 million production costs, but, then again, he did not seem worried (Bill Carter, "A TBS Look at Heritage of Indians," *New York Times* [national edn.], December 5, 1992, A13). Questioned about the incongruity of sponsoring a Native American program while fans "tomahawk chopped" his Atlanta Braves on to pennants, playoffs, and the World Series, Turner responded, "For the most part, I haven't heard that anyone really has a problem with the name

Braves." He insisted he had no plans to change the eighty-one-year-old team name, especially since they were winning and lucrative (Bunty Anquoe, "Turner Praises Indians with One Hand, Chops with Other," *Indian Country Today* [Rapid City, S.D.], December 10, 1992, A1).

Despite jokes that the project could better be titled *Ted and Jane's Excellent Adventure* or *Dances with Turners*, and more pointed criticism that Turner was perpetuating negative stereotypes through his insensitivity to the Indian mascot issue, the programs ran in 1993 and 1994. CNN produced a twenty-part series on contemporary native issues called "The Invisible Peoples." TNT aired four television movies to very mixed reviews: *The Broken Chain*, *Geronimo*, *Lakota Woman*, and *Tecumseh* [see Colin G. Calloway's review in this issue]. Turner Publishing produced *The Native Americans: An Illustrated History* (1993), a book written by a host of scholars and introduced by Alvin Josephy, Jr., as a companion piece for the TBS production of *The Native Americans*. The three-part, six-hour documentary aired in 1994, complete with commercials for the National Museum of the American Indian and the American Indian College Fund, as well as more mundane ads for cars, cameras, and cologne.

To be fair, this documentary is a remarkable attempt to present the story of Native American cultures and history as told by contemporary native peoples, to convey some idea of the diversity of regional and tribal experiences, and to do so for a general audience via six hours of commercial (albeit cable) broadcasting. There is much for Turner to be proud of in this production. Noted authors N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) and Linda Hogan (Chickasaw) assisted in the production, along with script writers Michael Grant and Hanay Geiogamah (Kiowa), the latter president of Native American Media Enterprises and an associate professor of American Indian Studies and Theatre Arts at UCLA. Each of the five regional segments revolves around the discussions of an assembled group of Indian leaders, activists, and scholars representing different area tribes. We see and hear them express their interests, concerns, and insights against a visual montage of landscapes, paintings and prints, early photographs and ethnographic films, historical re-creations, and contemporary film footage of native peoples and communities. Poet Joy Harjo (Muscogee) masterfully narrates the series. The music, produced and performed by Robbie Robertson and the Red Road Ensemble, is particularly powerful and won for Robertson a Best Producer of the Year award at Canada's Juno Awards. It is at once haunting, driving, and celebratory.

Part 1 of *The Native Americans* is composed of two one-hour segments titled "The Northeast: Give and Take" (directed by Borden) and "The Far West: Generous Spirit" (Lucas). Part 2 includes "The Southeast: No Matter How White . . ." (Borden), and "The Southwest: White Myth, Native Mythology" (Lucas). Part 3 is a two-hour Plains Indian extravaganza, broken into segments titled "All Our Relations" and "Fields of Grass, Seas of Blood" (both directed by Burdeau). Each regional segment begins with creation stories and runs to 1890, leaping decades at a time to accommodate the slow pace of presentation. Through the group discussions, we get glimpses of more contemporary Indian issues.

If you have noticed a disparity in coverage already, it gets worse. Granted, only a handful of tribes could be selected to represent each region, but the choices are not particularly surprising and tend to reinforce stereotypes about who and what is Indian, where and when. The series manages complexity by omission, often not even mentioning the range of tribes. In the Northeast segment, we hear almost exclusively about the Iroquois Confederacy, while in the Far West, natives of California and the Pacific Northwest are given all but perhaps ten minutes allocated to Plateau and Great Basin groups. Even then, discussion of Northern Paiutes and the Ghost Dance religion is dominated by images of the Lakota version. In the Southwest, we only hear about Pueblos (Hopis) and Athabaskans (Navajos and Apaches), while in the Southeast, Cherokees are the major focus. Two hours might seem justifiable for the Plains but not when sedentary agricultural peoples are totally ignored in favor of Plains buffalo cultures. Despite, or maybe because of, the extra time, "The Plains" is definitely the weakest part of the series. Unfortunately, this regional imbalance proves the pervasiveness of the "all-Indians-as-Plains-warriors" stereotype that Wilma Mankiller (Cherokee) and her Southeastern colleagues rightly criticized in Part 1. Likewise, by concluding with the massacre at Wounded Knee, the series

perpetuates the stereotype that Indian history is Lakota history and that it all ends in 1890. In these ways, the series does not push the envelope of understanding very far.

The program does raise a number of substantive issues for Indian peoples and scholars. Although a quoted ecological speech attributed to Chief Seattle is fictitious, *The Native Americans* emphasizes native relationships with the earth, subsistence practices and beliefs, and concepts of land-use rights. John Mohawk (Seneca) broaches the subject of Iroquoian antecedents to American republicanism, while Jewell James (Lummi) and Pilulaw Khus (Chumash) raise the thorny issue of whether Indian history can be presented by outsiders or even written (as opposed to orally transmitted) at all. Intermarriage and identity, the role of women in society, language, art, religion, disease and alcohol, persistence, and the evolution of Indian cultures are topics discussed in some detail. Above all, this program documents the cant of Euro-American conquest and the loss of native life, land, and sovereignty. "Land is the issue, land has always been the issue," Oren Lyons (Onondaga) tells us, "and when we lose the land—and you lose the land by losing the jurisdiction on the land—then you've lost everything." He and others point out the interdependence of all peoples and that the future of our children depends on how we treat the land and each other.

In the final analysis, this documentary celebrates survival. It emphasizes the importance of identity, oral tradition, and Indian children: the continuation of the past, of cultural knowledge, and of hope for a usable future. Herein lies its real value. Whether that can be mined effectively in the classroom is another matter.

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The Broken Chain. Directed by Lamont Johnson. 1994; color. Distributor: TNT.

Geronimo. Directed by Roger Young. 1994; color; 93 minutes. Distributor: TNT.

Lakota Woman: Siege at Wounded Knee. Directed by Frank Pierson. 1994; color. Distributor: TNT.

Tecumseh, the Last Warrior. 1995; color. Distributor: TNT.

These four made-for-television historical dramas constitute one component of Turner Broadcasting's initiative, *The Native Americans*, which also includes a documentary series [reviewed by David Rich Lewis in this issue] and a lavishly illustrated companion volume. The films promise to go "Behind the Legends, Beyond the Myths," and they employ an impressive array of Native American talent as actors, technicians, and consultants.

Teachers and writers of American Indian history always have to take into account their audiences' preconceptions and stereotypes. Some stereotypes endure, but others change with the times. Today's students are less likely to believe that Indians were "bloodthirsty savages" than to come to class convinced that all Indian people lived in perfect harmony with their environment and each other before Europeans arrived. Many of today's stereotypes revive old "noble savage" images to suit the tastes of the 1990s.

These four movies illustrate how far the pendulum of historical debate and public opinion has swung over the last generation: the once "ferocious" Iroquois now make reasoned judg-

ments after listening to the advice of the clan mothers; “vicious” Apaches are husbands and fathers; Indians fight for their families and their freedom; whites kill Indian women and children. With few exceptions, whites are vicious, treacherous, and land hungry; Indians are the real human beings.

Each movie is narrated by an Indian character. The Mohawk war chief, Joseph Brant, distinguished from other Mohawk men by his free-flowing hair, traces events from the Albany Congress in 1754 through the end of the American Revolution, which split the Iroquois league and fractured their covenant chain with the British. An aged Geronimo reviews his life as a warrior before his final surrender in 1886. A Lakota woman, Mary Crow Dog, recounts a personal journey from drunkenness and despondency to finding herself in the American Indian Movement (AIM), giving birth to a son during the siege at Wounded Knee in 1973. Tecumseh’s mother narrates the events of the Shawnee leader’s life and his death at the Battle of the Thames in 1813.

The films strive for accuracy in costume, lodgings, and glimpses of daily life. But, like most popular history, they concentrate on dramatic events at the expense of more complete context and more complex coverage; they perpetuate some old myths and commit new errors. Joseph Brant got his first wife from Oquaga, not from a raid on a Delaware village. The Mohawk migration to Canada after the American Revolution is treated simplistically and inaccurately. Geronimo’s twenty-two-year captivity in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma—during which he lost a wife and children—is mentioned but not explored. Mary Crow Dog looks to the future with optimism after Wounded Knee, which saves the film from having to present the brutal and messy aftermath of the siege. *Tecumseh* omits events that perhaps best illustrate Tecumseh’s diplomacy, military skill, and humanity: his embassy to the southern tribes, his collaboration with General Isaac Brock in the capture of Detroit, and his rescue of American prisoners at Fort Meigs.

Geronimo and *Lakota Woman* are the most successful of these films, largely because their story lines are relatively simple and the films follow an individual through a coherent sequence of dramatic events. Though overshadowed by the feature film *Geronimo: An American Legend* [reviewed by Philip J. Deloria in this issue], TNT’s *Geronimo* nevertheless shows the legendary Apache as a heroic yet tormented individual driven to violence by the deaths of his loved ones at the hands of Mexicans and Americans. Based on the 1990 best-selling book of the same name by Mary Crow Dog and Richard Erdoes, *Lakota Woman* presents a female participant’s perspective on the events that culminated at Wounded Knee, gives a view from inside the compound, and shows that, for many people, AIM was a source of unity and spirituality. *Lakota Woman* won the award for best picture at the nineteenth American Indian Film Festival, with Inupiat/Cree actress Irene Bedard-Wilson (the voice of Pocahontas in the Disney movie) taking the award for best actress.

The Broken Chain and *Tecumseh* are more ambitious in their historical scope and subjects and less successful as both history and drama. In *Broken Chain*, the mix of Irish and Indian cultures at Johnson Hall is nicely portrayed, but Pierce Brosnan makes an unlikely and unconvincing Sir William Johnson. As with many historical dramas, the attempt to convey background through dialogue is ineffective: scripts become wooden and self-conscious and characters drop awkward explanations into casual conversations. The Iroquois and Shawnee are presented as real people confronting hard choices in dangerous times, but most of the events in their struggles for independence are mere snippets of action that convey little understanding of the complex circumstances in which they occurred.

Tecumseh denies Indian people the very agency in their history that the TNT series intends to promote. A Native American historian, R. David Edmunds, has written fine biographies of both Tecumseh and his brother, the Shawnee Prophet (*Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership*, 1983, *The Shawnee Prophet*, 1984). But Turner Broadcasting chose instead to base its film on a historical novel by a non-Indian, *Panther in the Sky*, by James Alexander Thom (1989). Consequently, this film does not go beyond myth and legend, and this Tecumseh is hardly the man who impressed allies and enemies alike. Instead, the Shawnee war chief Blue Jacket is a “white Indian” who teaches Tecumseh to read; a white settler named Galloway befriends

Tecumseh, tells him how the colonists achieved independence by unity, and gives him access to his library. Reading of an impending eclipse, Tecumseh uses the knowledge to dupe his people and boost the Shawnee Prophet's influence. The Prophet is a charlatan; the Indians are gullible. By misrepresenting Fallen Timbers as a battle instigated by the British, the film ignores the northwestern Indian confederacy's long fight for the Ohio country and portrays Indians as pawns rather than as people engaged in their own struggles for their own reasons. William Henry Harrison's preemptive strike on the Prophet's village at Tippecanoe is portrayed as retaliation for a botched assassination attempt. Indian involvement in the War of 1812 is presented so sketchily it conveys no understanding of what these people were doing or why. The action is flat and disjointed, and the battle scenes are transparently low budget. Tecumseh was a remarkable man, but *Tecumseh* is an unremarkable film.

Just like some of the current crop of documentaries on American Indian history, television movies must go beyond cosmetic changes if they are to produce a lasting and more accurate understanding of Native American historical experiences. Documentaries that dress up familiar narratives with haunting flute music, Native American statements delivered in monotone, and irresponsible use of illustrations do not do much to enhance our understanding of American Indian history. Neither do films like *Tecumseh*.

Colin G. Calloway

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Jefferson in Paris. Executive producer: Ismail Merchant; directed by James Ivory; screenplay by Ruth Praver Jhabvala. 1995; color; 136 minutes. Distributor: Buena Vista Pictures.

Thomas Jefferson may have insisted that all his hopes and dreams ended at Monticello, but Henry Adams wisely reminded us that during the Virginian's long life he seemed "to breathe with perfect satisfaction nowhere except in the liberal, literary, and scientific air of Paris in 1789" (*History of the United States of America during the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson* [New York, 1889], 1: 146). The five years Jefferson spent as U.S. minister in pre-revolutionary France have long attracted the interest of historians and novelists. Now it attracts the celebrated cinematic team of Merchant and Ivory. *Jefferson in Paris* represents their twenty-sixth collaboration and their first foray into nonfiction material (although the film is clearly based as much on the writings of novelist Barbara Chase-Riboud as it is on that of biographer Fawn M. Brodie). The result is a lavish spectacle long on period detail and short on historical accuracy.

Popular critics have complained that the film has no artistic center; to that, one might also add that it lacks historical focus. Screenwriter Ruth Praver Jhabvala appears unsure whether her task is a serious meditation on the contradictions between American liberty and slavery, played out against the dramatic backdrop of the growing French debate on liberty and equality, or an elegant costumed romance about an American in Paris. Consequently, this overly long film wanders unsteadily back and forth, first addressing the hypocrisy of the apostle of liberty owning human chattel, next focusing on the three women in Jefferson's life. Jefferson's brief relationship with Maria Cosway was undoubtedly important to him, but the larger themes that the film obviously wishes to address become lost whenever she appears on the screen. Certainly, it would be too much to expect that we see Jefferson performing many of his official duties, but the screenplay draws almost no connections between Jefferson's revolutionary ideals and the debates echoing nearby at Versailles. Instead of being shown the momentous meeting with Lafayette and his adherents at Jefferson's home in August 1789, at which it was agreed that the

king would enjoy the power of veto, the audience is treated to a pointless scene in which Lafayette presents French officers requesting that Jefferson somehow secure their long-promised back pay.

It is the film's treatment of Jefferson's alleged relationship with his slave Sally Hemings that will sell tickets, and it comes as no surprise that only the buxom visage of English actress Thandie Newton appears in the newspaper advertisements (initially superimposed over, inexplicably, the Constitution). To be fair, Jhabvala ambitiously attempts to convey Jefferson's ambivalence toward slavery through his supposed relationship with Sally, which was reported to have begun in Paris. Scholars who are not persuaded that Jefferson, having fallen in love with the sophisticated Cosway, would then turn to a slave girl whom Abigail Adams, for instance, regarded as little more than a child (Abigail Adams to Thomas Jefferson, June 26, 27, 1789, Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* [Princeton, N.J., 1950–], 11: 502–03)—and then parade this relationship before his daughters—will not be persuaded by this film, which depicts precisely this implausible scenario. Instead of showing a lonely widower slowly turning to his young slave, the film portrays the ever-controlled Jefferson as a typically lusty Virginian who beds his slave even while courting Cosway. Worse yet, *Jefferson in Paris* is no kinder to Sally. Even as a young woman, Sally (who in later years endured a long and perhaps painful relationship with a married man, probably one of Jefferson's nephews) must have been an interesting and complex person. But the simple-minded child on display here, complete with “sho 'nuff” Hollywood slave dialect, presents the sort of racist caricature thankfully absent from films of the past several decades.

“There are facts, and we stick to the facts,” screenwriter Jhabvala insists (*New York Times*, July 3, 1994, H17). But the affair remains as yet unproved, and most specialists doubt that Jefferson fathered Sally's children. I doubt that the master of Monticello would engage in a torrid romance with a “quartermoon” he believed to be his biological inferior. The screenplay's emphasis on this debatable premise detracts from the ability of the film successfully to address issues of race and slavery. Virtually all scholars concede that Sally and five of her siblings were the quadroon children of planter John Wayles. He was also the father of Jefferson's wife, Martha Wayles Skelton. The film briefly notes that this made Sally Martha's half-sister, yet it ignores the implications of Jefferson owning seven of his in-laws. One of the few memorable scenes shows Jefferson nervously admitting that slavery was evil but nonetheless advancing excuses for participating in it. Had Jhabvala chosen to develop this theme instead of trying to pass off an unproven theory as fact, she might have more clearly demonstrated, contrary to popular myth, that Jefferson was not only a man of his time and place but in many ways well behind the most enlightened thought of his day on race and human bondage.

Although director Ivory pronounced Nick Nolte just the “right age” to play Jefferson, at fifty-three Nolte is more than a decade too old to play the relatively youthful Jefferson who served in Paris. Nolte's accent comes and goes. (Although Hervé Gransart served as location scout, no specialist in American history is listed as consultant in the promotional material.) And James Earl Jones, who plays Sally's adult son Madison Hemings in the 1783 scene that opens the film, is too dark to play an octoroon, a point that is important to us only because racial characteristics were important to Jefferson. (Jefferson believed that a man who was seven-eighths Caucasian was “clear[ed]” of “pure negro blood” and so “becomes a free white man,” which perhaps explains why Jefferson freed Sally's children. Thomas Jefferson to Francis C. Gray, March 4, 1815, in H. A. Washington, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* [New York, 1854], 6: 436–39.) Seth Gilliam, however, is excellent as Sally's brother James. Never trusting his brother-in-law, James Hemings quietly absorbs the discussions on natural rights swirling about him. Equally believable is Gwyneth Paltrow as Patsy Jefferson, who in the best scene in the film lashes out at both slaves and slavery while understanding that her livelihood and class privilege depend on unfree labor. These two young actors and the story Jhabvala too infrequently lets them tell provide us with glimpses of the insightful film this unfocused bore might have been.

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Goin' to Chicago. Produced and directed by George King. 1994; color with black & white; 69 minutes. Distributor: California Newsreel, 145 Ninth Street, Suite 420, San Francisco, Calif. 94103 (415) 621-6196.

The Promised Land. Series producer: Anthony Geffen; directed by Edmund Coulthard. 1995; color with black & white; 3 ninety-minute segments. Distributor: The Discovery Channel.

Between 1915 and 1965, an estimated 5 million African Americans migrated from the Deep South to urban centers in the North. Those from Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas usually went to cities such as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, while those from Mississippi, especially the Mississippi Delta region, found their way to Chicago. This migration took place in two waves, separated by the Great Depression. Perhaps 30 percent of the total migrated between 1915 and 1929, driven out of the South by racial oppression and the boll weevil blight and lured northward by reports of the burgeoning black culture of northern cities. In the 1940s, the introduction of the mechanical cotton picker and the attraction of war-related jobs in the North caused an even larger migration that ground to a halt in the mid-1960s as industrial jobs dwindled and crime and violence increased.

Emboldened, perhaps, by the critical success of the video documentary *Eyes on the Prize* (1986), two different production groups have documented this Great Migration, as it is sometimes called. The more ambitious project is *The Promised Land*, based on Nicholas Lemann's book of the same title (1991). Like *Eyes on the Prize*, this is a mini-series, some four and a half hours in length. The other video, *Goin' to Chicago*, runs sixty-nine minutes, but it covers much of the same history as *The Promised Land*.

Lemann, in researching *The Promised Land* book, relied heavily on interviews, following a few families through the course of their migration to Chicago in the 1940s, their life there, and, in some cases, their return to the Mississippi Delta late in life. The central chapter of the book, titled "Washington," deals with the Great Society legislation of the 1960s and its impact on the urban ghettos that had developed by then. The film version also focuses on interviews, but it downplays the emphasis on Washington, perhaps for cinematic reasons.

Both *The Promised Land* and *Goin' to Chicago* follow the same organizational pattern: a portrayal of sharecropping and its doleful effects, the attraction of Chicago and the decision to go there, living and working in Chicago, the decline of opportunity and the deterioration of decent living conditions in the city, and, finally, the denouement, in which some have returned to Mississippi while others stay in Chicago despite its problems. Because of its length, *The Promised Land* can treat each of these aspects in far more detail, spending, for example, an hour on sharecropping and the segregated life that existed in the South in the 1920s and 1930s. Another hour is spent on the attractions of Chicago (everything from the Century of Progress exposition of 1933-1934 to the blues music clubs) and the manner in which people traveled north (with a tribute to the positive image of the black Pullman porters' union on the trains). Most of the rest of *The Promised Land* concerns life in Chicago, with particular attention paid to efforts to break out of the ghetto and move to white suburban neighborhoods and to the development of public-housing projects such as the Robert Taylor homes or Cabrini Green. The final hour depressingly portrays Chicago as the most racially segregated city in the United States, full of violence, unemployment, and readily obtainable drugs. We are inspired by the daughter of one migrant family who is making a successful (though dangerous) life for herself as a police officer, and we worry about the future of the daughter of another family who is a single mother of five, trying to raise her children in the war zone of the projects.

Interviews with the various families in *The Promised Land* are connected both with film and newsreel clips of life in the Delta or in Chicago and with appropriate music. There are frequent commentaries from Vernon Jarrett, a highly regarded African-American journalist and televi-



Black sharecroppers arrive in Chicago during the Great Migration, in *Goin' to Chicago*. Courtesy of California Newsreel.

sion personality who was a migrant himself, coming to Chicago from Tennessee in the second wave. Jarrett, who worked many years for the influential newspaper *Chicago Defender*, knows black Chicago very well and speaks with articulate authority about its problems.

Goin' to Chicago follows the same general course as *The Promised Land* but does so in a much more compact manner. The viewer learns about the sharecropper's life in fifteen minutes rather than an hour. Instead of following a few selected families through a long period of their lives, *Goin' to Chicago*'s producer-director, George King, has included interviews with a much wider variety of people who were involved in the Great Migration, as well as with a few who, for various reasons, elected to stay in the Delta. *Goin' to Chicago* includes a few maps and graphs to illustrate the direction and massiveness of the migration and also utilizes, though to a much lesser degree than *The Promised Land*, the expertise of Vernon Jarrett.

There are two cinematic techniques in *Goin' to Chicago* that deserve special mention. On four different occasions, simulated newsreels are incorporated into the video. These look and sound much like authentic newsreels of the 1940s, even carefully referring to African Americans as "Negroes," but they are labeled "Simulated Newsreel." It is not clear why this feature was included, and it is not very effective. The segments' simulated nature detracts from the content, although perhaps those viewers who have become accustomed to watching the currently popular crime-reenactment shows on television will not be put off. Another technique, not labeled as simulated, is the use of what appear to be home movies or videos, complete with flickering images and bad sound. These are used in family-oriented scenes, as when a family and friends sit on a back porch reminiscing about life in the segregated South. It does provide a change of pace from the standard interview, but the poorer quality (especially the incessant flickering) is a distraction.

Promotional material for *Goin' to Chicago* claims that the documentary "challenges Lemann's emphasis on the destructive implications of southern black rural culture." This may have been the intention, but the point does not come through clearly in the finished product. What difference there is between the two videos comes toward the end of each; *Goin' to Chicago* places a more benign and sentimental cast on the present-day Delta, notably in the comment of a ghetto youth that going to the South now would be a "vacation," while *The Promised Land* treats the matter more indifferently—some returned to the Delta, and others stayed in the big city.

On the whole, these are well-produced documentaries that justify the supporting grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and several state humanities councils. If one is marred by gimmickry and the other seems as if it will never end, they still provide an important and memorable visual dimension to our understanding of this major sociological and demographic event.

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Quiz Show. Produced by Michael Jacobs, Julian Krainen, Michael Nozick, and Robert Redford; directed by Robert Redford; screenplay by Paul Attanasio and Richard N. Goodwin. 1994; color; 133 minutes. Film distributor: Hollywood Pictures. Video distributor: Major Video Concepts.

Ed Wood. Executive producer: Michael Lehmann; produced by Denise Di Novi and Tim Burton; directed by Tim Burton; screenplay by Scott Alexander and Larry Karaszewski. 1994; black and white; 127 minutes. Film distributor: Touchstone Pictures. Video distributor: Buena Vista Home Video.

Two recent Hollywood movies offer 1990s audiences intelligent, stylized re-creations of the world of the mass-entertainment industry in the 1950s. Although they evoke the nostalgic ambience of this "simpler" time, each film also raises broad, enduring questions about the nature of individual integrity and the process by which our society bestows its rewards.

Quiz Show is a straightforward morality play, a meditation on some of the dark, sleazy realities just beneath the glitz and glitter of postwar American culture. With an eye on the contemporary scene, director Robert Redford shows a nation of passive watchers, spellbound before the manufactured images of sophisticated advertising techniques. The subject is compelling: the scandal surrounding NBC's popular television game show, "Twenty-One," a disillusioning event that symbolizes nicely the infant medium's transition from a "golden age" of promise and bold experimentation to a corrupt and mindless adolescence. Each week, the program drew millions into its drama of human emotion and intellectual combat, all, as it later turned out, rigged and choreographed for maximum ratings. We join the story as network executives and corporate sponsors, ever contemptuous of the public and concerned solely about the bottom line, face a problem: Herbert Stempel (John Turturro), the reigning champion from Queens, New York, has outlived his usefulness. Overweight, ethnic-looking, with "a face made for radio," Stempel's numbers have "plateaued," and it is clearly time for his fifteen minutes in the limelight to expire.

Enter the producers' ideal solution, in the person of Charles Van Doren (Ralph Fiennes), the blond, aristocratic, boyishly charming son of literary heavyweight Mark Van Doren (Paul Scofield). Charlie makes an appealing egghead indeed and, unable to compete with his father

in the academic realm, proves willing to compromise his ethics to achieve success in the lowbrow arena of television. Stempel takes his reluctant “dive” (he is a sweating, fidgety Nixon to Van Doren’s charismatic JFK, to draw the easy analogy with the showbiz of politics), and the victor reaps the perquisites of instant celebrity. Charlie’s bank account swells, his classes at Columbia overflow with adoring students, and he even wins grudging approval from the elder Van Doren.

For a time, the new champion naïvely convinces himself that the fraud is benign: done, in the post-Sputnik rhetoric of the day, for the cause of “promoting education.” In the end, however, the scam blows up, thanks to the dogged detective work of congressional investigator Richard Goodwin (Rob Morrow). Although disgusted by the anti-Semitic dimensions of the situation, Goodwin feels empathy for Van Doren and tries, without success, to protect him in the hearings that follow. Those proceedings degenerate into a McCarthyite tabloid circus focusing on personalities over substance.

Through a landscape hazy with cynicism, Redford allows occasional moments of clarity to shine through, best of all a lone senator’s Joseph Welch-like refusal to join his grandstanding colleagues in congratulating Van Doren for merely, at long last, telling the truth. Naturally, the big fish who bear the greatest responsibility get away, determined never again to be so clumsy in their manipulations. “I thought we were gonna get television,” a defeated Goodwin ominously muses. Instead, it seems that “television is gonna get us.”

Tim Burton’s *Ed Wood* is a perfectly realized homage to the master of the low-budget sci-fi/horror genre of the 1950s, a man whose bizarre “genius” has only in recent years received posthumous cult vindication. Edward D. Wood, Jr. (played with appropriately cockeyed innocence and optimism by Johnny Depp), is a classic American underdog, a studio cipher dedicated to pursuing the dream of being “in pictures” like his idol, Orson Welles. Wood possessed many of the attributes necessary to make good on his ambition: tireless energy, boundless self-confidence, an ability to improvise his way past any obstacle, and an indisputably unique artistic imagination shaped by the pulp novels, comic books, horror matinees, and radio dramas of his Depression-era childhood.

The one quality this would-be *auteur* lacked, unfortunately, was talent. How lacking it was is evident from such hilariously inept projects as *Bride of the Monster* (1955) and his “masterpiece,” *Plan Nine from Outer Space* (1958)—in the minds of many critics, the worst movie ever made. Burton’s film faithfully reproduces the legendary Woodian touches, all in *noirish* black and white: the cardboard, jerry-built sets, the octopus motors that fail to work, the stilted acting, the ludicrously disjointed dialogue. Our hero, poised in his director’s chair, remains upbeat and enthusiastic throughout, pronouncing every scene, however flawed, “perfect!”

In spite of Wood’s eccentricities (most notably his transvestism, expressed in a weakness for his girlfriends’ Angora sweaters and immortalized in the autobiographical “sexploitation” opus *Glen or Glenda*, 1953), one cannot help rooting for Wood and his doomed enterprises. If nothing else, they are a refreshing distance from the assembly-line products of today’s corporate mega-studios. We share Wood’s loving care for his movies as well as for the strange menagerie of “actors” he assembles from the “aberrant” margins of society to populate them. The film moves beyond the level of camp cartoon with Wood’s efforts to resurrect the spirits and career of the aging Bela Lugosi, long discarded and forgotten since his heyday as Hollywood’s definitive Dracula and ravaged by decades of drug abuse. Martin Landau, recipient of a well-deserved Oscar for the role, invests his earthy character with poignant dignity.

The story climaxes when Wood, momentarily discouraged by financial and other pressures, spots a brooding Orson Welles alone in the booth of a smoky bar. Welles, who had his own problems with the business end of pictures, encourages Wood to persevere, to remain true to himself. “Visions are worth fighting for,” Welles insists. “Why waste time making someone else’s dreams?” Ed Wood surely paid a price for his dreams—he died in 1978 in impoverished, alcoholic obscurity—but, for a while, he enjoyed the kind of heroic fulfillment Charles Van Doren and his *Quiz Show* co-conspirators could scarcely imagine.

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At the River I Stand. Produced, directed, and written by David Appleby, Allison Graham, and Steven John Ross, for the Memphis State University Department of Theatre and Communication Arts. 1993; color; 58 minutes. Distributor: California Newsreel, 149 Ninth Street, Suite 420, San Francisco, Calif. 94103, tel. (415) 621-6196, fax 415-621-6522.

The drama of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination and its violent aftermath have so obsessed the national imagination as to obscure the labor dispute that drew King to Memphis, the site of the tragedy. *At the River I Stand*, winner of the OAH's Erik Barnouw Award for documentary film in 1994, corrects this historical amnesia by providing its audience with a compelling portrait of the Memphis sanitation workers' strike that marked both the transformation of the civil rights movement and its final tribute to the power of nonviolent protest to achieve social and economic change.

The amnesia was not the result of gaps in the historical record. According to Joan Turner Beifuss, one of the film's historical consultants, in April 1968, following the assassination, an *ad hoc* Memphis Search for Meaning Committee was established to document the public works strike that had brought King to Memphis. Subsequently aided by two large grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and retitled the Sanitation Strike Project, the collection came to include 364 audio tapes, films, newspaper files, photographs, artworks, and assorted printed materials (Joan Turner Beifuss, *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King* [Brooklyn, N.Y., 1989], 352). By resurrecting the strike as the focus of historical discourse, this film reconstructs a critical shift in the latter stages of the civil rights movement toward issues of economic empowerment.

The film portrays the limitations of the kind of genteel segregation that had prevailed in Memphis, a city that accepted the peaceful integration of public facilities during the 1960s when other southern cities resorted to massive resistance, by revealing that such integration did nothing to diminish the dire poverty of the city's black inhabitants. The contrast between black society and white society is rendered painfully evident by images of lush parade floats celebrating the New South and "Plantation Days" complete with Confederate flags versus images of the grinding poverty of Memphis blacks, particularly its sanitation workers. As Coby Smith, a community organizer, informs us, "This was a job a white man could not have. It was beneath the level of a white man . . . This is a job reserved for blacks." The fact that these sanitation workers when interviewed in the 1990s appear well groomed and attired in suits is implicit testimony to the success of the civil rights and labor struggle they spontaneously initiated.

At the River I Stand chronicles the labor injustice that led the sanitation workers to call for a wildcat strike, including "wages . . . so low that a full-time worker still qualified for welfare." The impetus for the strike came in February 1968, when two union members met with accidental death on the job and the families received no compensation. The workers' strike caught the labor movement off guard. Labor was unaccustomed to a strike called by the rank and file in the absence of either a contract or union recognition. Since the 1,300-member sanitation workers' union was entirely black, its strike posed a challenge both to organized labor and to the civil rights movement because there was no way to dissociate economic and racial issues.

The strike faced the intransigent opposition of newly elected Republican mayor Henry Loeb, a believer in the plantation psychology that white benevolence provided the best solution to the problems of blacks. A peaceful march by the strikers was met with mace and brutality by the police, and Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr., called in his friend King to aid the cause. King agreed to come to Memphis because the plight of the sanitation workers coincided with his growing concern with poverty and his desire to lead a Poor People's March on Washington to demand economic justice.



Memphis sanitation workers on strike in *At the River I Stand*. Courtesy of California Newsreel.

The film portrays King's fatigue as he took up this challenge, only to find himself leading the first march in his career whose participants turned to violence. The film fails to indicate, however, the reasons for King's weariness and even despondency: the hostility both inside the civil rights movement and outside it to his opposition to the war in Vietnam, the latter threatening the civil rights support by President Lyndon Johnson, and the fear among King's supporters that he could not deliver concrete gains on economic issues as he had on integration and voting rights. The film also ignores the fact that King blamed himself for his failure to foresee the possibility of violence on the Memphis march. Other recent studies—notably David J. Garrow's *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (1986), Ralph David Abernathy's *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down* (1989), and Stephen B. Oates's *Let the Trumpet Sound* (1982)—more fully detail this context.

King's failure to demonstrate his leadership and to restrain acts of violence by the marchers forced him to commit himself to returning to Memphis and leading a peaceful march. While it is true that King viewed Memphis as an example of the transformation of a labor struggle into a civil rights movement and as proof of the continued viability of his tactics of nonviolence (see Beifuss, 191), the film ignores the fact that King only reluctantly came to deliver the famous Promised Land address that inspired his followers and presaged his tragic death. Originally, he had asked Rev. Ralph Abernathy to address an audience certain to be diminished by the violent storm that struck Memphis that evening, and Abernathy had implored King to come when it became clear that the audience wanted no substitute for their leader.

In dramatizing its story, the film deemphasizes the role of chance and enlarges the part played by King, who was led by events in Memphis as much as he shaped them. Film consultant David J. Garrow has argued in his preface to Beifuss's book, "Far more so than local civic activists, local black elected officials, or even Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it was the sanitation workers themselves who played the most crucial role in belatedly bringing the real impact of the civil rights movement to one of the South's largest, but heretofore largely untouched cities, Memphis" (p. 5). The film's allusion to the Poor People's March on Washington makes it appear that the march, the success of the nonviolent march in Memphis that King had promised before his death and that occurred shortly after it, and the resolution of the sanitation workers'

strike itself could be attributed to King's influence. The March on Washington ended in the muddy failure of Resurrection City, however, with no legislative gains for the blacks' suffering, and the sanitation workers profited more from the pressure King's death placed on Mayor Loeb than from King's actual presence during the strike. *At the River I Stand* is a thoroughly researched, rich, and evocative film, flawed only by a mild tendency toward hagiography.

Leslie Fishbein

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Black Is . . . Black Ain't. Produced and directed by Marlon Riggs. 1994; color; 87 minutes. Distributor: California Newsreel.

Not Just Passing Through. Produced and directed by Jean Carlomusto, Dolores Pérez, Catherine Saalfeld, and Polly Thistlethwaite. 1994; color; 54 minutes. Distributor: Women Make Movies, 462 Broadway, 5th Floor; New York, N.Y. 10013.

The documentary film *Black Is . . . Black Ain't* focuses on issues of constructed identities of blackness dictated by the few, who attempt to impose them on the entire black community. In this, his final film, the late Marlon Troy Riggs (1957–1994) poignantly and sensitively combines stills, home movies, interviews, performance, newsreel footage, storytelling, music, and cultural ritual to explode the myth that black people are a monolithic group. Riggs canvasses Louisiana, the Georgia Sea Islands, Mississippi, South Central Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., talking with intergenerational, heterogeneous groups of black people, structuring his film around a day-in-the-life format that candidly narrates the diversity of the black community and underscores the historical and contemporary sexism, intraracism, and homophobia within that community. Gumbo, a culinary delight of many black folks, operates as the visual metaphor throughout because the black community, like gumbo, “got a little of everything in it.”

Riggs effectively illustrates the black male machismo posturing that typified the black revolutionary movement of the 1960s by using archival footage interspersed with videotaped material. A present-day minister delineates a gender-biased hierarchy circumscribing “man as the ruler of woman,” and, in historical footage, children jump rope to a rhyme that establishes a preferential color hierarchy in the community: “if you black, stay back.” Allowing the work to “speak for itself,” Riggs encapsulates the entrenched ethos that sustains homophobia, sexism, and colorism inside the black community. *Black Is . . . Black Ain't* brings to the surface some of the subliminal messages, embedded in black cultural institutions, that continually hammer away at the psyche of Black America and sustain intragroup hatred for those who are different. Popular, scholarly, and religious attitudes are represented by rap artist Ice Cube's lyrics regarding homosexuality, “Real niggers ain't faggots”; statements such as Afrocentrist scholar Molefi Asanti's assertion that “homosexuality is a deviation from Afrocentricity”; and the statements of many ministers in the black church that “homosexuality is a sin before God.” These continually promulgated ideologies reveal blacks as both victims and agents of self-hatred.

The film further exposes the hypocrisy of the “Black is Beautiful” slogan popularized in the 1960s and 1970s by using personal accounts of the torment provoked by exclusionary and silencing tactics of the “cultural police.” One's skin coloring, hair texture or style, language, attire, behavior, or sexual preference might fail to meet their dictates of what constituted authentic “blackness.” The late Bayard Rustin, organizer of the 1963 Poor People's March on

Washington, is cited as one forced by black preachers to remain in the background of civil rights activities because he was a homosexual; he is ultimately penalized with "historical erasure."

The negative statements are counterbalanced in the film with performances and comments by choreographers and dancers Bill T. Jones and Andrea E. Woods, poets Essex Hemphill and Wayne T. Corbitt, scholar Maulana Karenga, and others who protest the divisiveness exemplified in these fallacious ideologies. The shared experiential "remembering" of scholar/critics Angela Davis, bell hooks, Barbara Smith, and Michele Wallace, along with comments by Cornel West, challenge sexism, homophobia, the mythicizing of African ideologies, and the one-dimensional definition of "blackness" and of "the black community."

Riggs declares in the film that "the connection between AIDS and black folks and black folks' identity isn't metaphoric. Both of them are a struggle against the odds in the face of adversity, in the face of possible extinction." His own degenerating health through the course of the film can be equated with the internal erosion of the black community fueled by self-hatred. The black community, like an AIDS victim, is increasingly susceptible to opportunistic infections and to certain rare cancers, to cultural and psychologically debilitating illnesses. Riggs died from AIDS before completing work on this film.

Although archival stills remind us of the vestiges of de facto and de jure segregation in mainstream America, the film's message is directed at the intragroup prejudices of black people. Riggs suggests that blacks must accept the responsibility of healing their communities. He is quite clear in depicting hatred of homosexuals in the black community as complex, not dismissing it as mere homophobia; this hatred, he suggests, as well as the colorism and sexism, point to a deep-seated self-hatred engendered by cultural and psychological colonization. The posturing prevalent among the contemporary young "McDaddies" indicates that, just as there is a positive continuum of African cultural retention, there is also a negative continuum of African-American culture that does not originate with rap music. Sadly, our youths are upholding the tradition of the colorist, sexist, misogynistic, and homophobic attitudes of their predecessors. He maintains that the cure for the black community is for people to talk to each other. *Black Is . . . Black Ain't*, like Riggs's earlier films, must serve both as prototype and catalyst for such critical dialogue if African Americans are to do more than merely survive as a people.

A search for self-affirmation in one's cultural institutions and historical images is also the subject of *Not Just Passing Through*. The documentary uses the bequeathed archives of Mabel Hampton (1902–1989) and Marge McDonald as the pivot of the film. In a refreshing structural format, the two women's stories are told in their own voices. The film begins with the celebratory opening of the Lesbian Herstory Archives Building in New York City on June 20, 1993. The parade is a multicultural mix of participants, a presence maintained throughout the film. Women from different cultural, racial, and ethnic backgrounds review the history, literature, theater, and visual arts of their respective cultures to determine where the lesbians were. It is repeatedly emphasized that the recorders of history have obliterated the legacy of "women loving women."

The late Mabel Hampton, an African American and lesbian/gay activist, tells the story of her own life. Hampton has a delightfully celebratory, self-affirmative style, and she divulges, "I loved women since 10 or 11." A rich historical knowledge is gleaned from Hampton's storytelling and from photographs of her as a young woman juxtaposed with *circa* 1920s archival film footage. Hampton shared a pleasant long-term relationship; she and her partner Lillian were together for forty-six years, separated only by Lillian's death in 1966. Contrary to the usual doom-and-gloom stories about lesbians, here is a woman who has enjoyed her life without regret and consciously recounts that enjoyment on film for the empowerment of future generations of lesbians. Hampton's story is woven together with characterizations of her by women who have known her over the years. Jewelle Gomez, author and playwright, discusses the significance of Hampton in relation to her own lesbianism.

Marge McDonald willed her lesbian memorabilia to the Lesbian Herstory Educational Foundation. Her story is shared through excerpts of her typewritten diary and photographs dating from the 1940s and 1950s. McDonald's diary and photos re-create that social milieu and provide a sense of what it was like to be a white middle-class lesbian in the Midwest.

Young Asian, Latina, and white lesbians discuss their constant search for self-affirmation in positive images in the literature, history, and cultural institutions of their peoples and their subsequent protection of these rediscovered images to help themselves develop into whole human beings. Through their searches, rediscovery, and activism, these young women are attempting to answer questions regarding their lesbian lives, among the most central of which is, "How do you change shame into self-inheritance?"

In short, this film serves as an advertisement for the Lesbian Herstory Archives, and it should whet the appetites of many to learn more about lesbian history specifically and women's history in general. The women in the film stress the importance to one's development of knowing that you belong to a continuum of others who are like you. Such knowledge contributes to self-confidence and a sense of wholeness as a human being, and it solidifies an understanding that you are necessary to the world. You do not have to be marginalized.

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ASIA

The Wooden Man's Bride [*Yan shen*]. Produced by Ying-Hsiang Wang; Executive Producers Yu Shi and Li Xudong; directed by Huang Jianxin; screenplay by Yang Zhengguang. 1994; color; 114 minutes. Chinese with English subtitles. Distributor: Arrow Entertainment, 1 Rockefeller Plaza, 16th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10020 (212) 332-8140.

Farewell My Concubine [*Bawang bie ji*]. Produced by Feng Hsu; directed by Chen Kaige; screenplay by Lillian Lee and Wei Lu. 1993; color; 157 minutes. Chinese with English subtitles. Distributor: Miramax Films.

The Blue Kite [*Lan Fengzheng*]. Directed by Tian Zhuangzhuang. 1994; color; 138 minutes. Chinese with English subtitles. Distributor: Kino International, 333 W 39th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018 (800) 562-3330.

To Live [*Huo zhe*]. Directed by Zhang Yimou; screenplay by Yu Hua and Wei Lu; produced by Fusheng Chin, Funhong Kow, and Christophe Tseng. 1994; color; 129 minutes. Chinese with English subtitles. Distributor: Samuel Goldwyn Company.

International attention has been brought to Chinese cinema primarily through the films of a group of elite directors referred to in China as "The Fifth Generation." Directors such as Chen Kaige, Huang Jianxin, Tian Zhuangzhuang, and Zhang Yimou have been called, variously, "xianfeng daoyan" (vanguard director), "zheli daoyan" (philosophical director), or "yishu

dianying daoyan" (art film director). These terms of designation suggest the distance and difference between their works and those of mainstream popular film production in China.

The films of these elite directors are reflective of, and indeed often the products of, intellectual trends in contemporary China. For instance, since the late 1970s, Chinese intellectuals have revived the critical examination of the country's traditional cultural heritage, in much the same way that their predecessors did during the May 4th period some eighty years ago. This critical examination of traditional Chinese culture reached something of a culture fever in the mid-1980s. The four directors under review produced films consistent with that ideological agenda. Chen's *Yellow Earth* (*Huang tudi*, 1984), Tian's *On the Hunting Ground* (*Liechang zhasha*, 1985), Huang's *A Good Woman* (*Liang jia funu*, 1986) and Zhang's *Judou* (1990; reviewed by Anand Yang, *AHR*, 97 [October 1992]: 1146–48) were all informed by the intellectual discourse on traditional Chinese culture. Furthermore, each offered a cinematic version of a cultural critique of Chinese history.

In some respects, Huang Jianxin's *Wooden Man's Bride* continues that legacy. In this film, a young woman is forced to conduct her wedding ceremony with the wooden sculpture of her fiancé, who has died before the wedding. As traditional custom dictates, she is to remain widowed for the rest of her life and to live with the wooden sculpture as her only companion. Her mother-in-law, widowed for some twenty years and hence a victim of this same "feudal" tradition herself, now is the victimizer. She sees to it that her daughter-in-law follows all the old rules, including having the new mistress go through the humiliating purification ritual and burial ceremony for her deceased husband. The rest of the story is almost predictable: an affair between the wooden man's bride and a house servant develops. The affair is discovered, and the bride is crippled by the clan head as a form of punishment for her "adultery." The house servant, after being thrown out of the village, joins the bandits and becomes a leader. Later, in revenge, he comes back to the village, kills the mother-in-law, and carries off his woman.

Like Huang's earlier work, *A Good Woman*, *The Wooden Man's Bride* focuses on the suffering of Chinese women under the yoke of "feudal tradition," and it lashes out relentlessly at the oppressive aspects of China's old cultural beliefs and practices. In the ideological context of contemporary China, such a critical view of China's "feudal" past continues to have political implications because it undermines the argument made by the so-called New Authoritarian School Scholars, who call for the revival of traditional values and beliefs and who advocate rule by an "enlightened dictator," an argument that gained currency in the late 1980s in China (see the forum on New Authoritarianism in *Xinhua wenzhai*, no. 6 [1989]: 14–24).

Whereas Huang is continuing his cultural critique of Chinese history, the other three directors, Chen, Tian, and Zhang, have begun in their recent works to shift to a political critique of modern China. The thrust of *Farewell My Concubine*, *The Blue Kite*, and *To Live* is clearly directed at the political dimensions of Chinese life in the last fifty years (since the revolution). Although the stories and characters in these films are all fictional, there is a strong sense of history; events in these films are carefully contextualized and interwoven into the larger social background. The films are historical because, to borrow the words of Robert A. Rosenstone, "they carry out the overall meaning of the past that can be verified, documented, or reasonably argued" ("*JFK*: Historical Fact/Historical Film," *AHR*, 97 [April 1992]: 509). To observers of contemporary Chinese cinema, it is also interesting to note that even when the directors, all of whom graduated from the Beijing Film Academy in the same class, claim their individual distinctiveness, as they do in interviews in the Western press (see, for example, Phillip Lopate, "Odd Man Out: Tian Zhuangzhuang Interviewed," *Film Comment*, 30 [July–August 1994]: 60–65; and Jianying Zha, "Chen Kaige and the Shadows of the Revolution," *Sight and Sound*, 4 [February 1994]: 28–36), they demonstrate a remarkable resemblance and share a strikingly similar vision of modern Chinese history.

Chen's *Farewell My Concubine* begins its narrative with young Dieyi being taken by his mother to a Beijing opera school in the 1920s. During his years of harsh and brutal training in the school, the timid and sensitive Dieyi forms a profound friendship with his classmate Xiaolou. Later, the two achieve fame for their masterful performance of *Farewell My Concubine*,

a drama in which Xiaolou plays the heroic Chu king and Dieyi his faithful concubine, both historical figures from some two thousand years ago.

As the director himself admitted during an interview, the film is intended to show how the larger social changes deeply affected individual lives in modern China (Feng Mei, "Yishu he shengming de chonghe" [An integration of life and art—an interview with Chen Kaige], *Dazhong dianying* [Popular cinema], 4 [1995]: 30–31). We see that the life of the Beijing opera artists is precarious and constantly subject to events beyond their control. The protagonists adapt themselves to the political environment of the warlord era, Japanese occupation, and the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists, managing to survive all adversities. But it is under Communist rule that they suffer the most devastating persecution. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), they are pressured to accuse, denounce, and betray each other. It seems that in the pre-1949 period their oppressors—the wealthy patrons, the commander of the occupying Japanese force, and the Nationalist general—at least appreciate and demand their art. That appreciation often saves the artists from trouble. In contrast, under Mao Zedong's socialist state, their mastery of the art of Beijing opera is no longer appreciated. What the state demands now is their political loyalty. There is a reason why the film presents their experience under Mao's government as the most painful and devastating. Xiaolou's wife, Juxian, commits suicide during the Cultural Revolution. Near the end of the film, Dieyi also kills himself.

But the Beijing opera stars are not the only victims of Mao's political radicalism in recent Chinese cinema. Zhang Yimou's *To Live* portrays an ordinary Chinese family from the late 1940s to the early 1970s. The Chinese title of the film, *Huo zhe*, conveys a sense of living hopelessly, which seems to be lost in the translated English title. Unlike the heroes in *Farewell My Concubine*, whose passionate pursuit of love and art borders on obsession, the heroes in *To Live*, Fugui and Jiazhen, desire no more than to live peacefully and to be left alone by the government. Under the Communist state, that desire turns out to be an unrealistic dream. The brutal interference of social and political events in their family life is vividly illustrated. The tragic deaths of Fugui and Jiazhen's son and daughter are presented as the consequences of the state's intrusion into and interruption of the normality of ordinary people's lives. As the film reveals, their son's death is directly related to the craziness of the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, and their daughter's death is the result of medical negligence due to the upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, during which medical experts in the hospitals were replaced by inexperienced Red Guard interns. In both cases, the happiness of the family is abruptly and brutally destroyed by erroneous state policies. In other words, it is the Communist state that is most responsible for the family tragedies. In contrast, although life for Fugui and Jiazhen in the 1940s was never a fairy tale, they had enjoyed relative tranquillity and were not subjected to the traumatizing events they experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. It should be noted that during the early years of Communist rule, Fugui seems to be full of spirit and hope for a brighter future. When he carries his son to school, he tells him that their family is like a chicken, which will turn into a goose, which will turn into a cow, and eventually the cow will turn into communism. By the early 1970s, when Fugui tells the same story to his grandson, he no longer talks about communism, a change that suggests the profound disillusionment Chinese people have begun to feel.

Although not comparable to the epic proportions of *Farewell My Concubine* and *To Live*, Tian Zhuangzhuang's *The Blue Kite* shares with the other two films a thematic affinity. Narrated from the point of view of a boy, the film begins with Chen Shujun and Chen Shaolong's wedding ceremony on March 5, 1953. The happy occasion is interrupted by the news of Joseph Stalin's death, an obvious suggestion of the intrusion of politics into people's private lives during the Mao era. The narrative voice-over reports, "as a result of Stalin's death, the wedding of my parents was postponed and I was born ten days late."

The life of one family during the two decades of Maoist extremism is the focal point of *The Blue Kite*. On their wedding night, Shujun's husband teases her with the piece of red cloth on which are written the names of people who have come to their wedding. As the story unfolds, everyone whose name is on the red scarf suffers some form of political persecution. Shujun's husband and her younger brother are both labeled as rightists during the anti-rightist campaign

in 1957 and sent to concentration camps; her older brother's girlfriend is thrown into jail simply because she refuses to participate in the entertainment organized for the pleasure of the party leaders. Finally, during the Cultural Revolution, her husband from her third marriage is carried away on a stretcher by the Red Guards. Although the story is told dispassionately, the events unmistakably point to the Communist state as the cause of all the tragedies. There is nothing subtle about the details provided, either: Shujun's brother was a Nationalist air force officer who defected to the Communist side during the civil war. His physical disability, blindness, is used to symbolize his political short-sightedness.

Chen, Tian, and Zhang are not the first directors to reveal the horrors of the People's Republic of China on film. Years earlier, Xie Jin's *Hibiscus Town* (1986) presented a highly critical view of the early decades of PRC history. But unlike Xie Jin, directors Chen, Tian, and Zhang refuse to focus on evil individuals as the primary explanation for the tragedies experienced by the Chinese people. Instead, they point to the system, the state, and the party. Hence the release of these films has collectively delivered a powerful denunciation of Communist rule under Mao's regime. In this regard, to liken any of these films to *Doctor Zhivago*, as Terrence Rafferty does ("Blind Faith," *New Yorker* [October 11, 1993]: 123), and to see them simply as an illustration of the impact of social events on individual life, is to miss the point. In the case of Chinese films, the line between good and evil is clearly drawn, and the villain is clearly identified with the political extremism of the Chinese Communist Party. It is a perspective very different from the impersonal and detached Hegelian approach to history exemplified in *Doctor Zhivago*.

To this day, *The Blue Kite* and *To Live* have not been publicly screened in China. Even *Farewell My Concubine* was allowed only limited distribution there (see Godfrey Cheshire, "Chinese Checker," *Film Comment*, 30 [July–August 1994]: 64). The Chinese authorities' disapproval of these films further testifies to their political subversiveness. For understandable reasons, the denunciation in these films of the Communist state under Mao is still restrained. But it is significant that steps have been taken in this direction. We can predict with certainty that this shift from cultural critique to straightforward political critique of modern China as manifested by Chen, Tian, and Zhang will be followed by even more ideologically charged films in the near future.

Zhiwei Xiao

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Indochine. Produced by Eric Heumann and Jean Labadie; directed by Régis Wargnier; screenplay by Régis Wargnier, Catherine Cohen, Erik Orsenna, and Louis Gardel. 1991; color; 165 minutes. French with English subtitles. Video distributor: Columbia TriStar.

The Lover [*L'amant*]. Produced by Jean-Claude Bohrlat; directed by Jean-Jacques Annaud. 1992; color; 112 minutes. In English. Video distributor: MGM/UA Home Video.

Two important themes are shared by these two French films: first, the collective cultural nostalgia of a former colonial power for its past; second, and as a consequence, the discussion of the Asian as "Other," not only in colonial Indochina but in the context of contemporary Western Europe. Both works, however, display a particularly decadent mood that points toward the collapse of French domination in Southeast Asia.

The atmosphere of decadence present in Régis Wargnier's *Indochine* centers on upper-class

colonists. The vision of the large landowners is supported early in the film by the narrator's comment on the eternal relationship between France and Indochina. That tie must be read in terms of the assimilation of the colonized; it could not be otherwise. The film continually reminds us of this motif, especially in Camille's (Linh Dan Pham) being trained to dance the Parisian tango by Eliane (Catherine Deneuve).

Indochine thus becomes a liberal-radical reflection on the colonial issue. The screenwriters aimed to discard a redemptive role for European civilization. But their reproduction of the debate on the colonial question among different strata of the French colonial order seems to result from overcautious reflection on the guilt for imperialism. This notwithstanding, the presentation itself is quite elaborate and at times convincing. Wargnier is sophisticated enough to filter into the script the awkwardness of the political principles of the West, be they liberal or Marxist, as a basis for analyzing the Third World. Colonization, as represented in *Indochine*, neither elevated the natives nor detribalized them and launched them into a new mode of production. Although the film hints at the transition from colonization to proletarianization in the scenes showing laborers at the rubber plantation, the proprietor's stubbornness blocks this standard line of historical development. Had the narrative given a say to the workers, their accounting of the social and personal relations would have been less casual than it seemed from the perspective of most *colons*.

Because it does give voice to the colonized, Jean-Jacques Annaud's reconstruction of Marguerite Duras' *L'amant anglaise* (1987) is powerful in its oblique subversion of the epics of French Vietnam. The very setting of the film—rural, backward Vinh Long—suggests the weakening power of Saigon over the lives of both *blancs* and Vietnamese. But the fact that the racial-economic line is trespassed (by the relationship between an affluent Asian male and a pauperized European female) contributes a socio-historical twist to an otherwise torrid liaison.

In such encounters between colonizers and colonized, the second important theme emerges, the exploration of the "Other." *Indochine* tries—though insufficiently—to decenter the prevalent discourse of colonialism and neocolonialism. The viewer is given hints of the native alliances made by the French administration: the remains of the puppet monarchy at Hue, the local bourgeoisie, and the assimilated natives in the colonial bureaucracy in Saigon. The reconstruction of the rapport between the Asian elite and the French administration enriches our understanding of successive relations between westerners and Vietnamese (for instance, between France and Bao Dai up to 1954, or between the United States and first Diem, then Thieu). Surprisingly, *The Lover* does not exploit this issue despite the fact that its male protagonist, known as "the Chinaman" (Tony Leung), embodies the economic power of the Chinese minority established in the Cholon section of Saigon. The nature of the relationship between the colonial/neocolonial powers and the Sino-Vietnamese bourgeoisie has proven critical in the ensuing development of Vietnamese politics throughout the twentieth century. Here, Annaud missed an occasion to enrich his work as well as shed new light on the layers that made up the French administration in Southeast Asia.

This does not mean that both films evade a criticism of colonialism in their respective discourses; rather, an analytical or narrative approach to the nature of the *mission civilatrice* is usually impaired by the cinematic resort to histrionics. Notice the emphasis in *Indochine* on the pathetic role of the chief of police of Saigon (Jean Yanne). By underscoring his methods and attitudes, the film takes tension away from the narrative of the reasons for the birth of insurgency in the 1920s and the concern it provoked among the French. Nor should we dismiss the fact that political intertextuality enables characters to transcend the roles they play on the screen. The chief of police, relevant though his post must have been for the colonial administration, corresponds more to the anxieties of the early 1990s in France than to the naïve assumptions of the 1930s in the colonies. His allusion to the French communists as termites of the empire must fall positively on the ears of an audience sensitized by the rhetoric of hatred employed by the Front National. In a similar way, in *The Lover*, the political and economic grounds of racism are disfigured into an absurd moral dilemma. We are invited to interpret as personal choice what was actually determined by the forces that kept empire alive.

For the sake of communication with the viewer, then, both films tend to overlook the

political, economic, and social networks of the Caucasians in the East. The memorable scene of the Christmas Eve dinner in *Indochine* offers a unique opportunity for Wargnier to convey the close ties that linked the planters, military, and bureaucrats. Their virtual detachment from the socio-cultural tapestry of Vietnam and their control over the economic forces of the region may have been reasons for the widespread influence of subversion, be it nationalist or communist-oriented, among the natives. For his part, Annaud introduces some aspects of the power structure in Indochina to help explain the extent and nature of the anti-French sentiment among the peasants. There is no question that the peasants' presence in the film is marginal, especially if the main theme of *The Lover* is taken to be a Eurocentric love affair. This notwithstanding, the native rural community has a presence, and its existence is more sharply presented as the film proceeds. In contrast with the plantation in Wargnier's film, the small decaying estate in *The Lover* makes the social/racial division of labor in the colony still more problematic. First, as "the Chinaman" confides, "You know everything through the servants," who leer at the ways of their European lords. Later, we learn that they have taken over the crops of a ruined French widow, herself previously victimized by white speculators and government officials. Contrary to the image in Wargnier's film, the Vietnamese peasants referred to in *The Lover* are not so much the "Others" focused on by the narrator as they are plausible subaltern elements in the transitional period between late colonial and revolutionary Vietnam.

Through both their respective arguments and their technical devices, these two films quite differently unravel the dialectical tension between an Asian-centered and a French-centered Southeast Asia. Such contest is overtly abandoned in the last minutes of *Indochine*, to the point of recalling the revisionist thinking that it was actually the Popular Front that put Indochina in the hands of the native insurgents. Wargnier probably intended his implied reference to this thesis ironically, in pursuit of different ends. The case of *The Lover* is more subtle, as attention is focused at the film's end on Duras as a celebrity with a lush private life. That her back is turned on the viewer has meaning from the point of view of cinema semiotics, providing a way to put an end to the autobiography. An exercise of selective amnesia can be hinted at here more clearly than in *Indochine*, however, as it is disclosed rather abruptly that "the young girl" of the film became a cultural and moral authority in postwar France.

These two films, like Pierre Schoendoerffer's *Dien Bien Phu* (1991), represent recent attempts to reflect on France's domestic discussion on its decline as a colonial power in Southeast Asia. These reflections on the past are thus grounded on the politics of the present. The twilight that in 1991 closed the last scenes of both *Indochine* and *The Lover* is less suggestive of Vietnam in the time of Léon Blum than of France in the era of Edith Cresson.

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Once Were Warriors. Produced by Robin Scholes; directed by Lee Tamahori; screenplay by Riwia Brown. 1994; color; 99 minutes. In English. Distributor: Fine Line Features.

In a portentous sequence of scenes from *Once Were Warriors*, Jake "the Muss" Heke (Temuera Morrison) and his wife Beth (Rena Owen), along with their teenage daughter Grace and two youngest children, journey from their state-housing project in the fictional city Pine Bluff to a juvenile detention center to visit their son Boog. Along the way, Jake and Beth spot their eldest son, Nig, a recent initiate of the Maori gang "Brown Fist." Beth pleads with Nig to join them, wishing the visit with Boog to be a true family reunion. Surrounded by his gang bros, Nig hesitates. After a few seconds, the impulsive Jake drives off, leaving his estranged son behind. Journeying on, the Hekes cruise through the rural hinterland and stop briefly at Wainui pa,

Beth's girlhood village. Beth becomes nostalgic, remembering the security of extended kinship and the constancy of traditional Maori culture. For Jake, the setting only reminds him of his slave ancestry (historically, Maori who were captured during intertribal warfare were enslaved) and the bitter memories of a childhood ruined by scorn and ridicule. After this reflective interlude, the journey continues, but the family never reaches its destination. Jake stops at his favorite pub for only "one" beer and, as usual, boozes away the rest of the day with his mates. Stranded in the parking lot, Beth and the kids call a taxi. They return to their squalid Pine Bluff home and a life replete with brutality and despair.

The metaphor of the aborted journey serves as an appropriate point of departure for a review of *Once Were Warriors*, a film based on Alan Duff's searing novel of the same name. Lee Tamahori's directorial debut focuses on the failure of many Maori in contemporary New Zealand to adjust to an urban world. The Maori population, traditionally rural and with strong ties to the land, experienced rapid urbanization after World War II. By the late 1980s, over one-quarter of all Maori lived in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, and nearly 80 percent of all Maori inhabited urban areas (Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected* [Auckland, 1991], chap. 9). Many Pakehas (New Zealanders of European descent) believed rapid Maori urbanization after the war would facilitate both racial integration and Maori social and economic advancement.

Indeed, the goal of "amalgamation" was set forth in the Treaty of Waitangi, transacted in 1840 by the British crown and Maori chiefs at the Bay of Islands. In the minds of British officials, amalgamation constituted humanitarianism at its finest: a way to advance Maori "civilization" as well as avoid costly frontier conflicts such as those raging in North America and South Africa. Instead, the policy facilitated Pakeha acquisition of Maori lands and resulted in several decades of war, confiscation, and further land sales. Despite remarkable examples of pantribal resistance, the semi-proletarianized Maori people faced economic insecurity and cultural disarray by the end of the nineteenth century. Rural poverty and labor migration persisted for many Maori into the 1930s. The rural exodus that began after 1945 promised a reversal.

A number of Maori took advantage of the educational and employment opportunities urban life offered, but, for the majority, the journey has been a failure. By the early 1990s, a Maori in New Zealand was three times as likely as a non-Maori to be unemployed and on state assistance. A culture of poverty has spawned a culture of violence. Maoris constitute over 50 percent of New Zealand's prison population, although only 10 percent of New Zealanders are Maori. Many of these convicted criminals have committed violent assaults, especially against women and children. Maori men are about six times as likely as Pakehas to be imprisoned for assault on women and fourteen times as likely to be prosecuted for child abuse (Greg Newbold, "Violence," in *Studies in New Zealand Social Problems*, 2d edn., Paul F. Green, ed. [Palmerston North, N.Z., 1994], 193-215). Dysfunctional families often rear troubled children. Maori juveniles are nine times as likely as non-Maori to appear in youth court. Many Maori adolescents, at odds with their parents as well as the authorities, join urban gangs such as the Mongrel Mob and Black Power. Gang members frequently turn to crime as the degenerative cycle of violence runs its course. Hence the promise of postwar integration, of a society based on racial harmony and social equality, has been as illusory as the proposed benefits of nineteenth-century "amalgamation."

Once Were Warriors shows the dark underbelly of Maori urban culture, with jarring scenes of spousal abuse, drunkenness, rape, and suicide. American audiences, accustomed to the sanitized violence of Hollywood "action" films, might find the stark brutality of this film difficult to watch. Although director Tamahori tries (unsparingly) to educate his audiences about a reality they might wish to avoid, he also has a more exalted purpose. One of the film's principal themes is Beth's desire to break free of her predicament. Jake remains a slave to his self-destructive behaviors, but his wife finds a way out. Inspired by a reacquaintance with her Maori cultural heritage, Beth eventually defies her drunken, abusive husband and sets out to reunite her family. Beth's son Boog benefits from a new acquaintance with Maori traditions. While in juvenile detention, he is taught the *haka* (a traditional dance) by his Maori corrections officer. Through the ritual of the dance, the youth learns discipline and gains self-esteem.

For Beth and her son, the journey from despair begins with a reconnection with *Maoritanga* (Maoriness). Moving forward while looking back is an approach with precedents in the Maori past. Nearly a century ago, a group of Te Aute College students formed the Young Maori Party (YMP). Apirana Ngata, one of the principal leaders of the YMP, went on to serve as New Zealand's minister of Maori Affairs from 1928 to 1934. Ngata believed that Maori cultural regeneration depended on role models who, like himself, could gain access to Pakeha power structures and utilize Western skills and technologies to advance Maori interests. At the same time, Ngata, of the Ngati Porou people, thought it necessary to promote the best of the Maori cultural heritage (Lindsay Cox, *Kotahitanga: The Search for Maori Political Unity* [Auckland, 1993], 90–93).

Ngata's example speaks to the lost generation depicted in *Once Were Warriors*. A blend of the best of *Maoritanga* with initiative and self-sacrifice might consummate the Maori journey into the twenty-first century. Otherwise, a taxi waits for a trip to nowhere.

James O. Gump

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EUROPE

Braveheart. Produced by Bruce Davey, Mel Gibson, and Alan Ladd, Jr.; directed by Mel Gibson; screenplay by Randall Wallace. 1995; color; 178 minutes. Distributor: Paramount.

Rob Roy. Executive producer: Michael Caton-Jones; produced by Peter Broughan, Larry DeWady, Richard Jackson, and Peter Proughan; directed by Michael Caton-Jones; screenplay by Alan Sharp. 1995; color; 139 minutes. Distributor: United Artists Pictures.

In 1320, after years of war with England, Scottish leaders asked the pope to recognize Scotland's independence. In the 1990s, as the possibility of some freedom from English rule again looms large, Scotland is gaining international recognition through the medium of film. *Rob Roy* and *Braveheart* are both large commercial productions featuring major Hollywood stars.

Braveheart tells the story of William Wallace and his struggle to restore Scottish independence after Edward I's invasion in 1296, often in the face of opposition from an opportunistic Scottish nobility. *Rob Roy*, set shortly before the First Jacobite Uprising of 1715, portrays the struggle of the Highland chieftain Rob Roy MacGregor against the duke of Montrose, his factor Graham of Killearn, and Killearn's henchman, an Englishman with the distinctly un-English name of Archibald Cunningham. In both films, a love story is combined with wider themes: in *Braveheart* the fight for Scottish independence, in *Rob Roy* the conflict between traditional Highland society and the increasingly commercialized and Anglicized society of the nobility.

It is difficult to assess the "historical" nature of these films. Both deal with figures who are as much legends as historical individuals. A major source for Wallace's career (and for the film) is a highly polemical fifteenth-century poem, Hary's (Henry, the Minstrel) *Wallace*, which freely mixes fact and fiction. Wallace lives in popular imagination as a champion sprung from the common people, although he was the son of a knight. Rob Roy's life was popularized by Walter Scott in *Rob Roy* (1817), but the film bears little resemblance to the book, drawing instead on

legendary history for its portrayal. Controversy still rages whether Rob Roy was a heroic Highland leader or a blackmailing cattle-robber. Perhaps the historian should not look so much for historical accuracy as for how successful the film is in bringing the legend to life. When there is a complete disregard for historical context, however, as in *Braveheart*, which almost totally sacrifices historical accuracy for epic adventure, the inaccuracies become hard to ignore.

In many ways, *Braveheart* is in the tradition of Gibson's earlier Mad Max series, except that, this time, the "good guys" wear kilts and paint their faces blue with woad in preparation for battle (prompting a colleague's suggestion that the film should be renamed "Woad Warrior"). The film fails to portray accurately either the period or its people. The historical inaccuracies draw on the worst myths of "tartanism," a disease against which Scottish historians wage an unceasing battle. The Lowland Scots who made up the majority of Wallace's followers did not wear kilts; woad was last used by the Picts at least five hundred years before Wallace lived. *Braveheart* portrays the thirteenth-century Scots as "noble savages," an image more appropriate to eighteenth and nineteenth-century views of the Highlanders than to thirteenth-century Lowland peasants. Wallace himself, who was far more than just a warrior, is portrayed in almost exclusively military terms.

Most of the movie's characters are stereotypes. Of the contrasting sides of Edward I, both law-giver king and vicious conqueror of Wales and Scotland, only the latter is portrayed. The film reflects Hary's bias here; however, the screenplay goes well beyond Hary in its portrayal of a king who sacrifices his troops, murders his son's companion, is willing to sacrifice his daughter-in-law, and plots treachery after treachery. The most grating inaccuracies center on Edward. In a move that will cause medievalists to shudder, the hoary old chestnut of the "right of the first night" is portrayed as a tactic used by Edward to induce his English subjects to colonize Scotland. The screenwriter then uses the homosexuality of Edward's son to allow Wallace to take suitable revenge. Drawing on stereotypical images of homosexuals as impotent and weak, the film implies that the prince is unable to consummate his marriage to the French princess Isabella. It invents a fictional tryst between Wallace and Isabella in which the virile Wallace impregnates the virgin wife with a son, the future English king Edward III. Since the real Edward III was born seven years after Wallace's execution, and Isabella first came to England for her marriage three years after Wallace's death, this scenario may not gain wide currency among medieval historians. Such inventions grossly undermine the true complexities of colonization and resistance.

It is not clear why the film invents so much when historic events provide their own stirring material. To illustrate the oppression suffered by common people, Edward's murderous sack of Berwick would be more effective than his treacherous treatment of Scottish nobles. Indeed, both *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* suffer from the weakness of asserting the moral superiority and importance of the poor but then relegating most of them to the status of victim. And Wallace's courageous companion and co-leader Sir Andrew Moray is replaced by a fictional Irishman, perhaps in order to avoid showing any truly patriotic Scottish nobles. The completely inaccurate role given to the Irish in *Braveheart* was perhaps due to the decision to film in Ireland, although possibly the part they played in the film reflects a belief in a historical Celtic solidarity.

The only complex character is Robert the Bruce, later Robert I, who wavers back and forth between Edward and Wallace. Interestingly, this one fairly accurate portrayal contradicts the legendary image of Bruce. A new film is now being made of Bruce's life. Will it accept this portrayal or prefer the legend?

Historical accuracy also suffers in *Rob Roy* but distracts less from the central "truth." This partly results from a weakness in the film, that the wider political context is largely ignored. Several different events of Rob Roy's life are conflated into one. Ironically, the historical model for Archibald Cunningham, the Lowland sword-fighter Henry Cunningham, was the only man ever to defeat Rob Roy in a duel. Rob's real antagonist was Killearn. It may reflect present-day attitudes that it was felt necessary for Killearn to have an English henchman do most of his dirty work.

Where *Rob Roy* succeeds is in its depiction of a disappearing way of life. The coming changes are illustrated by one character's fascination with the idea of emigration to America.

The contrast between the impoverished but spiritually rich life of the Highlanders and the wealthy but spiritually bankrupt noble life is vividly drawn. The film's central theme is honor in its many forms. For Rob Roy's people, honor, embodied in a person's word and in truthfulness, is the linchpin of society; this is contrasted to characters such as the duke of Montrose, who measures honor in terms of land, wealth, and status. When money Rob has borrowed from Montrose to finance a cattle-droving expedition is stolen through the machinations of Killearn and Cunningham, Rob gives his word that he will repay the duke. Montrose puts little faith in this promise but instead offers Rob the chance to redeem the debt by bearing false witness to the government on the Jacobite sympathies of Montrose's enemy, the earl of Argyll. It is Rob's refusal to compromise his honor in this way that leads to the ensuing conflict.

Female honor, historically equated with chastity, is also examined through Rob's wife, Mary. Mary questions the central role honor plays in her husband's life, but when she is raped by Cunningham as part of the campaign against Rob, she takes personal revenge for the "loss of her honor" upon Killearn as an accessory. It is Rob, the "wronged husband," who takes final revenge on Cunningham. Men and women may both have honor, but the protection of honor is seen, as it would have been in the eighteenth century, as mainly the province of men.

It is not easy to tell the story of individuals whose lives have taken on legendary proportions. But even if historical accuracy is sacrificed, surely one owes it to them to re-create the complexity of their lives and times and not make them into cardboard characters. *Rob Roy* attempts to do this, *Braveheart* does not.

Elizabeth Ewan

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The Advocate (previous released as *The Hour of the Pig*). Written and directed by Leslie Megahy. 1994; color; 101 minutes. Distributor: Miramax Films.

"France—fifteenth century—the dark ages . . . the people were still gripped in ignorance and superstition." Thus begins *The Advocate*. A young lawyer, Maitre Richard Courtois (Colin Firth), supposedly based on the "real-life" advocate, Bartholomew Chasenée, and his clerk, Mathieu (Jim Carter), travel from Paris in 1452 to the small town of Abbeville, where Courtois will assume the duties of "public defender."

Through the unfolding of several court cases ("unbelievable as it may seem, . . . based on historical fact")—the trial of a man and his she-ass for fornication, the judgment of a witch already convicted by the church court, and the arrest of a pig for the murder of a Jewish boy—the audience is made aware of the true depths of medieval ignorance. The townsfolk fight successfully to save the ass on account of her good reputation, but they cheer when the ass's owner is hanged. The witch's trial is not only unjust but misguided because she is, in fact, a wisewoman: she prophesies the coming of a force that will "clean up" the perfidious citizenry, and she provides Maitre Richard with the vital clue needed to solve the central case of the murderous pig. That case is merely a blind to shield the crimes of the sadistic son of the local seigneur, Jehan d'Auferre (Nicol Williamson): the pig is owned by an itinerant band of gypsies from "Middle Egypt" who are not only harassed and abused by the prejudiced townspeople but also fingered as the scapegoats for the crimes committed by the seigneur's son. Maitre Richard, as the modern, rational man from the big city, cannot accept that his clients include felonious livestock and at first refuses to plead the case. This error in judgment is destined to end in tragedy unless he learns to set aside his reason and his adherence to "Roman law" and to utilize the unreason of local custom to accomplish his ends.

Although Richard is the only rational man to be open about his skepticism, he is not the only educated outsider in Abbeville. The power elite of the town—the local lord, the prosecuting attorney, Maitre Pincheon (Donald Pleasance), the priest, Father Albertus (Ian

Holm), and the magistrate, Boniface (Michael Gough)—all come from elsewhere. They share Richard Courtois' skepticism, but they mendaciously and cynically reinforce the superstitions of the common people in order to rule them. This circumstance is made explicit in the tame Rabelaisianism of the "orgy" celebrating Seigneur's Jehan d'Auferre's saint's day, which he describes to Richard as "a few hectares of goosebumped flesh illustrating the absolute corruption of power. Disappointing, I know." Clearly, the provincials can be deceived even to the extent of their illicit entertainments. Conversely, the town colludes in their own deception over the murderousness of the seigneur's son. When the witch on the scaffold tells Richard to "look to the boy," her statement sounds prophetic. It is only toward the end of the film that the statement's context is revealed: everyone was aware of the young lordling's criminal actions, but no one would admit it.

This circumstance—the witch's prophesy being no prophesy at all—makes her "real" prophesy, of the coming of a "bright knight" who will make Abbeville a "fit place" for the people to live, jarringly fantastic. The witch's "bright knight" indeed arrives, carrying the means by which Abbeville will be delivered from its evil: the Black Death, which kills nearly all the town's residents. Since there can be no resolution to the tensions created in the film, the only closure available is death.

This film could be seen as a commentary on the absurdities and conflicts of modern-day life. Like the residents of Abbeville, we today look with suspicion on foreigners; we refuse to give up our local customs for the rationalism of an international law; we are willing to be lied to and dallied with as long as the lies and dalliance reinforce our feelings of superiority. Moreover, the film uses the standard popular formats of the western and the mystery as the bases for exploring these conflicts: the outsider against the town, the rational explanation hidden in a series of red herrings. If one looks at *The Advocate* in this way, its anachronisms might be more palatable, since the superficialities of costumes and setting are the only medieval elements in the film.

To consider this film as a commentary on medieval life is much more problematic. Filmmaker Leslie Megahy uses the legal cases that form the "factual" foundations for the plot merely to depict the medieval world as both ludicrous and unappetizing. Medieval people are thereby condemned through their prejudice, intolerance, and irrationality to live in a hell of their own making until either modernity or death releases them.

The filmmaker has thus failed to utilize the true richness of the legal issues that form the basis of the story. A genuine debate between the doctrines of a supposedly rational law, such as Roman civil law, and the doctrines of a law based on custom and tradition could present the modern viewer with a piece of medieval culture that few ever see. The conflict is not between ignorance and reason but between conceptions of humanness. Roman law considers humans to be a group apart, a superior species, and therefore creates a radical distinction between human behavior and that of animals. Nonhuman creatures become "chattels": objects owned by humans and exploited by them with impunity. Customary law recognizes no such hardened distinction between humans and animals. Not only are animals capable of criminal behavior, they are also capable of being victimized by humans. In the same vein, Roman law creates a chasm between male and female on the same rational basis by which it differentiates between human and animal. Thus women, according to Roman law, are closer to animals than they are to men: they, too, are incapable of rational decision-making and can be exploited and abused like chattel. Just as customary law makes few distinctions between human and animal, it makes few distinctions between male and female. Unfortunately, the debate between these concepts is not an element of *The Advocate*.

Ultimately, the historical merits of *The Advocate* lie only in its costuming and scenery. Its view of the medieval world is both ahistorical and mean spirited.

Linda E. Mitchell

Alfred University

Burnt by the Sun [*Utomlennye solntsem*]. Produced by Michel Seidou and Nikita Mikhalkov; directed by Nikita Mikhalkov; screenplay by Nikita Mikhalkov and Rustam Ibragimbekov. 1994; color; 152 minutes. Russian with English subtitles. Distributor: Sony Pictures Classics.

The Interpretation of Dreams [*Tolkovanie snovidenii*]. Directed by Andrei Zagdansky; screenplay by Semen Vinokur. 1990; color and black & white; 50 minutes. Russian. Distributor: Facets Multimedia.

It should be made clear from the outset that Nikita Mikhalkov's film is a serious piece of movie making, whereas Andrei Zagdansky's shows all too clearly the limitations of Russian filmmaking in these volatile times. The two are comparable in that both were made in the early 1990s and focus on Russia in the 1930s, with its cult of personality, militarism, and purges. Both also include in their purview the periods immediately before and after the revolution as essential background and points of comparison with the 1930s themselves. In this respect, both join a host of films from the era of perestroika and beyond that have returned to this nodal moment in the country's past (the Great Purge of approximately 1936–1939) to explore the question: who are we, and how could we have gotten where we are now? These two films use opposite strategies: *The Interpretation of Dreams* treats only the public sphere, while *Burnt by the Sun* centers its narration on the private lives of its protagonists, with the public sphere a recurrently intrusive but (until the end) shadowy presence.

The Interpretation of Dreams takes its depersonalized account to an extreme. The film is not acted at all but consists of successive clips from old film stock (much of it documentary) that take the viewer from the prerevolutionary period through the 1930s. There is some sound track (music and sound effects), but the principal accompaniment of these clips is voice-over. The narrator reads from a text that quotes and paraphrases Sigmund Freud, taking the viewer through points Freud made in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, *Totem and Taboo*, and *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. The intention is to account not just for the Stalin phenomenon but for fascism as well through Freud's theories of the masses and the leader. Shots from Nazi Germany are intercut with shots from Soviet Russia quite indiscriminately. This material is all in black and white but is in turn intercut with shots in color showing Freud's apartment in Vienna and glimpses of the city and its synagogue (as well as documentary shots of Freud, again in black and white).

The result has all the markers of a low-budget movie. The selection of the film clips leaves something to be desired, and their relationship to the readings from Freud is often marginal. The "Freudian" historical analysis is appallingly flatfooted and simplistic but is presented in a self-satisfied, didactic tone. Moreover, Zagdansky appears to have replaced one Manichean account of history (the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist one) with another and is, to boot, in the thrall of another "cult of personality," Freud's. The camera keeps returning to linger on the master's portrait.

Mikhalkov's film (which won an Oscar in 1995 for Best Foreign Film) is, by contrast, an appealing and thoroughly professional feature film (one of the few in recent years to attract a Russian audience back to the cinema). Rather than shrill moralizing, the film gives us an idyll set in a halcyon summer day in a dacha outside Moscow. The year is 1936, and thus the cloudless sky has to be an illusion. There are subterranean forces in the characters' lives stemming from a triangle involving Kotov, a Soviet hero from the revolution and civil war, his attractive wife, Marusya, and her former lover, who has become a senior officer in the secret police. The lover arrives at the dacha as an uninvited but welcome guest; by the day's end, he will arrest Kotov. (The roles of Kotov and his daughter are played by Mikhalkov himself and his own enchanting daughter.) The wife comes from an extended family of prerevolutionary Russian intellectuals

who have continued to live on at the dacha, insulated from postrevolutionary life and vaguely charming with their foibles and dated concerns.

Thus the film seeks to avoid the easy sensationalism of the purge theme, leaving the horror and brutality of a family's demise largely off-screen. The insistent idyll leads to some distortion of the reality of the purges. The tale the film presents is ultimately a tragedy, however, not only for an individual family but for an entire society. The Icarian theme encapsulated in the film's title (actually, the words of a popular song that the characters sing) suggests that no matter how honorable and sincere the revolution's agents (such as Kotov) might have been, they were doomed by flying too close to the "sun" of a flawed utopia. The "sun" is at the same time the apex of a brutalized society organized hierarchically around a "sun" potentate; even its most idealistic officers are implicated in this reality. The film reminds us, however, that our *ex post facto* perspective on the 1930s is also flawed; for many, this was still an age of belief. The filmmaker uses details such as Kotov's insistence that the dacha household abandon their "bourgeois" pastime of croquet and take up instead the "people's game" of soccer to make the point.

Idyllic though the film might be, it does manage to represent some historical verities. Among these are the extent to which many among the intelligentsia (despite the predominantly martyrological way they have been depicted) were themselves in one way or another close to the secret police at some time. Also, more generally, the film shows the marriage between the intelligentsia and Soviet power (here, represented literally) that by the 1930s enabled many intellectuals to enjoy a privileged existence in the "workers' paradise." The Soviet state impinges little on the consciousness of those gathered at the dacha; an official holiday is being celebrated outside, but they have no idea what it is, relying on Kotov to know such things.

Hence we see a historical dynamic not unlike the earlier Russian one in which merchant-class parvenus married members of the decaying aristocracy, sustaining them in their old lifestyles. Anton Chekhov's exploration of such themes keeps coming to mind, an obvious analogy in Mikhalkov's case, since several of his previous films were loosely based on Chekhov. However, Mikhalkov's general faithfulness to a Chekhovian style has meant that some incidents from the film's present (such as compulsory civil-defense exercises) obtrude as incongruous or ridiculous intermedia.

Ultimately, one has to situate this film more in terms of present realities than precedents from the past. One cannot take at face value Mikhalkov's announced aim to show how, even in that infamous era of the 1930s, people were subject to common human passions and petty concerns and hence his claim that he has not made a political film but has foregrounded the personal and domestic rather than the public. There is a certain amount of disingenuousness in such a statement from Mikhalkov, who was, during 1993, the year when he was at work on this film, sheltering at his own dacha the family of Aleksandr Rutskoi (then in prison as a leader of the *putsch*). The contrast the film draws between an ineffectual intelligentsia and a determined patriot must be read in this context. Moreover, Mikhalkov has recently identified with the vogue for "Eurasianism"—seeing Russia not so much part of Europe as an independent force combining the spirits of both Europe and Asia. Thus his character, the virile Kotov, who is first shown romping in the Russian bathhouse naked with his wife and daughter, contrasts with the somewhat proper (overly Europeanized) in-laws, who are vaguely scandalized by such behavior and Kotov's scorn of the more "cultured" bath in the dacha.

Ironically, however, much of the difference in quality between these two films derives from the extent to which each enjoyed Western funding. *The Interpretation of Dreams* was supported on a modest scale by the Jewish community in Vienna, but *Burnt by the Sun* had major funding by European co-producers.

Katerina Clark

Yale University

The Madness of King George. Produced by Stephen Evans and David Parfitt; directed by Nicholas Hytner; screenplay by Alan Bennett. 1994; color; 103 minutes. Distributor (U.S.): Samuel Goldwyn.

The establishing shot that opens *The Madness of King George* establishes more than just period and place; it sets up the principal theme Alan Bennett explores in his screenplay. The camera pans through opening doors to the behind-stage preparations for George III's opening address to Parliament. The scene is one of furious activity (a servant spits on the crown jewels to give them a final polish) and indolent inactivity (courtiers chatter among themselves in the privacy of the back room). For the king and his court, the moment captures the pivotal shift between private selves and public personae, privately preparing behind the scenes for their public moment on the political stage. Completing the transition, George playfully lifts up his daughter in a display of fatherly, private affection. He sets her down again, takes a deep breath, and sets his face into the stern mask of the ruler, stepping out to speak to the assembly that holds political power in his kingdom.

The title of this film, the story goes, was changed for American distribution from *The Madness of George III*, the title of both film and play in England, to *The Madness of King George*, so that American audiences would not think it was a sequel. Formally speaking, it is indeed not a sequel: George II was quite sane, as kings go; and, although George III's bouts of madness were recurrent, only this one is likely to be made into a film. On another level, however, it is: Bennett has used the monarchy before (and the sitting monarch at that) as a foil for his obsessive exploration of the dynamic interface between private and public lives.

In "A Question of Attribution," one of the paired plays of *Single Spies* (1988), Bennett imagined an encounter between Elizabeth II and the keeper of her pictures, Anthony Blunt (played by Bennett himself in the London premiere), the man later revealed to have been one of the Cambridge spies who provided British intelligence secrets to the Soviets. The intricate double entendres of their encounter depend on the doubled identities of both figures: Blunt, the art historian who is secretly a spy; Elizabeth II, the queen who, her schedule of public appearances interrupted, is seen in a private moment and proves quite capable of chatty informality. ("One is," notes the queen, who refers to herself in the third person, left "kicking one's heels.") She proves capable as well of posing barbed queries to Blunt. Remarking, for example, that portraits "are supposed to be frightfully revealing," showing the "secret self," she asks him if his has been painted. It has not. "So we don't know whether you have a secret self," she concludes. He defensively insists that only God lacks a secret self, because only God is "never off duty." As in *Madness*, secrecy and duty figure here as opposed terms.

Shifting his terrain from the near-present to a period setting, Bennett underlines the pivotal character of that moment in history, making it embody (in part by condensing much longer historical shifts to a single point in time) a set of interlocked transitions: in the character of the constitutional monarchy, in the self-definition of England as a nation—its American colonies just lost—but also in the sense of selfhood, the creation of the modern subject. The king becomes the focal point of these transitions, his madness the mechanism to explore the shifts in political terrain (his madness becoming the focus of party conflict and leading to questions about the institution of the monarchy) and national identity (that George is rueful and haunted at the loss of the colonies seems to spark his madness), but above all else the self-regulation that Bennett takes as the mark and the cost of modernity. In an argument that echoes Michel Foucault or, before him, and closer to Bennett's heart, the Sigmund Freud of *Civilization and Its Discontents*, *Madness* suggests that modern selfhood is constituted by the internalization of discipline and the policing of boundaries. Unlike Foucault's, Bennett's vision of this transition begins at the top: when the king learns self-discipline and self-restraint.

The transitional status of the political terrain provides the basis for the film's exploration of the divided self. This is a time when parliamentary politicians can still grumble, as if they expected otherwise, that the king did not write his own speech for the opening of Parliament,

merely reading off the words given him by William Pitt, his prime minister. At the same time, attributes of absolutism still linger, for instance, in the custom of not looking directly at the king. Those atavistic, absolutist traits create the central problem in *Madness*, as George himself best expresses it: "I order, I am not ordered. I am the verb, sir, not the object." Dr. Willis, called in to restore the king to sanity, similarly recognizes the problem: "He is the king. Where should his fancy take refuge? . . . Who's to say what's normal to a king? Deferred to, agreed with, acquiesced in. Who could stand up to such a diet of compliance?" To rule, George must himself be ruled. As Fitzroy, a member of the parliamentary opposition, puts it, "If he cannot regulate himself, how can he regulate the country?" But because he is king, finally, only he can regulate himself.

Self-regulation depends on recognizing boundaries (between private and public, conscious and unconscious). The breakdown of such boundaries precipitates George's madness. As he complains, "I talk. Talk and talk and talk. I hear the words and I have to speak them. I have to empty my head of the words." Willis's cure focuses precisely on enforcing regulation through restraint—the literal bonds with which he ties down the misbehaving king—and surveillance—"I have you in my eye" is the doctor's recurrent refrain. Willis's emphasis on discipline is rooted in the heritage of Puritanism, a point Bennett reinforces by Willis's plain dress, ignorance of theater, and use of work as therapy.

But because self-discipline is the aim, only self-revelation can restore the king. The turning point occurs when George enacts the dying scene of another mad king, Shakespeare's Lear (an example of Bennett's astute deployment of double entendre). What matters, George concludes after dying as Lear, is appearances, not deeper realities: "I've always been myself, even when I was ill. Only now I seem myself; that's the important thing. I have remembered how to seem." The secret to seeming, and the seamliness that goes with it, is the creation of a secret self, made possible by containment and restraint.

Along the way, many of the rich subplots of *Madness*—the self-serving party politics, the Prince of Wales's impatience for his chance to rule, debates about whether the monarchy is worth retaining—resonate as much with contemporary Britain as with its past. Bennett has his fun as well with the medical men of George's era. One doctor summarizes the state of medical knowledge: "Medicine is a science. It consists of observation. Whether a man's water is blue or not is neither here nor there." And *Madness* turns contemporary "family-values" rhetoric on its head with repeated suggestions that the king would have stayed sane had he led a more "normal" private life, by taking mistresses instead of remaining faithful to his wife.

But at the center of the story is the shaping of the public self. And the process completed at the film's end is not only the restoration of George's sanity but the remaking of the monarchy into its modern form: as sheer spectacle. George explains, sotto voce, to his still-sulking son, "There are model farms, model factories. We must be a model family, an example to the nation . . . Smile at the people, wave at them. Let them see that we are happy. That is why we're here." And why they are still there.

Thomas Prasch

American Historical Review

The Wonderful, Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl.

Co-producers: Hans-Jürgen Panitz, Jacques and Dimitri de Clercq, Waldemar Januszczak, and Hans-Peter Kochenrath for Omega Film, Nomad Film, Channel 4 London, and Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen. Written and directed by Ray Müller. 1993; color; 189 minutes. German with English subtitles; partial English narration. Video distributor: Kino International, 333 W 39th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018; tel. (800) 562-3330, fax 212-714-0871.

Most people interested in cinema are familiar with the career of Nazi-era film director Leni Riefenstahl, whose works have been the subject of numerous books and articles. Nevertheless, this new film biography contains many surprises and delights for the cinema enthusiast. At ninety, Riefenstahl remains an attractive and appealing figure, despite her past notoriety. She clearly dominates Ray Müller's film, although the director attempts to present a balanced and critical view of her life. The U.S. release of this film in 1993 coincided with the publication of her memoirs (*Leni Riefenstahl: A Memoir* [New York, 1993]), touching off an avalanche of new reviews and retrospective articles. Despite heavy publicity, this film received limited showings outside metropolitan centers, but its recent release in video format and showing on PBS will finally bring it the larger audience it deserves.

The film's release rekindled the old debate between those who remember Riefenstahl as a propagandist for the Nazi regime and those who admire her technical talent and undisputed genius as the greatest modern director of documentary films. *The Wonderful, Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl* splits into this same dichotomy, giving it a schizophrenic character that leaves judgment on her career to the viewer. Müller is obviously so awed by his subject that even his direct attempts to confront discrepancies in her account of the past seem to fail. The vivacious Riefenstahl manages to steal these confrontational scenes from the earnest probing of the interviewer (Müller), especially when she indulges in on-screen temper tantrums, faithfully recorded on camera. The last rebuttal is always hers.

"Art and politics," as the narrator quotes Riefenstahl saying, "are two different things." She sees herself as an artist, not a political figure, an argument seemingly supported by scenes photographed in her luxurious, art-filled modern home near Munich. She insists that she was never a party member and never said an anti-Semitic word, yet she later admits that she "believed in Hitler" until "too late" (1944 or 1945). She speaks movingly about losing her "ideals" with the collapse of Germany, without specifying what those ideals were. After showing postwar photos of the Nuba in Africa, Müller points out the continuity in Riefenstahl's admiration of the strength and beauty of the human body, echoing the famous critique of "fascist aesthetics" by Susan Sontag ("Fascinating Fascism," reprinted in *A Susan Sontag Reader* [New York, 1982], 305–25). On camera, he asks her about Sontag's theory, eliciting another outburst in which she denounces it as "Quatsch!" (nonsense). "I don't understand," she exclaims, "do you see [the Nuba] raising their right arms in a fascist salute?"

The film's opening scenes make conscious visual reference to its paradoxical title. Footage of Riefenstahl scuba diving in a peaceful underwater kingdom alternates with scenes of marching Nazis, Olympic athletes, and African dancers. Part 1 of the documentary begins with her examining old photos from a lengthy career and ends with her triumph after completing *Triumph of the Will*. Riefenstahl began her career in the 1920s as a dancer in stage productions directed by Max Reinhardt, then she made spectacular appearances in mountain films directed by Arnold Fanck. In these, she showed raw physical courage, climbing steep, snow-covered rock faces and allowing herself to be buried in avalanches. From Fanck, she learned many of her technical skills, including editing techniques using a simple apparatus he designed. The peak of her pre-Nazi career was *Blue Light* (1932), her first film as director. She appeared in the

starring role as Junta, a mysterious mountain girl who is both nature child and witch. Like herself, Riefenstahl claims, Junta is both loved and hated.

These films caught the interest of Joseph Goebbels and Adolf Hitler, which led to her later assignments filming the Nazi party days at Nuremberg. Goebbels disliked her, Riefenstahl claims, but Müller confronts her with quotations from his diaries about social occasions on which she accompanied him and others in the Nazi elite. Goebbels lied, she asserts. In the end, she made three films of party days, not just the one that became *Triumph of the Will* (*Triumph des Willens*, 1934). Her first effort, in 1933, was abortive, resulting in a short, seldom-seen film called *Victory of Faith* (*Sieg des Glaubens*). Part of the problem lay in the choreography of the event itself; the Nazis had not yet learned to march, the narrator points out. The next Nuremberg party day was planned from the start for filming, including the construction of special camera pits, a circular track around Hitler's podium for low-angle shots, and an elevator built into the flag standards for aerial shots. Riefenstahl demonstrates for Müller the editing techniques used on *Triumph of the Will*, but a gleam in her eyes as she views her favorite scenes belies her efforts to portray herself as the dispassionate expert. After months of planning, shooting, and editing, the result was a masterpiece that was awarded gold medals at pre-war film festivals in Berlin, Paris, and Venice, but it was one that would determine her fate forever.

Part 2 begins with Riefenstahl's filming of the 1936 Olympic games (*Olympia*, 1936). She revisits the stadium in Berlin, reminiscing with two of her favorite cameramen. They discuss shooting techniques, the low angles employed for pole-vaulters and divers, the special telephoto lenses used for the runners, and the aerial cameras they suspended from balloons. Riefenstahl insists that Hitler did not support this film, that he did not even want the Olympics filmed because Aryans might be beaten by athletes of other races. A significant scene shows close-ups of a Japanese marathon runner, sweating and straining to keep up the pace. Riefenstahl explains how she added the "pounding" sound of the music to match the runner's footsteps and how the close-ups revealed "the strength of the will" needed for victory.

Riefenstahl claims she paid a high price after the war for her involvement in Nazi propaganda films. Although she was cleared of any direct political involvement with the Nazi Party by a denazification court in 1947, she was effectively blacklisted from making further films. In the 1950s and 1960s, she made several trips to Africa, eventually producing a successful book of still photos of the Nuba people. In the 1970s, her companion, Horst Kettner, urged her to take up scuba diving (at age seventy). The last segment of the film shows her at ninety in scuba gear, exploring and photographing the underwater world, having escaped "fascist aesthetics" at last among the tropical fish, stingrays, and sharks.

In a final confrontation, Müller asks Riefenstahl whether she is today willing to confess her guilt in supporting the Third Reich. In a final outburst, she emphatically denies any "guilt" on her part. At film's end, Riefenstahl emerges as such a fascinating figure that it is difficult for the viewer to make a judgment. Was she a feminist pioneer (as the narrator suggests at the beginning), simply a great director, a convinced supporter of the Nazis, or possibly all three at the same time? In many ways, her personal fate was not unlike that of Germany as a whole. At best, she emerges as an enigma; at worst, as an actor who is least convincing in playing the role of her own life.

David A. Hackett

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Before the Rain. Produced by Judy Courihan, Cedomir Kolar, Sam Taylor, and Cat Villiers. Written and directed by Milcho Manchevski. 1994; color; 114 minutes. United Kingdom/Macedonia/France. Distributor: Gramercy Pictures.

The first feature film made in the Republic of Macedonia and a 1995 Academy Award nominee for Best Foreign Picture, *Before the Rain* is a visually stunning, devastating tale whose theme, according to director Milcho Manchevski (here making his feature debut) is "the vicious circle of violence—not a documentary but my personal view of a volatile, fragile time when a haphazard incident escalates into something unstoppable" (production notes, Gramercy Pictures). Composed of a Macedonian Slavic Christian majority and an Albanian Muslim minority, the country has been for centuries a site of contention among Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Serbia, each of which has at one time or another sought sovereignty over it. Macedonia declared itself independent in 1991. The only portion of the former Yugoslavia where U.S. ground troops are serving with the United Nations forces, it remains one of the few Balkan countries that has not experienced widespread Christian-Muslim bloodshed. Yet this wisely impassioned film, directed with a mature hand by thirty-five-year-old Macedonian-born Manchevski, makes conflagration appear inevitable.

"Words," the first segment of an artfully woven triptych, is shot against the background of a remote, mountainous landscape in northern Macedonia, rarely seen in motion pictures, a landscape that might have been painted by Giotto or Mantegna. The country seems adrift from history yet is so divided by bitterness that different regions experience different weather. In an Orthodox monastery, Kiril (Grégoire Colin), a young monk who has taken a vow of silence, shelters Zamira (Labena Mitevska), a sixteen-year-old Albanian Muslim girl in flight from a warmongering band of Macedonian nationalist peasants armed with Uzis. When Kiril and Zamira become lovers and are expelled from the monastery, they encounter a group of men from her family who call her "whore" and "slut" and accuse her of killing a peaceful shepherd. Zamira tries to follow Kiril but is shot down by her own brother, leaving Kiril adrift in a treacherous world.

The second segment, "Faces," is set in metropolitan London, far removed from the mythical beauty of the Macedonian sequences. Anne (Katrin Cartlidge), an art director at a photo agency (her desk strewn with Balkan atrocity pictures), discovers she is pregnant and must decide whether to return to her estranged husband, Nick (Jay Villiers), or leave him for her lover, Aleksandr (Rade Serbedzija). A glamorous but disillusioned Pulitzer Prize-winning war photographer, Aleksandr left his native Macedonia long ago. He decides to return to his homeland, and to return alone when Anne cannot make up her mind to join him. She goes to meet her husband at a sedate restaurant to tell him of her pregnancy and ask for a divorce. An unexplained argument between a Macedonian stranger and a waiter ends with the stranger being thrown out; moments later, he returns to gun down staff and guests. Anne survives but finds her husband dead.

The foreboding atmosphere turns even more threatening in the final segment, "Pictures." Aleksandr, strolling toward his native village in pastoral reverie, is suddenly confronted by an armed adolescent nationalist. While Anne tries to phone him from London, he is crossing into the Albanian Muslim quarter in search of Hana, his boyhood love. For his crossing of the increasingly rigid boundaries between ethnic communities, he is greeted with hostile mistrust by armed Muslims at a checkpoint and taunted by Christian villagers. When one of Aleksandr's cousins is found murdered, his relatives kidnap Hana's daughter Zamira (who, we remember, is the pursued girl of the first segment). Hana visits Aleksandr after dark and begs him to protect Zamira. He intervenes in the dispute but, fleeing with Zamira, is killed by one of his own cousins. Anne, dressed in white, a spectral witness to the carnage in both Macedonia and London, arrives in time to see the murder, as Zamira escapes toward the local monastery.

A stylistically accomplished film with an international cast, this parable of intertwined lives spiraling downward into social disintegration and violence brings into sharp focus the history



Aleksandr (Rade Serbedzija), a world-weary political photographer, returns to his homeland for the first time in sixteen years, in *Before the Rain*. Courtesy of Gramercy Pictures.

of warring Balkan states. Manchevski's lustrous cinematography renders the Macedonian sequences in shades of red and gold, while the less successful London segment is shot in grainy textures of blues and grays, interrogating the way images of war are aestheticized and the reporter/photographer's complicity in that process. Radio bulletins reporting a bomb explosion in Oxford Street intimate that war is not confined by geographical borders, that no place is so removed as to be immune to its violent dangers. In the earlier monastery sequences as well, the camera lingers over medieval frescoes depicting lurid plague and torment, suggesting a timeless cycle of ethnic hatred endemic to the region.

"Peace is an exception, not a rule," Aleksandr maintains. A Serb born in Croatia, and a magnetic presence in the role of Aleksandr, Rade Serbedzija has his own story, which serves as a metaphor for Manchevski's film: "I lost my native country, I lost my audience, my language" (Kristine McKenna, "From the Ashes of a Ravaged Land," *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1995). A poet, singer, and actor who had been one of Yugoslavia's most celebrated stars for two decades, Serbedzija refused to take sides in the war and was branded a traitor in every quarter. He fled to the West. "War is a virus," claims a doctor in the film, offering a paradigm for the director's objective yet intuitive exploration of uncontrollable peril. *Before the Rain* captures memorably the tragic consequences of fanatic ethnic and religious hatred. When monks who have sheltered Bosnian refugees tell the bloodthirsty avengers to turn the other cheek, they reply, "We already have . . . An eye for an eye . . . Might is right . . . He's not one of us—I'll cut his throat, it's time to avenge five centuries of our blood." Instead of blaming politicians or UN peacekeepers, or even the recurrent specter of tribal nationalism, the director seems to hold the protagonists of both sides responsible for the fratricidal war he so convincingly portrays. Like a witness transfixed in horror, *Before the Rain* observes the threat of violence infiltrating every corner of the narrative. In its mysterious yet relentless escalation, there are no innocent bystanders, and no one remains to take refuge in nonchalance or indifference.

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Featured Review

RICHARD P. SALLER. *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 249. \$54.95.

The current prominence of the Roman family as a field of research is due in large part to a series of stimulating studies written over the last decade by Richard P. Saller, whose already considerable achievements now culminate in a book of great importance for historians of Roman society. Enlarging and refining earlier statements, Saller takes as his principal theme the character of Roman patriarchy, arguing that the image of the despotic *paterfamilias* so familiar from Roman law and legend—and so appealing to family historians lacking detailed knowledge of Roman history—has little to do with historical reality: a much gentler image is necessary, one of a caring father who loved his children and who under constant awareness of his and their mortality spent much of his time securing their material well-being, both present and, especially, future.

Of the three sections into which the book is organized, the first is demographic and aims to recover the shape of the Roman life-cycle as determined by patterns of mortality, marriage, and child-bearing. A regime of late marriage for men and early marriage for women is deduced from commemorative conventions in epitaphs, but given the general absence of empirical evidence from which to work, model life tables are deployed to show the probability of high mortality and fertility. On this foundation a computer simulation of the life-course is built showing the kin universe, across time, of a reconstructed Roman population. Tables are presented of the mean number of the population's living kin, the proportion of the population with kin, and the mean age of the kin members. In consequence it becomes evident that most Roman children had lost their fathers by the time they themselves became adults, that very few men could ever have known their paternal grandfathers, and that the possibilities for three-generational families were almost nonexistent. The computer simulation, Saller jubilantly concludes, will allow histori-

ans to understand the Roman family "as never before" (p. 66).

The second section is a socio-cultural study of how Romans conceptualized the family and relations within the household. The legalistic and agnatic connotations of the term *familia* are examined to show that it was less suitable as a word to refer to the "family" in ordinary discourse than *domus*, which permitted inclusion of the wife-mother and communicated the importance of both house and household in Romans' construction of social identity. The conventional meaning of the term *pietas* as dutiful obedience of son to father is replaced with a definition emphasizing its affectionate and reciprocal connotations among all immediate family members; and *patria potestas*, again predominantly a legal phrase, is set in a demographic and social context—most adults had no fathers, who in any case did not ordinarily exploit their theoretical powers to the full—to indicate that relations between fathers and children were not oppressive. In a discussion of the exercise of authority in the household, a contrast is explored between the *pater* motivated by affectionate devotion (*pietas*) to socialize his children with reason, and the *dominus* bent on forcing obedience from his slaves through the shaming use of the whip, to produce a further indication of the need to soften the rigidly authoritarian stereotype of the Roman father.

The third section is a socio-legal study of the means by which the caring *paterfamilias* took pains to transmit property to his descendants. An examination of the law and practice of succession stresses the absence, again demographically constrained, of any desire to control property in far distant generations (as with entail) and a tendency to disburse assets fairly to immediate family members at the father's death. A link is forged between the flexibility of Roman legal instruments and the demands constantly imposed by the pressures of heavy mortality. Attention is drawn to the social and economic responsibil-

ities of guardianship in a society where up to a third of property-owning males were too young to administer their estates: guardianship was a sacred trust, with choice prompted by fathers' concern for their offspring; it brought heavy sanctions against squandering resources and so encouraged conservative economic behavior. A discussion of dowry suggests that Roman fathers did not convey to daughters their patrimonial portion at marriage but only provided sufficient means to maintain them as wives. In the context of heavy mortality, it was in the interest of the wife and her family to keep the patrimony secure for later inheritance after her husband's death.

The result is a remarkable book, impressive in its command of diverse materials and methodologies and certain to inspire further advances. By demonstrating that the stereotype of the tyrannous Roman father can no longer be maintained, it makes a lasting, if relentless, contribution to knowledge. I offer three points of commentary.

The first is the importance of nuance in accommodating all the evidence. Schematic contrasts adopted to serve a rhetorical strategy such as that between *pater* and *dominus* or *familia* and *domus* may not always have been as stark in reality as they appear on paper. From at least the time of Xenophon, slaveowners in antiquity knew that the way to elicit obedience from slaves was not by violence alone (although the element of violence in slavery can scarcely be minimized) but by a combination of rewards for and inducements to good behavior that the threat of violence overhung. Writers prescribed how this was to be done, and it is evident that prescription had some correspondence with actual behavior. Likewise, Romans who wrote about families generally knew, I think, what the Latin language meant, so that if they used the word *familia* to mean what moderns might understand as the family, they have to be taken at face value and not dismissed as irrelevant. Again, repeatedly to take Cicero's statement on family associations in *De Officiis* 1.54 as paradigmatic of all Roman family priorities over four centuries seems extreme when a later passage (1.58) gives a rather different idea. (Note, incidentally, that the *De Officiis* has very little to say about guardianship.)

Second, for all its sophistication, readers will continually have to remind themselves that the computer simulation is a fabrication that derives from an estimate of the most appropriate (all-purpose) model life table to use for Roman society, which in turn is based on subjective impressions drawn from anecdotal literary evidence describing Roman living conditions. The point is hammered home that the details of the simulation are less important than its general shape. Nonetheless, the reader is presented with eighteen pages of statistics giving items of information—as with all such projections far beyond the realm of common sense—such as that a nonelite woman with a life expectancy at birth of 25 years would have 1.3 chil-

dren at the age of 25, or that the same person at age 10 would have 0.7 of a living grandparent. Matters are much better with the tables that show proportions of the population with living kin at specific points in their lives, because this is where the high rates of the fatherless, so important for understanding legal strategies in inheritance problems, appear. The kin network that they represent is especially interesting. For the thirty-five-year-old nonelite man in Coale-Demeny Level 3 West (the life table most preferred for Roman life expectancy), the chances are very high that he is married, almost even that he has a living parent, strong that he has at least one sibling and one child of his own, fifty-fifty that he has an aunt or uncle, and strong that he has at least one nephew or niece (cousins are not included). Given that in the best-known Roman family case history, that of Cicero, it is the relations between husband and wife, father and children, brother and brother, and uncle and nephew—relations both within and without the *domus*—that are so unmistakably in evidence, it is the extensive relations with all this man's relatives (who are in fact heavily underrepresented because the tables do not allow for family reconstitution following remarriage after spousal death or divorce) that need to be explored. The possibility of assimilating the Roman family to the household can be resisted this way. (Note, again in passing, that to judge from the evidence of Roman Egypt, even the composition of the household could be complex.)

Third, the question that must remain is why the Romans continued to maintain the image of paternal authoritarianism from generation to generation if it had no relationship to social reality. Whatever the demographic truth, it was with apparent pride in its peculiarly Roman character that Gaius spoke of paternal power in his textbook of Roman law, a power that was still as meaningful in the second century A.D. as when, say, Aemilius Paullus in the second century B.C. gave his elder sons away in adoption. It is that sense of pride, of a need to preserve the father's power as a mark of Roman citizenship, that calls out for explanation, and for that statistics may not be enough. If in fact the Roman family is to be truly understood “as never before,” simulated evidence may be less helpful than the real, direct testimony of lives lived and feelings felt. The personal history of the conqueror of Perseus provides a case in point: a wide circle of kin, two marriages, separated by a divorce (perhaps for incompatibility), daughters given in marriage to splendid sons-in-law, two sets of sons, the younger lost prematurely, the older given away in adoption yet left as heirs, and a reputation, very early in the central era, as the lovingest of fathers.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

PATRICK H. HUTTON. *History as an Art of Memory*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for the University of Vermont. 1993. Pp. xxv, 229. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$16.95.

Patrick H. Hutton's book is an exercise in recollection. He has remembered the reasons why he turned to history in the first place (growing up in Princeton had something to do with this), and he wants his fellow historians to recollect their own ties to and perhaps debts to the traditions of preserving and recalling the past. He sees his project as a corrective intervention within contemporary, "postmodern" historiography. Sophisticated historians and theorists are in danger of losing their connections to the past if they study only the efforts that other people have made to maintain their ties to it. Although he respects some of the important recent work on what we might call "memory-effects," Hutton wants to remind us of the claims that memory can still make on us, if we know how to pay attention to it.

The title of Hutton's book recalls the now classic work of Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (1966). Yates showed that the Renaissance practice of mnemonic skills was not a mere technical exercise to improve the mind but rather a deep philosophical current meant to reveal basic features of the universe. The arts of memory connected people to the world, not just to their personal past. By portraying history as an art of memory, Hutton suggests that it should give us access to deep resources for understanding ourselves over time.

The book has four major themes. The first is that history is an art of memory because it mediates between unconscious habits that preserve the past in repetition and the conscious effort to represent the past in recollection. The second theme focuses on the modes of representing the past, especially after (and given) the transition from predominantly oral to predominantly literate cultures. The significance of memory shifts in relation to the changing possibilities of storage and recall. The third theme is that modern historiography after the eighteenth century is grounded in the effort to historicize collective memory. Memory remains the foundation of historical

scholarship. The fourth major theme concerns the current interest in the relation between memory and history, which Hutton sees developing precisely because of the "fading" of collective memories. Hutton wants to recall to his detached, sophisticated colleagues that even their postmodern techniques should be understood as being in the service of cultivating our attachments to the past: "Living memory is ultimately the ground of the historian's interest in the past, just as it was once the foundation of the identity of the historical actors that they now seek to understand" (p. 72).

The essays that make up this volume fit together loosely. Hutton uses crucial figures in the development of historiography (Giambattista Vico, Philippe Ariès, Michel Foucault), and decisive writers on memory (William Wordsworth, Sigmund Freud, Maurice Halbwachs), to show how modernity constructs the importance of the past, and how it establishes techniques for representing it. As he says of Vico, Hutton himself is "determined to write a history that would provide a critical perspective on collective memory, while incorporating its insights in his formulations" (p. 47). Like Ariès, Hutton has deep attachments to practices of commemoration, even though he is willing to historicize them and recognize that they always fall short of making the past present.

Hutton claims that "memory is a problem in the postmodern age because of our anxieties about the implications of our loosening attachments to the collective memories that once sustained us" (p. 71). He attributes a strategy of deconstruction to Foucault, whose concentration on rhetoric is said to diminish the importance of tradition (p. 123). Hutton worries about our failure to recognize the past that we might wish to "linger over" (p. 163), the past that still has "edifying lessons" to teach us (p. 156). But he never discusses what tools historians have to enable them to decide which lessons are edifying and which ones corrupting. He never discusses the poisonous legacies of the past that still inform the present, whether forgotten or not.

This may be the shortcoming of conceptualizing history as an art of memory. As a technique only of recall, history loses its capacity for critical evaluation and its usefulness as a facet of political consciousness.

Hutton is surely right to stress that "the past elicits our sympathy as well as our scrutiny" (p. 123), although so much depends on who is turning to the past and for what reasons. Hutton's book makes an important contribution to our understanding of why the past can be a wellspring for some, but it tells us little about why it can be an enormous burden for others.

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BERNARD LEWIS. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 217. \$25.00.

The topic "Islam and the West" challenges scholars to reconsider Western perceptions of Islam in light of the growing animosity displayed toward the West today by angered Muslims. In his treatment of the subject, Bernard Lewis presses together under one heading eleven essays of different length and, probably, time of authorship, given the apparent redundancies and his own acknowledgement of dated material in the concluding chapter. The longest essay highlights the historical relations between "Europe and Islam"; the shortest dwells on "Country and Freedom." His chapters on "Religious Coexistence and Secularism" and "The Return of Islam" provide food for thought. His "Translation from Arabic" points to the inadequacy of providing equivalents in European languages, hence misinterpretations by Western authors not familiar with Arab-Islamic terminological usages. Traditional Islam harbors no equivalents for such modern words as "fatherland" and "patriotism," terms that hold no meaning to Muslims whose primary allegiance is to the broader community of Muslims and not to nationally defined political entities.

Lewis singles out "Orientalism" for special treatment in two chapters, one relating Edward Gibbon's rather favorable portrayal of Muhammad in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and the other an outright assault on Edward Said's thought-provoking and challenging book *Orientalism* (1978). His treatment of Said's approach to the subject appears to extend their debate over the merits of Orientalism, which the two conducted in 1986 before several thousand Islamic and Middle Eastern specialists and which left many unconvinced by his assaults on Said's thesis. In this book he articulates his views more clearly and more even-handedly in giving space to the pros and cons that have elicited much debate since *Orientalism* was published. Lewis distinguishes between "good" and "bad" Orientalism, is critical where called for, and gives credit where credit is due, especially in referring to the German scholars who provided the rest of us with the tools for carrying on objective scholarship.

This book by one of the foremost scholars in our field invites the reader to view Islam as a powerful and dynamic human experience grounded in a broad-

based sociopolitical and religious tradition with growing universal appeal. What I found most exciting is his comparative cultural approach and the brilliant recall of Islamic antecedents rooted in the classical era and his juxtaposing of Islamic, Judaic, and Christian perceptions of them. Lewis stimulates our interest for a better understanding of Islam in a much deserved broader context, free of inherited medieval biases left by writers who saw Islam as a threat to Christendom. Fearing the challenge it posed, priests, abbots, and monks preached crusades rather than tolerance. To them Islam was a menace, its messenger a renegade, and its sacred text false. Islam was denied fair treatment as a major force for human enhancement, notwithstanding the rich moral and cultural legacy of the teachings passed on to Europe.

Lewis's treatment of Muslim militant fundamentalists and their "demonology" is blunt and painfully clear and can only further arouse their hostility for being labeled "terrorists." More data are needed to account for their strong antagonism toward the Judeo-Christian West in light of political disagreements today.

All told, the reader should find much to think over in this eloquently executed work by an esteemed scholar.

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CECILIA RUTHSTRÖM-RUIN. *Beyond Europe: The Globalization of Refugee Aid*. (Lund Studies in International History, number 30.) Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press. 1993. Pp. 304. 120 KR.

Cecilia Ruthström-Ruin's study on the evolution of the mandate of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) continues the pattern of research and scholarship that is the hallmark of Lund University's seminal project, *Uprooted by the War*, directed by Göran Rystad. Earlier works concentrated on the origins of today's refugee regime; Ruthström-Ruin moves into the more recent past to examine an apparent footnote of the mid-twentieth century, the moment when UNHCR, faced with the flight of refugees from the anticolonial war in Algeria, ceased its purely European concern and turned toward the refugees in the developing world. Even though the UN General Assembly endowed the office with a universal mandate in 1950, its first years of operations were exclusively European. Ruthström-Ruin rightly identifies the Algerian crisis as a watershed in the orientation of UN refugee operations; as she notes, many later commentators have either ignored that moment or accepted the official UNHCR interpretation without demur.

Using recently declassified archival material in London, Paris, and Washington, as well as interviews with officials (including August Lindt, the high commissioner of the day), the author provides a summary of

the background to the "terribly bitter conflict" (p. 66) in Algeria, which not only resulted in suffering and flight of the civilian population on a massive scale but also contributed to strong international repercussions. In chapter 3 she examines "eligibility and causes of flight," using "eligibility" for the question of whether those fleeing Algeria in fact came within the "mandate" or "jurisdiction" of UNHCR, whose statute was primarily directed at those who fled or were outside their country because of a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion.

Earlier explanations attributed UNHCR's involvement with Algerian refugees to a "good offices" basis. Those who left Algeria did not have a "well-founded fear of persecution," and were therefore not refugees in a legal sense; they were assisted because they had fled a general situation of violence and were outside their own country and in need.

Ruthström-Ruin shows persuasively that this interpretation is "incomplete, and partly incorrect" (pp. 103–04). Following an on-site investigation in Tunisia, the high commissioner initially decided that the Algerians were indeed within the mandate, only to change tack later. For whatever reason, there never seems to have been any unanimity even within UNHCR. What seems fairly certain, as more recent experience confirms, is that the politics of good relations tend to prevail over legal niceties and positions of principle. This is so even when the refusal to espouse reasonably clear and consistent criteria of protection and assistance leads to confusion at field level, for example, in registration, the provision of assistance to "refugees," repatriation, enumeration, and fund raising.

UNHCR got away with its inconsistencies because it satisfied client governments, including those who, although critical of French policy in Algeria, either did not want France accused of persecution or were themselves uncertain whether Algerians who fled were "refugees." Ruthström-Ruin concludes that this approach, while it helped UNHCR expand into the developing world and to help new groups of refugees, nevertheless also entailed a disproportionate growth in donor influence, and even a perceived substantive distinction between "true" refugees from the east and those with lesser claims on our humanity in the south. Recent developments seem to confirm this analysis, although donor support has always been essential, no matter the origin or causes of refugee movement. In the 1920s, governments were so uninterested in material relief that it was left exclusively in the hands of charities and private voluntary organizations. Today's problem is to identify the sufficient political interest in contributing to the relief or resolution of refugee problems.

The author's call for an updating and redefinition of refugee law is unlikely by itself to lead to less discretion or more consistency, although there are many other good reasons for both states and UNHCR

to move away from the highly individualistic approach to the refugee question adopted in 1950–51. Although somewhat heavy going at times, Ruthström-Ruin's book nevertheless provides a timely historical dimension to current debate. Whether the appropriate lessons will be drawn is another matter.

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ERIC JONES *et al.* *Coming Full Circle: An Economic History of the Pacific Rim.* (Essays in World History.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xv, 188. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$12.95.

This book's title refers to the shift of the world economic center from Song China (960–1279) to the Atlantic economy and now back again to the Pacific Rim. The authors point out that the Pacific Rim is as much a geographical entity as an idea, meaningful only in terms of the human relationships that can tie it together. Despite increasingly frequent efforts, however, the region was never wholly integrated. The authors examine when and where economic growth has occurred around the rim: intensive development in Song China; Spanish domination of the Pacific from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries; market expansion and integration under Pax Britannica; increasing Western presence and rising American interest leading to the American century; the recent meteoric rise of the Japanese and East Asian economies.

The authors persuasively reject explanations of the differential performances of economies based on geographical, cultural, and demographic determinism. The Aztec and Incan civilizations could not have been seriously handicapped by environmental limits such as the north-south orientation of the American land mass (which slows down the diffusion of useful plants and animals), since both attained a high level of social and technical development. Confucianism, with its advocacy of hard work, thrift, and concern for education, cannot account for the postwar takeoff of East Asia, since much of the region failed to develop earlier. Moreover, culture cannot explain why different regions within the same cultural area vary in economic performance. Overpopulation in pre-Columbian America and China did not present obstacles to development, since both regions supported higher densities later, suggesting that the lack of agricultural innovations was the bottleneck.

Instead, the authors make the sensible argument that entrepreneurial and technological talent could be found anywhere and that failures to achieve economic breakthroughs should be attributed to lack of incentives to invent and to use known techniques for market production. Governments or political systems can be the source of disincentives through rent-seeking behavior such as monument construction and military build-ups, or they can reduce risk and en-

courage innovations and market extensions by the provision of services and infrastructure and by appropriate fiscal policies. The key factor in determining whether an economy will undergo development is thus the relationship between the government and the market.

Nevertheless, why some governments and political elites promote growth while others remain rent-seekers is not fully explained. Why did the Song state succeed to bring about intensive development while later Chinese dynasties merely replicated the system? Why in the nineteenth century did the Chinese state show a lack of "consistent and open-minded political will" (p. 62) to reform while the Japanese government demonstrated an unparalleled desire to catch up with the West? How did a tradition of "winner-take-all" politics (p. 85) prevail in Latin America, leading to political instabilities and aborted economic breakthroughs?

There are a few errors and omissions. Hong Kong was not leased by the British for 150 years (p. 62) but ceded by China. In the Qing joint responsibility system, it was Chinese compradors, not foreign managers, who joined with Chinese officials in running the enterprises (p. 123). There is only cursory mention of transnational Chinese capitalism, surely one of the most significant integrative forces of the rim. The recent emergence of the Greater China Economic Sphere, created by the complementarity of the capital of Taiwan, the financial know-how of Hong Kong, and the labor and natural resources of mainland China, is not treated. The inclusion of more statistical tables (there is only one) would have enhanced the volume's usefulness and buttressed some of the authors' arguments. Their prediction that the current core relationship between the United States and Japan will give way to one between China and Japan, for instance, could have been tested by trade and investment statistics. Still, this book can be recommended as a concise and often insightful introduction to the Pacific Rim.

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STEFAN KÜHL. *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 166. \$22.00.

Stefan Kühl has both a historical and a contemporary agenda. He aims to show how eugenics in the United States was an important role model for German racial policies; to correct the lack of research into "the collaboration between Nazi racial hygienists and their colleagues in other countries" (p. xvi) and the use by the Nazis of these relationships for propaganda; to describe "how eugenic laws in the United States influenced discussions among German eugenicists in the Weimar Republic"; to show the admiration by American eugenicists for Nazi policies after 1933 and their shared ideology; to examine how American

eugenicists "helped to stabilize the Nazi regime" and were used by the Nazis for propaganda; and to describe the continuity of the racist approach into the postwar period. Kühl criticizes historians of eugenics in the United States for underestimating the support among American scientists and eugenicists of Nazi policies. The book is framed by a purpose to "illustrate the present-day relevance of the historical relationship between American eugenicists and Nazi racial hygienists by exploring recent developments in scientific racism" (p. xvii).

This is a tall order. Any part of Kühl's agenda could provide the topic for extensive research, and one wonders how to read this volume (104 pages of text in small format). Although Kühl provides some new data, his book lacks the extensive details needed to substantiate these claims. Kühl describes the connections of a handful of Americans to Nazi Germany, but he does not uncover any major contact that those historians he criticizes for overlooking these connections (primarily Daniel Kevles) had not described in the past. The most "important" connections he shows—Harry H. Laughlin, Clarence G. Campbell, and even Paul Popenoe and Eugene Gosney of California—have been described previously. But more significantly, Kühl ignores their limited stature during the 1930s.

The other main shortcoming of the book is that it treats its sources at face value. Overlooking the specific audience or conventional norms in correspondence leads him, I believe, to overinterpret the sources. Thus, one request by "one of Hitler's staff" (p. 85) for a copy of a book from an American eugenicist and another thank-you note turn into "Hitler's personal correspondence with American eugenicists," which Kühl claims "reveals both the influence that American eugenicists had on the highest figures of the Nazi regime and the crucial importance that National Socialists placed on garnering support for their politics among foreign scientists" (p. 86).

There is no doubt that affinities between American racists and Nazis existed. Furthermore, when the Nazi burning of books faced international condemnation, few paid attention to widespread lynching in the United States. Neither did the widespread and horrifying sterilization, primarily in California, receive the appropriate political or historical scrutiny, and its impact should never be underestimated. Notwithstanding the widespread appeal—especially political—of racism in both countries, there seems to have been few direct connections between the Nazi regime and leaders of American science (even if "leaders" is defined broadly). Kühl also does not discuss the declining significance of eugenics from its height during the 1920s in the United States. As a result, Kühl constructs, far in excess of the evidence, an international racist ring with a prominence and continuity that transcended changes of political regimes and historical periods.

I have no doubt that Kühl's project is important and his intentions commendable. His efforts to show that the genealogy of the pernicious contemporary racism extends back to the darkest moments of the century are indispensable. Furthermore, highlighting the problematics of current claims by sociobiologists and others who argue for genetic explanations of cultural and social issues is an essential component of contemporary scientific and political debates. These claims, however, are not only historically not substantiated in this book, but the polemical historical construction is also politically misguided. To argue that there is no difference between Nazi science and politics and American eugenics mainliners is to play into the hands of Ernst Nolte and his ilk who, after all, argued in the *Historikertreit* for the "normalization" of the Nazi regime.

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ANN SHOLA ORLOFF. *The Politics of Pensions: A Comparative Analysis of Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1880-1940*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 381. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book presents a comprehensive, erudite, and compelling account of how, when, and why poor relief was replaced by modern social insurance and pensions for the elderly. Among its features is the explanation given for the obvious contrast in the timing of pensions legislation among the three countries referred to in its title. Entering a field of scholarship by no means unoccupied—the past decade has seen a burgeoning literature devoted to pensions policy and old-age security—Ann Shola Orloff succeeds by adopting a distinctive stance and in challenging positions widely embraced by other scholars.

One of the book's two major themes is that of policy legacy: the tendency for policies introduced at one point to become determinants of options debated and decisions made. Orloff maintains that the larger socioeconomic and demographic transformations that affected the elderly, beginning in the nineteenth century, did not directly determine pension policy outcomes but instead exerted an indirect influence in fostering new attitudes at both the elite and popular levels. The legacy from which modern social provision began to emerge in the middle of that century was the "old" English poor-law system, whose origins dated back two centuries. The break from traditional forms of social provision took the form partly of new legislation (especially Great Britain's Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 that applied to the United Kingdom as well to English Canada), and partly of new thinking, quickly crystallizing into orthodoxy, concerning how best to achieve uplift and moral betterment among needy and indigent individuals.

Orloff points out that the policy reformulations of

this period were generally unsuccessful and, in fact, deleterious. The "scientific charity" movement's successful campaign to secure abolition of the traditional British and North American outdoor relief system, with its cash and in-kind payments to eligible beneficiaries, in favor of indoor relief, as embodied in poor houses, alms houses, and other eleemosynary institutions, ultimately exacerbated the very problems it aimed to correct. Likewise, the newly adopted family responsibility laws had the unforeseen consequence of burdening the already fragile circumstances of low-income wage earners, with little or no compensating gain for elderly family members.

With distress among the elderly remaining widespread, and with the early reforms now viewed as mostly ineffective, the elderly soon came to be regarded, Orloff notes, as a social and political problem. The response on the part of concerned citizens took the form of political mobilization; Britain, Canada, and the United States all at this point witnessed the formation of cross-class coalitions comprised of liberal political entrepreneurs, social reformers, and working-class groups operating within and outside the legislatures. These coalitions took some time to form, as participants were obliged to rethink long-held positions, including a basic antipathy toward addressing social problems through the state. Still, in the end it was the coalition's objectives, not those of their conservatively inclined opponents, that carried the day.

Yet this shift in public policy, while fundamental, was by no means a total departure from past practice. The policy legacies in the three countries continued to be manifested in the newly adopted measures, with traditional and newer approaches blended together in novel and complex ways.

A second major theme in Orloff's account is that of policy capacity: the state's ability to initiate or manage relatively complex tasks. Where the level of such capacity is high, officials are inclined to intervene positively; where it is low or nonexistent, such intervention is likely to be delayed if not entirely avoided. Orloff employs this theme to explain why Britain became the first of the countries to enact modern social insurance, a generation and more before either of the other two. The United States became fully democratized early in its national development, with the result that the federal bureaucracy soon was exploited by whatever party held office and corruption and inefficiency followed. Britain, however, essentially removed party patronage from its politics prior to democratization. Orloff stresses the willingness of reformers in Britain to entrust the administration of pension benefits to state bureaucrats, while also embracing state intervention. In the United States, reformers were adamantly opposed to similar proposals, fearing the evils of patronage dominance. Orloff views the Progressive movement as the force chiefly responsible for the delay of more than a quarter century, beyond what might reasonably have

been expected, in the United States' adoption of modern social insurance.

Orloff challenges two views prevalent in the literature: first, the thesis that a given country's prevailing national ethos or ideology (for example, liberal individualism in the United States) is a powerful predictor of the timing and content of pension legislation; and second, the "corporate liberalism" thesis, which holds that sectors of monopoly capital offered crucial support for the U.S. Social Security Act and were compensated for that in the form of various accommodations agreed to by the Franklin Roosevelt administration. On the basis of a close scrutiny of relevant documents, the author disputes both these contentions.

Readers seeking to inform themselves about the specifics of pension programs and the legislative struggles that directly preceded their adoption should look elsewhere to satisfy their curiosity. Such are not Orloff's concerns. Instead she offers a profound understanding of the historical forces, including but not limited to bureaucratic capacity, behind the adoption of such measures. The book is a major contribution to the literature on social provision and a notable intellectual achievement.

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CATHARINE ANNE WILSON. *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants, and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History, number 17.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 313. \$39.95.

Historians have long regarded the freehold family farm as the standard form of rural settlement in frontier North America. This book does not challenge that assumption, but Catharine Anne Wilson argues that tenancy was an important alternative for a significant proportion of pioneer farmers, particularly immigrants. A census of Upper Canada (Ontario) in 1848, for example, suggests that 45 percent of all landholders were tenants. Wilson examines this phenomenon through a detailed study of a small group of Irish immigrants from the Ards Peninsula in County Down who settled on Amherst Island in eastern Lake Ontario between around 1820 and 1860. Like European immigrants everywhere, they came from a farming tradition where landlords were powerful and tenancy ubiquitous. It has generally been assumed that in the New World, where land was abundant and cheap, immigrants rapidly became owners of the farms they operated. This book offers a more cautionary view.

Wilson follows the careers of two Irish landlords, Lord Mount Cashell and his successor Major Maxwell, who owned large estates in both the north and south of Ireland and on Amherst Island. She compares estate management between these places and particularly the complex web of relationships between

landlords and tenants. When Mount Cashell inherited his Irish lands—a massive 60,000 acres in counties Cork and Antrim—in 1822, the Irish estate economy was in serious difficulty. Much of his property was still held in long leases at low fixed rents. This was considerably to the advantage of tenants in the period of escalating farm prices and land values during the Napoleonic wars. Subletting and subdividing by farmers were rampant, estates had become hopelessly overcrowded, the soils were exhausted due to overcropping, and rental arrears mounted during the economic depression that followed the war.

An improving and evangelical landlord, Mount Cashell actually borrowed capital to acquire Amherst Island, an estate of some 16,500 acres, in 1835. The motivations for such an investment were mixed, but an estate overseas offered a fresh start to introduce new methods of management and create a landed property that would be "Protestant & profitable" (p. 46). He hoped in the process to preserve and perhaps enhance family status, even settling some younger sons there. The core of this book addresses the question of what happened to a deeply entrenched Old World tenurial system in the radically new conditions of a North American frontier. This theme has been largely neglected in the extensive literature on landholding. Wilson's study is a seminal contribution, essential reading for all scholars in this specialist field. It is the type of book that invites similar studies of other places or groups in pioneer North America.

Wilson's conclusions, based on prodigious research on both sides of the Atlantic, differ substantially from standard interpretations and assumptions. Densely forested land was difficult for the inexperienced Irish to clear and, at three to five pounds per improved acre, expensive to buy. Mount Cashell and Maxwell could offer poor immigrants long leases at 3 shillings per acre, compared to a staggering 60 shillings in County Down. Newcomers tended to opt wherever possible for leases on lots with small cleared patches close to kin or neighbors from home. They used their limited capital to purchase seed, livestock, and tools. This set the stage for the introduction of a surprising range of typical Old World landlord practices: an administrative hierarchy drawn largely from Mount Cashell's and Maxwell's Irish estate network, a rudimentary village, a glebe house and land, clergy, a doctor, better transportation, and improved breeds of livestock. In contrast to Ards, however, where tenancy was a way of life, most pioneers in Amherst ultimately became freeholders. Wilson's main point is that, for sound economic reasons, the process was much more gradual than postulated in the literature. And on an island where the population trebled, the amount of improved land quadrupled, and its value increased eightfold during Mount Cashell's ownership alone, the colonial estate was an economic success.

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ANCIENT

ALAN E. BERNSTEIN. *The Formation of Hell: Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 392. \$32.50.

The author of this superb study on the development of the concept of hell explains to his readers that it began as an introductory section of a history of hell in the Middle Ages, but because the medieval writers continually refer to the Bible and the church fathers, it was necessary to study the earlier period in greater detail. Once involved in the writings of the early church, Alan E. Bernstein was forced to study the pagan mythology and philosophy that the Christians rejected or accepted. Consequently a separate volume developed on the early Christian teaching of hell.

Bernstein defines hell as "a divinely sanctioned place of eternal torment for the wicked" (p. 3). Although one naturally associates this belief with Christian theology, in reality it gradually emerged from many conflicting sources that were found in the Mediterranean region beginning over a millennium before Christ. In order to trace these ideas the author depends on a comparative view of the philosophy, theology, poetry, folklore, and myth of these times. He draws on sources from Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Israel as well as the early Christian community to reconstruct the story of the various poets, priests, and religious leaders who fashioned concepts of hell based on ideas of death and justice. The material on the Mesopotamian and Egyptian views of the hereafter is presented in the introduction, while the bulk of the book consists of four major sections. The first deals with Greco-Roman views and the second with the teaching of ancient Judaism. Both of these emphasize, although independently, a tension between neutral death and moral death. In neutral death all live on without distinction between the good and the evil. In moral death the good are rewarded and the evil are punished. Sections three and four of the book consider Christian thought. They demonstrate how the authors of the New Testament and the early Christian writers developed their ideas by choosing between options that had already been offered.

In all of these treatments Bernstein focuses on the fate of the wicked dead. What happens to such people if they prosper in this life and die at the height of their wealth and power? Unless one accepts some idea of justice being meted out in an afterlife, there would appear to be no moral order in the universe. In each of these cultures with which the author deals, some aspect of postmortem justice is provided for.

A major strength of the book is the author's rejection of the idea of a single progression from "primitive" views toward some perfect or more sophisticated position. This is especially noticeable in his discussion of Judaism. He explains that several views about the wicked were expressed simultaneously in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), including

sublimated vengeance, the Deuteronomic system, messianism, and apocalypticism.

The book's last section, which deals with the Christian formulation of the doctrine of hell, includes perceptive explanations of the teachings of Origen and Augustine. Origen, influenced by Neoplatonism, believed that after the wicked were punished for their sins they would be liberated by God and restored to glory. Augustine, however, taught that hell involved eternal punishment. In both cases the Christian hell is unique because it is administered by a divine judge who is absolutely just and who died as an innocent victim in the place of those who ought to be condemned. Whoever believes in Christ is delivered from judgment. The inclusion of faith adds a fascinating dimension to the teaching of eternal punishment. It is hard to define faith and it makes hell a far greater menace for those who deny the belief system of Christianity.

This book is an outstanding account of a central image of Western thought and should be of interest to students of history, religion, literature, philosophy, and mythology. Some years ago Jeffrey Burton Russell wrote four volumes that traced the devil in Western belief. Perhaps Bernstein will equal that achievement with four volumes on hell.

ROBERT G. CLOUSE
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MEDIEVAL

FRANCO FRANCESCHI. *Oltre il "Tumulto": I lavoratori fiorentini dell'Arte della Lana fra Tre e Quattrocento*. (Biblioteca di Storia toscana moderna e contemporanea, number 38.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1993. Pp. viii, 375. L. 44,000.

Franco Franceschi has written a superb study of the Florentine woolworkers in the half-century after the Ciompi Revolution. This valuable book overflows with important new data expertly gleaned from archival sources and carefully integrated into a major interpretation of the diminished social tensions within the textile industry in the early fifteenth century. The woolworkers of Florence are best known for their role in the famous revolt of 1378, and historians from Niccolò Rodolico and Alfred Doren nearly a century ago have investigated the structures and evolution of the industry and its often turbulent workers in the fourteenth century. Franceschi shifts the focus to the half-century after the Ciompi revolt and offers a richly articulated analysis of the complex array of workers and artisans, the forms of their employment, and their material existence.

Part 1 begins with an inquiry into production trends. Following an expansionary phase from the 1350s to the 1370s, the industry gradually contracted. By the 1430s, annual production had fallen more than 60 percent from the levels of the early 1370s (pp. 6-16). After describing the system of production,

which began with the preparation of the wool by the wage-earning Ciompi in the shops of the merchant-entrepreneurs who controlled the guild, Franceschi devotes the central section of his study (part 2) to an analysis of the many categories of artisans and salaried workers: skilled and occasionally affluent artisans (like the dyers) who had their own shops; wage-earners, some of whom worked for the merchant-entrepreneurs and others for independent artisans; and much poorer artisans (chiefly spinners and weavers, many of them women) who worked in their own homes. Using tax and guild records with a level of precision and comprehensiveness never previously brought to these questions, Franceschi studies the many specialized subcategories, their size, distribution throughout the city, professional mobility, and forms of employment and remuneration. Particularly noteworthy is his assessment (pp. 100–06) of the overall decline of the workforce: in 1378–79, one-third of all employed heads of households worked in some branch of the woolen cloth industry; by 1427, in a population smaller by 30 percent, only one in six employed household heads worked in the industry. Thus the contraction of the industry significantly exceeded that of the general population.

In part 3 Franceschi turns to the living conditions of the woolworkers: the length of the workday; the number of working days in a year; the evolution of wages and piece rates; the buying power of workers' incomes; the varied sources of family incomes; fiscal pressures; the burden of chronic indebtedness; living quarters, furnishings, and clothing; and the range of workers' social relations and the forms of their sociability. These are some of the book's most fascinating pages and they are full of intriguing surprises. My favorite is the account of a dyer who not only had a room he called a "scrittoio" but also possessed a number of books, including copies of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Ovid's "Pistole" (p. 289).

Franceschi shows that wages and piece rates were declining in the early fifteenth century; for the Ciompi he calculates the drop at 15–20 percent (p. 247). But since prices too were on the decline, as much as 25 percent in the first third of the fifteenth century (p. 264), the crucial factor in a worker's ability to maintain his standard of living was an often absent continuity of employment. Consequently, many unskilled workers lived at subsistence levels. In 1427, 53 percent of the registered woolworkers (64 percent of the Ciompi and 78 percent of the spinners and weavers) were declared by the Catasto officials to be exempt from tax because of their inability to pay anything at all (p. 273).

So why, given these grim realities, did conflicts between woolworkers and merchant-entrepreneurs (and their guild) actually diminish? Franceschi argues (pp. 328–31) that declining production led entrepreneurs to depend less on the stable employment of wage-earners and more on short-term hiring on a piece-work basis. This, he claims, increased

productivity, reduced the need for close supervision, decentralized production, and led to more autonomy for individual workers. The trends of the first half of the fourteenth century—centralization of the stages of production, formation of stable wage-earning work forces in each shop, minute supervision of workers, and the proletarianization of artisans—all went into reverse with the severe contraction of the industry around 1400. Declining production also meant surplus labor, falling wages, and chronic underemployment. In these conditions, workers competed for employment, lost much of their sense of professional solidarity, and even looked to their employers for assistance and a "personalization" of ties (p. 331) to get through periods of unemployment.

In these circumstances organized conflict between entrepreneurs and workers disappeared. Only among certain groups of artisans that maintained some sense of professional solidarity does Franceschi find occasional collective expressions of purely economic grievances in the fifteenth century. One may wonder whether he has not underestimated the element of repression in the apparently greater social peace after 1400, but this marvelous book and its intriguing central hypothesis deserves the close attention of all students of late medieval urban society and economy.

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MODERN EUROPE

DAVID M. GOLDFRANK. *The Origins of the Crimean War*. (Origins of Modern Wars.) New York: Longman. 1994. Pp. xiv, 344.

The literature on the Crimean War, already large, continues to grow. In English alone we have seen in the past generation substantial contributions: Paul Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War* (1972); Ann Pottinger Saab, *The Origins of the Crimean Alliance* (1977); John S. Curtiss, *Russia's Crimean War* (1979); Norman Rich, *Why the Crimean War? A Cautionary Tale* (1985). Schroeder concentrated on English and Austrian documents, especially unpublished manuscripts. Curtiss concentrated on Russian materials, including the limited selections of manuscripts available to him at the time of his work. Saab achieved a minor revolution in research in Ottoman Turkish archives, and Rich did specialists and nonspecialists alike a great favor in writing a short, thoughtful, and provocative survey of the subject.

Few publishers have made a better contribution to historical literature in English recently than the Longman Publishing Group of London. It is in the Longman series, "The Origins of Modern Wars," that David M. Goldfrank's study of the Crimean debacle appears. Limiting himself chronologically, as the criteria of the series oblige him to do, to a smaller part of the war than many of his predecessors, Goldfrank has examined an extraordinarily wide selection of

literature and source materials. He has worked in twenty-three major archival collections in eleven countries (or former countries, such as Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia). His most important new contribution consists of unusually extensive work in Russian archives, including several that were virtually inaccessible until the advent of glasnost: Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossii (Archive of the Foreign Policy of Russia), Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv (Central State Military History Archive), Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv voennomorskogo flota (Central State Naval Archive), and several others. Some of the documents that he cites from Russian repositories (for example, the diary of Prince Alexander Menshikov, Nicholas I's special plenipotentiary to Constantinople on the eve of the war) have not been used by Goldfrank's eminent Russian forebears, including Eugene Tarle and A. M. Zaionchkovskii. In short, in terms of the originality of the research and the profusion of new documentation, here is an unusually fresh contribution to the literature.

Unfortunately, the presentation of the research findings is not so successful as the exploitation of source materials. Perhaps a nearly pure narrative style is not the clearest mode of exposition when drawing documents, personalities, and events from half a dozen major national capitals and several other sources. The story is overloaded with references. They are, of course, explained at some point in the text, but readers who do not already know the subject thoroughly will find them more difficult to follow chapter after chapter than the author does: for example, document "No. 132" (chap. 13), the "Examen" (chaps. 14, 15), the "Bourqueney expedient" (chaps. 12–15, 18). In other words, the text is difficult, and at times it makes the story hard to comprehend. The book has not benefited from rigorous editing.

Although the story told is complex, Goldfrank's assessment of responsibility for the coming of this tragic war is a good deal simpler. Nicholas's responsibility is emphasized. Schroeder, Saab, Curtiss, and Rich—not to mention V. N. Vinogradov and his colleagues at the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences—distribute the responsibility more widely.

Several developments on the road to the Crimean War allow an interpretation that exonerates the Russians, and Nicholas in particular, of exclusive responsibility for it: Nicholas's conversations with his British counterparts in London during his visit of 1844 (in which he said plainly that he sought to preserve the Ottoman empire as long as possible); his conversations in the same spirit with the British ambassador, Sir Robert Seymour, in the spring of 1853; his similar assurances to the French ambassador, the Marquis de Castelbajac, the following summer; and the Russian acceptance and Turkish rejection of the "Vienna note" of July 1853 composed by the other great

powers in a genuinely serious effort to avert the crisis. Goldfrank, drawing in part on new documents, emphasizes other factors and presents contrary conclusions. He devotes special attention to the role of four principals, Nicholas, Napoleon III, Lord Palmerston, and Stratford Canning. Palmerston and Stratford, he finds, exerted themselves to expand the scope of the war after it began but did not encourage its outbreak. Neither does he find decisive Napoleon's selection of war with Russia, the backbone of the coalition that imposed the Vienna settlement of 1815, as the best means of breaking the *cordon sanitaire* around France in order to facilitate the adventurist pursuit of *idées Napoléoniennes* all over Europe, the Near East, and as far afield as Mexico.

The documentary notes are clear and informative. The annotated bibliography is useful. The index is detailed and conscientious. The introductory chapters sketch the context of the crisis in a fashion appropriate and interesting, and the final chapter, on the consequences of the war, is also stimulating. Four maps useful for reference to both diplomatic and military developments are appended. A second edition, carefully edited, would be most welcome. The research is not to be neglected.

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JUAN AVILÉS FARRÉ. *Pasión y farsa: Franceses y británicos ante la Guerra Civil Española*. (Estudios de historia contemporánea.) Madrid: Eudema. 1994. Pp. 229.

Here is a well-researched, well-presented synthesis, based on Spanish, French, and British archives as well as many secondary works, of the reaction of the two leading European democracies to the war in Spain. That Britain was divided was revealed in the eponymous work of K. W. Watkins (*Britain Divided* [1963]). That France was even more divided was shown in my own *Les Français et la Guerre d'Espagne* (1975). Juan Avilés Farré's work confirms earlier findings, with some new material and with a minimum of errors. The following are nevertheless misspelled: Victor Gollancz (p. 63), Samuel Beckett (p. 121), Max Rieger (p. 172), as well as Berchtesgaden (p. 42), Chichester (p. 61), and NKVD (throughout). A more serious flaw is in the presentation of the sources. These are regularly heaped together at the end of each paragraph, preventing the reader from distinguishing between the primary material and the rest. Neither do the notes present any counter-arguments, so that everything is served up cut and dried.

Avilés shows the myriad ways in which British and French policy and opinions were divided. In England the political differences between conservatives and socialists were subordinated to democratic tradition, but in France the 1936 elections had polarized the country and the supporters of Benito Mussolini and V. I. Lenin were legion. The crux of the matter for

both democracies was to understand which of the two totalitarian systems presented the greater danger. Axis intervention worried both governments. In 1937 Anthony Eden had reached the conclusion that a Republican victory was preferable (p. 83), and Sir Robert Vansittart was convinced that a victory by Francisco Franco would be disastrous for England (p. 179), but Eden and his successor Lord Halifax still held to a strict neutrality, refusing to give belligerent rights to either side and showing more concern about keeping France from intervening than about putting an end to Axis intervention. The socialist and liberal opposition, although sympathetic to the Republican cause, was similarly opposed to the extremists and put peace above anything, thus dooming the Republic. Franco's representative in London, the Duke of Alba, was a source of massive disinformation. British policy, he reported, was in the hands of the international masonic-Jewish lobby (p. 150), and the loud reaction of the London press to *Kristallnacht* proved it (p. 173). His guarantee, published in *The Times*, that a Nationalist victory would be followed by total religious freedom in Spain (p. 126) was on a par with the assurance given to the British envoy in Burgos that Franco's greatness of spirit constituted a guarantee of postwar clemency to all Republicans apart from criminals (p. 183).

In France, the situation was more complex. Whether led by Léon Blum, Camille Chautemps, or Édouard Daladier, the government was much closer in sympathy to the Republic (and more concerned than England was about Italian designs on Majorca), but they all knew that intervention would lead to an internal crisis and to France's isolation. Avilés shows that if it had not been for the passivity of the British and French governments, despite their naval superiority, Italy and the Spanish Nationalists would not have taken the risk of intercepting Soviet and other supplies by sea. On this matter Avilés might have made more of the Nyon Arrangement which put an end to the "mysterious sinkings." Although he shows that the British Admiralty had proof of Italy's guilt by breaking the Italian codes (p. 107), there is no mention of Dino Grandi's private confession to Eden and Charles Corbin that Italy, for one, wanted at that point to put an end to its intervention in Spain.

In comparing public reaction in the two democracies, Avilés notes some further divisions. Anglican conservatives could not overlook the persecution of the Spanish Protestants, while the British Catholics were divided like the French, even if the dissentients had no Jacques Maritain or François Mauriac to lead them. Yet they had no José Bergamín posturing as a Catholic. British intellectuals had no Brasillach, but they outnumbered their French counterparts in volunteering for the Brigades. Another curious distinction is seen in the realm of artistic expression: in English, it is in the form of poetry (W. H. Auden and Stephen Spender for the Left, Roy Campbell for the Right), whereas in French it is the novel (André

Malraux for the Left, Pierre Drieu La Rochelle for the Right).

Avilés concludes by quoting Jean Zay: French intervention had been insufficient to save the Republic but sufficient to earn the enmity of Franco. As for Franco, he quotes Henri Morel: the year 1939 was the centennial of the Abrazo de Vergara, and it could have served as a model for a new reconciliation if Franco had been endowed with intelligence instead of blinded by hatred.

DAVID WINGEATE PIKE

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ROGER B. MANNING. *Hunters and Poachers: A Cultural and Social History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 255. \$45.00.

Deer poaching in late-medieval and early modern England has long attracted the attention of historians who have produced a considerable body of work on the subject. Roger B. Manning's book is a worthy addition to the literature that shows how deeply deer hunting was embedded in Tudor-Stuart life, especially among the nobility and gentry.

The rich evidence for illegal hunting that Manning presents, drawn largely from court records (particularly those of Star Chamber and the Duchy Court of Lancaster), amply demonstrates the widespread temporal, geographical, and social range of illegal hunting. But he also shows that hunting was an activity particularly associated with the nobility and upper gentry, who had yet to be weaned from habits of violence. Not only was it a sport designed to develop skills in riding and handling weapons that would be useful in war but also many of the associated rituals and symbols were military in origin. I am not entirely persuaded by Manning's point that hunting was a symbolic substitute for war. Given the real violence and bloodshed involved in some large poaching raids, which included attacks on keepers who were responsible for protecting deer, it is difficult to regard them simply as symbolic actions. Perhaps large-scale aristocratic hunting affrays are better described as warlike.

The strength of the book lies in the presentation of extensive detailed examples. When the author attempts to draw out the significance of deer poaching he is on less-secure ground. In an effort to connect illegal hunting to larger political issues Manning argues that, in comparison with the Tudor period, it became more common during the reigns of the first two Stuarts to prosecute poachers in Star Chamber, while the number of prosecutions at assizes and quarter session declined. This change reflected, in Manning's view, the Stuarts' aim to defend vigorously their own hunting rights and those of their aristocratic clients. The result was the growing unpopularity of the court as an instrument of royal prerogative power. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the Tudors were less likely to employ Star Chamber

prosecutions than the Stuarts in the face of the threat posed to public order by some aristocratic-led hunting affrays. Indeed, some of the most violent episodes described in the book are documented from the records of the Elizabethan Star Chamber.

For the argument regarding the Stuarts' increased reliance on Star Chamber to be convincing the author should have offered more evidence than he does, such as a systematic comparison of the numbers and kinds of illegal hunting cases contained in the surviving Star Chamber records from the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Since the court's records for the reign of Charles I disappeared long ago, Manning should also have indicated his grounds for including Charles I in the generalization about the Stuarts and the increased enforcement of prerogative hunting rights through the use of Star Chamber prosecutions.

Another difficulty is that many hunting raids had other possible contexts that the author does not fully address. Take, for example, the action of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Leicester in 1572, when they, with their entourage, slaughtered the deer in Lord Berkeley's park. Manning believes this attack was a form of symbolic warfare designed to forestall potential rebellion by Berkeley. Yet the author also provides evidence for another perspective on the raid. Leicester's family and the Berkeleys were locked in bitter litigation over rights of inheritance to the Lisle estates. The attack on the deer was, in fact, another move in a complex struggle over land. Many other aristocratic poaching affrays, some of which Manning regards as incipient rebellions, were likely to be parts of larger campaigns of litigation over rights to property conducted in a number of courts. To be understood fully, Star Chamber cases need to be set in the context of the litigation campaigns waged by the parties involved.

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MARTHA C. SKEETERS, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation, c. 1530–c. 1570*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 319. \$59.00.

The study of the English Reformation has recently been undergoing a reformation of its own. Once the story was of a broad popular movement unambiguously antagonistic to the encrusted traditions of a corrupt and moribund church, succeeding with the aid of a modernizing English state in sweeping away the old establishment and replacing it with a new Protestant regime. If the revisionist work of J. J. Scarisbrick, Christopher Haigh, and most recently Eamonn Duffy has done nothing else, it has made this once settled Whiggish view untenable. It is now quite clear that, however vulnerable the church in medieval England was to criticism and attack by dissidents or to renovation at the hands of the temporal powers,

nevertheless the ceremonial forms, social and cultural functions, and spiritual outlooks of late-medieval piety had survived with strength among many ordinary people and in many locales. Whether or not we fully accept the revisionist picture of reform from the top down, it has become necessary to rewrite the history of the English Reformation with a keen eye for the contingencies of politics, the varieties of religious experience, and the processes of conflict, compromise, and sociocultural change that drove or accompanied ecclesiastical and spiritual developments in the period.

Martha C. Skeeters's carefully researched and cautiously written book enters into this new, important, and ongoing discussion from the perspective of Bristol's clergy as they experienced and participated in the religious and ecclesiastical upheavals of the mid-sixteenth century. The picture she paints is one in which a complexly organized medieval community is "transformed into a simple configuration comprising" on the one side the newly formed episcopal administration and cathedral staff and on the other "the clergy of the parishes." On this account, the late-medieval community was characterized by broad differences between the clergy and the laity, a considerable amount of independence from the episcopal authorities in Worcester and in Bath and Wells (the two parishes between which Bristol was then divided), and, significantly, a considerable degree of diversity within the clerical order itself. In the Reformation it largely lost these qualities as the clergy experienced "fragmentation, the decline of clerical independence . . . the growth of lay control," and a "Protestant redefinition" of their role (p. 149). Although it is not Skeeters's main aim to argue a thoroughgoing revisionist case, she stresses the richness and vitality of late-medieval clerical life and the essentially worldly concerns of the lay authorities in dealing with religious conflict and bringing the church and its officials under temporal control. Her study is thus somewhat supportive of recent revisionist interpretations.

This book is primarily an ecclesiastical history rather than a religious history more broadly construed. Its focus is on institutions, clerical functions, and relations between the church and lay authorities rather than on spirituality and theology, ritual and ceremony, and popular beliefs and practices. It offers a thorough consideration of the subjects it covers and is a welcome addition to the growing number of local studies of the Reformation. Taken together, however, these studies suggest that the story of religious change in sixteenth-century England will not comfortably conform to any single model, even of a revisionist stripe. They suggest instead the importance of the varied experiences of different groups and individuals as they created the environment of change that marks this era.

Here Bristol's tale seems especially important. Not only had it been a center of devout piety and vigorous religious dissent in the late middle ages, but it quickly

became one of the fountainheads of lay and clerical Protestantism in its varied forms in the sixteenth century. Neither the Whiggish nor the revisionist paradigms can adequately account for this pattern, which emerged from the transactions and circumstances of urban life rather than by percolating up from the bottom or being hammered down from the top. To capture this revealing history, it is not enough to dwell on the fate of institutions and their personnel as Skeeters does. It is also necessary to consider the character of the city's political and commercial culture more broadly and the role that religious ideas and practices played in shaping and expressing it. This task remains for others to complete.

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J. MICHAEL HILL. *Fire and Sword: Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the Rise of Clan Ian Mor, 1538–1590*. Fort Worth, Tex.: Aegis. 1993. Pp. xiii, 321.

Scottish involvement in Ireland is perhaps best known because of the Scotch-Irish settlers of the seventeenth-century plantation of Ulster, but these lowland Scots were not the first of their nation to set foot upon Irish soil. The most notable earlier arrivals were Highlanders who had come equipped for battle, either as raiders or paid mercenaries hired to fight in Irish clan wars. Called gallowglasses and redshanks, some, like the MacSweeneys of Donegal, settled among the Irish, but most returned to the Isles or mainland glens whence they had come to await the next fighting season.

A notable exception was Ian Mor MacDonnell, who held the Glynnies of Antrim by marriage (ca. 1400) to the heiress of Hugh Bisset whose family (possibly also of Scottish origin) had claimed this territory on the Antrim coast since the thirteenth century. The MacDonnell claim was precarious, and their lands had to be held by force of arms from both native Irish (such as the MacQuillans of the Route, who saw the Scots as a threat to their adjacent territories) and the English government (which looked upon the MacDonnells as holding a beachhead on which they could land additional mercenaries and suspected them of serving interests that opposed English policy). That the MacDonnells were able to hold and even expand their influence and territories was due largely to the ability of their clan chiefs, the most notable of whom was Sorley Boy MacDonnell (*Somhairle Buidhe Mac Domhnaill*, ca. 1510–90).

J. Michael Hill's stated purpose is to place Sorley and the MacDonnells in the setting of sixteenth-century Hiberno-Anglo-Scottish politics. On this basis, he seeks to demonstrate the rise of Sorley and his family to become "the most dominant power in Ulster . . . in the last half of the sixteenth century" (p. 4). The former aim has been largely accomplished, but the latter claim remains unproven as the O'Neills still

seem able to lay claim to the mantle of dominance in Elizabethan Ulster.

Even so, Hill has made clear the significance of the MacDonnell enclave on the coast of Antrim and shown Sorley's influence on events in Ulster, governmental administration in Dublin and London, and the intrigue and diplomacy between England, Scotland, France, Spain, and the papacy. His research thus demonstrates the existence of a relationship between events in the Gaelic north and continental Europe, moving the Celtic fringe much closer to the center of European politics.

Hill presents events in chronological order, allowing him to argue for cause-and-effect relationships between many of the events discussed, and his apparent passion for martial matters shines in his treatment of individual battles. Judicious use has been made of unpublished materials (the Irish calendars for the reign of Elizabeth are, after all, notoriously lame when compared with those of her successor), printed primary sources, and recent scholarship. The genealogies are helpful but might have been expanded (might not Sorley's son Donnell [p. 174] have found a place?) and the maps are excellent. I noted few printing errors (although there is an incorrect reference to Brandon Bradshaw as author of a work in fact written by David Bears Quinn [*The Elizabethan and the Irish* (1966)] at p. 261 n. 93), but Hill's style of writing often distracts, tending to be idiosyncratic, contradictory, or confusing.

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WALLACE MACCAFFREY. *Elizabeth I*. London: Edward Arnold; distributed by Routledge, New York. 1993. Pp. 480. \$35.00.

This is not a biography in the normal sense. It is a political history of Elizabethan England concentrating on the ways in which Elizabeth's quirky, enigmatic personality affected politics. Do not come to this book expecting Freudian meditations on Elizabeth's desires or romantic stories about Leicester. As Wallace MacCaffrey cheerfully admits, this is a study of Elizabeth in her own *metier*: monarchy. And he is perhaps the only contemporary historian who could write on such a complex subject over the length of Elizabeth's reign. After his recent completion of a three-volume political history of Elizabethan England, the queen's political behavior is his *metier*.

The narrative is chronological for the first 300 pages, walking the reader through such often familiar territory as the succession crisis, conflicts with Mary Stuart, and the defeat of the Armada. As the recounting goes forward the reader often asks, "What has this to do with Elizabeth the person?" But in each chapter there is a moral to the tale. After rehearsing the political narrative, MacCaffrey concludes with pithy summaries of Elizabeth's place in the story. The remainder of the book is thematic, with chapters

dealing with religion, finance, and other matters, but still the apothegms come. In precise, pungent paragraphs, he sketches Elizabeth at her best and worst.

The worst of Elizabeth was her stubborn conservatism, political isolation, and refusal to face the consequences of her actions. As she aged these traits grew more pronounced, resulting in serious policy miscalculations. Her personal motto, *semper eadem*, sums up her unwillingness to adapt her assumptions to new situations.

The best of Elizabeth was her skill at uniting her subjects. She became to her people "a living presence, a smiling, affable princess" (p. 377), honored in the popular festivities that sprang up unbidden around her accession day. Her self-promotion further magnified her image, and she benefited from the outpourings of the Renaissance poets who filled her court. MacCaffrey writes of Elizabeth as "a natural-born actress, she played out a role, written by herself but embellished by the creations of her admirers. Yet she never tired, for hers was a labour of love as much as of duty" (p. 380). And by playing that role she managed to win recognition of her royal status in spite of her gender. In the end it was her ability to focus the loyalty of subjects on her person that overrode ideological divisions and protected England from the religious civil wars that ravaged France, Scotland, and the Low Countries.

As MacCaffrey portrays it, the *via media* of Elizabeth's personal life was her isolation and loneliness, chosen when she refused to take a husband. Unwilling to give up power to a man, she nonetheless managed to keep men she cared for around her. Leicester, Hatton, and finally Essex attracted her favor and rose to high places.

On first reading, this biography does not feel like the story of a woman's life. In many ways, however, it is the most proper biography we could have of Elizabeth. She was the queen, and she lived as queen on a public stage: her attitudes, whims, and preferences reified into national policy, shaping the destiny of the nation. The history of her life is thus also the political history of England in her reign, and MacCaffrey has succeeded in linking the two.

MacCaffrey has written this book in his usual elegant style, without the sentimental excesses that mar J. E. Neale's famous biography (*Queen Elizabeth* [1934]) and many of the popular biographies. It is clear-eyed, carefully thought out, and based on a lifetime of research. In the end the reader is given a fine picture of Elizabeth as queen, and one is left wishing for only one thing: a chapter that puts MacCaffrey's vision of Elizabeth's personality and circumstances together into a single portrait, like one of the miniatures Nicholas Hilliard crafted during her reign. In such a chapter MacCaffrey might have assembled his apothegms to give us an Elizabeth Tudor to match with Elizabeth the Queen.

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ROBERT K. FAULKNER. *Francis Bacon and the Project of Progress*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1993. Pp. ix, 308. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

JOHN E. LEARY, JR. *Francis Bacon and the Politics of Science*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 297. \$34.95.

Francis Bacon bounces back. This, seemingly, one might conclude from the publication in three years of four studies of the history and significance of Baconianism including Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, the State, and the Reform of Natural Philosophy* (1992) and B. H. G. Wormald, *Francis Bacon, History, Politics & Science, 1561–1626* (1993), and the two works under review here. All share an awareness of Bacon's debts to an Elizabethan and Jacobean agony over power and the state. Beyond that, similarity ends. Indeed, if there is anything that a reading of these works induces, it is a sense of the great ambiguity of a man whose vision of policy exceeded his capacity to influence it.

Bacon now seems to be attracting greater attention during an age when state control of science is reminiscent of the absolutist agenda of Louis XIV. In the world of Tudor and Stuart London, however, Bacon set out a series of considerations that would help to define the place of science in the emerging nation-state. At once the heir of Machiavelli and precursor of William Petty and John Locke, Bacon's works are full of reflections on the importance of science for the benefit of the prince and for the state at large. Bacon realized the remarkable fact that the imperial state of the early modern world could ignore nature only at its peril.

Robert K. Faulkner places Bacon among the progressives and sensibly recognizes that Bacon's legal and political career are essential to the understanding of his organization of natural philosophy. This is not exactly a novel idea, but Faulkner tends to see much more in Bacon's confusing approval of parliamentary authority than one might otherwise conclude from Bacon's personal victimization by that uncertain institution. Nonetheless, Faulkner gives us an appreciation of just how much empire and monarchy had in common in the seventeenth century, thereby elevating in Bacon's thought the importance of merchants. Yet Faulkner fails to substantiate his particular reading of Bacon's essays by anything in Bacon's career that sought a "revolution by economic development" (p. 189). Bacon was by nature an autocrat, an advisor to monarchs, and was sacrificed in the burgeoning wars with Parliament. He was hardly likely, therefore, to see the virtues of rising men as sufficiently elevated above the smell of the vulgar for whom he, like many of his contemporaries, had the utmost disgust.

It is undoubtedly tempting to see in the promotion of the inductive and experimental sciences a vision of democratic individualism that might be both acquisitive and essential to the wealth of the state. To characterize Bacon as the spokesman for a rising

"enlightened commercial class, businessmen as we call them, [which] sustains the economy that complements technology" (p. 257) is highly problematic. The difficulty with this notion, it seems to me, is that there is little evidence that this is what Bacon intended—even in the utopian Salomon's House. It is not the reading of texts themselves that promotes historical meaning. What is crucial, however, is what Bacon was himself able to promote in his checkered career despite all the obstacles of suspicious patrons and of a Parliament he could not manipulate. Neither can we be sure in Bacon's many essays of a coherent promotion of modernity that allows a reading intended to enhance the utilitarian benefits of an inductive science. Salomon's House was, above all, a utopian vision where darker minds like Jonathan Swift would later see grave dangers. Bacon may well seem a promoter of the uses of scientific powers, but this was a notion that even the rhetoric of the later Royal Society had difficulty selling.

Somewhat more successful in appreciating the ambiguous Bacon is John E. Leary, Jr.'s cautionary tale. Leary refuses to accept Bacon as the proponent of a new, and popular, epistemology that stamps Lord Verulam with the virtues of popular liberty. By examining Bacon's own political role, the view emerges of a paternalistic authoritarian who had nothing but contempt for the rabble. There emerges a portrait of a political conservative wedded to the princely structures of the Tudor and early Stuart world, suspicious of parliamentary objectives but willing to attempt to manage them, yet drawn by significant miscalculation perhaps into the ambit of the bungling Duke of Buckingham. Leary, therefore, arrives at a portrait of Bacon as both conservative and progressive, promoting thereby the management of new knowledge but not necessarily a liberal, democratic agenda. If science was ultimately to serve the interests of the state this meant a collaborative exercise but one that needed to be "organized and directed, and that there be some directing authority . . . The task of reforming science became that of founding a community, reducing it to obedience and good order, and managing it for the performance of productive tasks" (p. 139).

It may not seem at all unreasonable that Bacon's role in the promotion of modernity should have linked technological drive with democratic vision. Leary proposes we take a second look. Bacon's notion of collaborative scientific exercise is not necessarily democratic or liberal at all. It may well be questionable whether Bacon's essays prefigured a liberal ideal of free and open scientific inquiry. But herein lies a problem common to the reading of all agendas. There are degrees of reading by Bacon's contemporaries, by those who saw in Bacon an incipient democratic spirit that erupted prematurely in the English Civil War, by those in the Restoration Royal Society who endeavored to adopt his rhetoric, and by those who later yet saw the Industrial Revolution as the conclusion of a script written by Bacon.

Leary is convincing in suggesting that Bacon could hardly have been willing to adopt democratic ideals as he had nothing but suspicion for public participation in the scientific enterprise. This presumably followed from his own sense of the limits to political involvement of a wider populace. The scientific community, even in Bacon's most optimistic view in Salomon's House, was carefully controlled. This suggests an inherent contradiction in Bacon's perception of collective effort. And, of course, it was precisely this problem of the social limits of scientific knowledge that continued to befuddle the Royal Society throughout the Restoration. So much, however, for reading the texts.

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BARBARA BEIGUN KAPLAN. *"Divulging of Useful Truths in Physick": The Medical Agenda of Robert Boyle*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 216. \$40.00.

Robert Boyle's lifelong interest in medicine reflected not only a personal preoccupation with his own health, but also a deep belief that medical reform was important to the "New Philosophy." Like Robert Hooke, Boyle was eager to test new medical receipts on himself and record their effects; unlike Samuel Pepys, he never faced the terrors of seventeenth-century surgery. Boyle's medical interests emerge in many of his works, early and late, most vividly in *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy* (1663), in which medicine receives more attention than any other scientific subject. Clearly, it would be useful for scholars to understand more fully what is most original, distinctive, and important about Boyle's medical writings. Barbara Beigun Kaplan's study offers a solid introduction to some aspects of this complex subject.

In seven brief chapters, Kaplan surveys Boyle's origins, major works, and influence on subsequent researchers and physicians. The first chapter, "The Formative Years," reviews biographical material familiar to specialists in the field, but it also indicates a persistent weakness of the volume. Kaplan's study originated as a dissertation completed in 1979. One would expect that a book that germinated for fifteen years would benefit from the large amount of Boyle scholarship in the 1980s and early 1990s—the bibliography in Michael Hunter's *Robert Boyle Reconsidered* (1994) is extensive—but Kaplan has cited only a fraction of it. More troubling, she does not really engage with the historians she does cite. Steven Shapin, James Jacob, and Michael Hunter do not really agree about Boyle's intellectual origins and development. Whose approach does she favor? One simply cannot tell.

In chapter 2 Kaplan wisely situates Boyle's medical agenda in terms of his philosophy of nature, a topic of great intellectual complexity, and she stresses the

continuities between medical beliefs and his "mechanical philosophy." Thus, Boyle's assumptions about the body and health (chaps. 3–5) are shown to have more subtlety and intellectual coherence than other scholars have recognized. The sixth chapter, "Boyle's Medical Thought in Its Contemporary Context," would have been more valuable if Kaplan's sense of context had been richer. Lucinda McCray Beier's *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (1988), for example, used the extensive archival record much more effectively to illuminate the social context of illness and treatment. Kaplan reduces medical "context" to medical writings, citing principally Boyle, Thomas Sydenham, and John Locke. (Locke never defined himself primarily as a physician; Boyle was not a physician.) I was surprised, therefore, that Kaplan ignores Boyle's interest in experiments on human beings: for example, the transfusion of a sheep's blood to Arthur Coga in 1667, or the case where Boyle paid a man to allow a viper to bite him so that he could try a remedy.

Kaplan's Boyle is distinctively a modern: she speaks approvingly of his interest in "drug therapy," credits him with an originary interest in "environmental medicine," and praises his investigation of "drug action." But one could make an equally compelling case that Boyle was not so forward-looking, that his ideas and outlook had as much in common with the views of Samuel Hartlib (not "Thomas" Hartlib, p. 79) or John Beale, who reported to Boyle that the touch of a dead man's hand would cure a wen. A richer sense of intellectual context would give us a different sense of Boyle's medical agenda, one that would be more faithful to the voluminous archival record preserved at the Royal Society in London but insufficiently used in this study.

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IAN HARRIS. *The Mind of John Locke: A Study of Political Theory in Its Intellectual Setting*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 429. \$64.95.

As the title intimates, it is Ian Harris's objective "to show how the character of Locke's political thought is intelligible in terms of his views and assumptions about other subjects" (p. 1), that is, how Locke's political ideas fit with his writings on philosophy, religion, science, economics, and so forth. Harris agrees with John Dunn and other Locke scholars that "theology is an indispensable element in the constitution of Locke's thought" (p. 324). But if there is a distinctive feature of this book, it is Harris's effort to find a common ground linking the *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) with the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690).

Harris argues that a political theory consists of two parts: a "vision" that expresses a view about "the basic features of life and society," and a "technique," that applies that vision to politics (p. 2). In order to grasp

a theorist's vision, the connections between a wide range of ideas or subjects have to be established (p. 2). Hence, Locke's political thought can never be reduced to a single work on politics, such as the *Two Treatises*, but will instead necessarily implicate a much larger intellectual context. Moreover, the fact that "Locke's position arose not least from what he was *against* indicates . . . the importance of treating him historically" (p. 323). What we require, then, is an intellectually comprehensive framework sufficiently contextual to possess historical depth.

It may be that the general reader will find this study adequate to the task Harris has set for himself. In terms of the secondary literature on Locke published during the last thirty or forty years, however, it has to be said that there is little in this lengthy and extremely repetitious book that is either new or challenging. Harris covers the same ground as numerous other interpreters of Locke without introducing new evidence or offering convincing arguments for rejecting those interpreters' views, with the exception of Leo Strauss and C. B. Macpherson, whose readings of Locke have long since been abandoned by modern scholars. The first sixty pages, for example, present a rather tedious local history of the area of Locke's birth, although the most plausible connection such material has to what we actually know concerning Locke's intellectual development could be stated in a few paragraphs. Indeed, the most surprising fact regarding that development to emerge from the first hundred pages of this book is Locke's early opposition to Thomas Hobbes's perspective (p. 105), hardly a startling discovery.

It is certainly true, as Harris argues, that Locke "presupposed that in principle the human understanding and will were adequate to the agent's self-direction" (p. 321), and, therefore, that "the same Lockean claims about the understanding that tended to undermine the superiority of absolute monarchs tended also to weaken the claims of the Church of England" (pp. 177, 322–23). But this point has been made in at least half a dozen other works. A book that places so much emphasis on Locke's "vision" ought to have something more provocative than this to say.

Harris maintains, again correctly, that the ideas and intellectual position of a thinker such as Locke are "sufficiently ambiguous to be conceived in different ways and in different relations" (p. 325). Yet, instead of applying this standard in particular instances where interpretive controversy regarding Locke exists in order to present a synthesis of the most plausible viewpoints, Harris is generally dismissive of alternative views without elucidating the basis for his own position. Apart from the fact that this book is desperately in need of an editor, there are numerous lost opportunities, points at which Harris could have broken new ground but chose instead to present a cautious and often confusing view of Locke. The book

reads too much like a dissertation written to please a committee of three examiners with differing views.

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CHRISTOPHER HILL. *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution*. New York: Penguin. 1993. Pp. xiii, 466. \$30.00.

Christopher Hill may well be the most learned expositor of seventeenth-century English history. The fame and erudition of his many books makes such a claim reasonable. His interest in this multifaceted and erudite book is, as he puts it in the volume's opening words, "to try to assess the part played by the Bible in the lives of Englishmen and women during England's revolutionary period." For this herculean undertaking, he has explored Bible translations and the writings of the famous, the little known, and in some cases the only recently recovered: books, pamphlets, diaries, histories, ballads, epics, poems, and satires. His annotations of many recent interpreters are a tribute to his thoroughness as well as to his sensitivity and fairness.

Hill recognizes the powerful impact of the Bible in molding English nationalism. Its vernacular versions, especially the heavily annotated Geneva translation and the Authorized Version, became, in contrast with the Latin Vulgate, the property of the literate laity. The propagation of the Bible demanded cheap printing, and radical Protestant preachers encouraged its reading at all levels. In the first great European revolution the people therefore turned to the Bible for guidance. The laity's access to the word of God strengthened longstanding criticisms of both the church and its clergy. Hill affirms that the Bible in the mid-seventeenth century "was central to all arts, sciences, and literature" (p. 31).

In the section titled "The Revolutionary Bible," Hill deals first with events before 1640, then with the political Fast Sermons given between 1640 and 1660. He then examines how certain ambiguous biblical metaphors and programs were taken to have contemporary implications. As an example he takes the widely used symbolism of the wilderness, garden, and the hedge. The hedge, which usually stood for the discipline that fences off the rude wilderness, symbolized for the revolutionaries the tyranny of social superiors who reduced the potential gardens or vineyards of the poor.

Here Hill also analyzes poverty, usury, and debt. (Radicals demanded legal reforms on debt.) His other concerns touch on the political divisions in the civil war. He offers a detailed study of the relationship between the Bible and millenarian currents in radical politics. Millennial belief, Hill argues, was a large factor in the general conviction that God favored England; in the end it led to the merciless colonization of indigenous peoples abroad. The millenarian

hope was followed by despair that God was abandoning England, as evidenced by the failure of parliaments, the disruption of the army, and the return of the king.

Hill's third section, "International Catholicism and National Politics," includes chapters on the "Reign of the Saints," "Antichrist and His Armies," and "The Man of Blood," a discussion of regicide. The section titled "The Bible and English Literature," concentrates on John Milton, John Bunyan, and, to a lesser extent, Andrew Marvell. The concluding section, "The End of the Revolutionary Bible," includes a chapter on "The Bible Dethroned." Hill argues that the growing belief in the priesthood of all believers, coupled with the conviction that each faithful member of the saints could interpret the Bible by inner inspiration, eventually led to utter chaos: "No longer could opposition be silenced by saying 'The Bible says so'" (p. 413). The ensuing lack of censorship and total toleration ultimately led to the restoration of both the monarchy and the Church of England, the total pacifism of the Quakers, and the second-class citizenship of Nonconformists.

I found Hill's historical interpretations, with their fascinating modern parallels, convincing, with one exception. He seems to think that the modern world has given up on the Bible, except for the impoverished and the fundamentalists. This is to underplay the modern historical-critical approach to the Bible, which finds divine revelation behind human contradictions, mistakes, and misinterpretations. Contrary to Hill's view, Catholicism is vigorous and returning to Scriptures, and Protestants include the upper and middle classes as well as the poor. The Bible is still enthroned by millions of Christians.

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ANDREW BLAIKIE. *Illegitimacy, Sex, and Society: Northeast Scotland, 1750-1900*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 268. \$55.00.

Andrew Blaikie, a graduate of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, has written an accomplished work of historical sociology. His book examines the social, cultural, economic, and demographic realities that produced relatively high levels of illegitimacy in northeast Scotland, especially focusing on the Banffshire parish of Rothiemay and its immediate neighbors. Blaikie expertly teases the meaning out of statistical minutiae while finding the theories of Peter Laslett insufficient and those of Edward Shorter inappropriate to explain the bastardy phenomenon.

Blaikie's conclusions, nevertheless, offer few surprises. Illegitimacy seems to have been a consequence of an unfavorable sex ratio, increasing mobility, and an insufficiency of appropriate housing, which made women either postpone or do without marriage. Sexual activity nevertheless began and continued as

young people of both sexes lived and worked together, beyond the reach of parental surveillance, and beyond the concern of masters as paternalism in the countryside declined. Mothers of illegitimate children were normally able to continue their employment, their offspring typically being reared by the maternal grandparents, whether or not the mother was domiciled with her family or at her place of employment. The Poor Law took over when families failed to provide adequate assistance. The decline in kirk discipline, described more than explained herein, made it increasingly difficult to punish putative fathers, while increasing geographic mobility made it cheaper for the parish to support the child than to chase down his or her father. Consequently young women who became pregnant elsewhere were likely to return to Rothiemay to receive parochial and familial support. Far from being a "sub-society," illegitimate children and their mothers seem to have been well integrated into larger social and economic networks. Half of the nineteenth-century kirk elders in Rothiemay parish, whose portraits appear, ironically, on the book's dust jacket, were themselves directly connected to the widespread "immorality" of the parish (p. 205). Consequently it would be inaccurate to describe bastardy as a deviant behavior.

Despite Blaikie's occasional eloquence, the less technically minded historian will find this volume rough going. There is a resistance to summarizing and to the development and elucidation of clean lines of argument. Empirical detail too often overwhelms the perspective of even the most careful reader. Most of the work covers the period after 1858 so those interested in earlier periods may be somewhat disappointed, as will those seeking greater emphasis on issues exploring change over time. Despite these caveats, Blaikie has produced a monograph that makes a useful contribution to our knowledge of Scottish demography and its relationship to economic and social changes.

JUDITH SCHNEID LEWIS
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MARCIA POINTON. *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 1993. Pp. ix, 278; 294 plates. \$65.00.

Marcia Pointon sets herself the task of writing a book that "will not overlook the visual pleasures of portraits as art works but not be determined by those pleasures" (p. 4). This is no easy matter. Until recently the history of British eighteenth-century art, and of portraiture in particular, has basked in the warm hues of a golden age—aristocratic, benevolent, refined, and beautiful—before the fall into industrialism and class struggle. Thomas Lawrence's "Pinkie" and Thomas Gainsborough's "Blue Boy" gaze down benignly from countless hotel and waiting room walls as if to assure

us that all was well in their world and so also in ours. John Barrell (*The Dark Side of Landscape* [1980]) and the Marxist tradition of which he is one of the most distinguished proponents have done much to make us see behind—perhaps through or into—this aura, and Pointon continues their disruption of the complacent old story.

Her account, however, owes more to Michel Foucault and contemporary feminist theory than it does to Karl Marx. Portraiture, she posits, is variously—and not always consistently—a "cultural practice," a "discourse," "an idea," or a "discipline." But whichever, it is about far more than the likeness of an individual; the genre was deeply implicated in what Foucault would call a system of power-knowledge, although also in the world of commerce.

Portraits were the big business of eighteenth-century art, by far the best-represented genre at the Royal Academy. It was a business that employed hundreds of painters, not to speak of their assistants and ancillary tradesmen, in the metropolis and elsewhere. But more importantly, portraits "signified" in a variety of complex ways, both by their content and by how they were arranged in books or on walls. For example, in 1767 the Rev. James Granger, the eponymous originator of "grangerizing" (mounting extraneous visual and verbal material in a book so as to personalize it), began his project of a history of England based on collections of engraved portraits. Rogues and worthies, women and mountebanks, near-mythical medieval kings and modern statesmen were all arranged in a prescribed hierarchical order. This fantastically successful project culminated in the National Portrait Gallery, founded in 1857, and in a plethora of other widely circulated histories illustrated with the visages of the famous and infamous. (Bob, the packman in George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss*, carries six or seven numbers of the "Portrait Gallery": "'There's all sorts o' gentlemen here,' Bob went on . . . with all sorts o' noses—an' some of them bald an' some wigs . . . and here's ladies for you.")

The remainder of the book is about the actual content of portraits. An excellent chapter describes the multiple possible meanings of the wig, that major item of male fashion for much of the century which made the head an even more powerful bearer of meaning and signifier of masculinity than it would otherwise be. Pointon analyzes Mary Ashley Montague's "going Turkish" in various of her portraits in terms of a female subject's ability to appropriate the discourse of Orientalism to assert some sort of power vis-à-vis her (presumably male) viewer. Finally, two chapters describe the inscription of gender and genealogy in so-called "conversation pieces" and the appropriation by male adults of the nascent sexuality—mostly of girls—in portraits of children. The purpose of such portraits, in Pointon's view, was primarily to maintain the rigid categories of sexual difference.

There is much to be learned from this book about

the place of art in the political culture of the eighteenth century, but the message would be more powerful if it were more precise. In the first place, Pointon pays little attention to the nitty-gritty mechanics of politics or power. Wigs, for example, were surely important signifiers of masculinity and authority, but one wants to know how they did their work, how exactly this "discursive formation" became "the essential component in the maintenance of a social order" (pp. 112, 128) as well as a force in its subversion. Were wigs really more essential than the criminal code or the militia? Other historical claims—that landscape painting pertained to landed property while the conversation-piece "allowed for the advertisement of the importance of real estate and chattels" (p. 174), for example—are simply incoherent. Pointon does not seem to understand that real estate is landed property.

Moreover, eighteenth-century ideologies of gender and power were much less fixed than Pointon takes them to be. She is right that family groups were about genealogy and that signs of the absent father might call more attention to the power of patriarchy than would his presence. But "Farmer George" (George III) was not the same sort of patriarch as his royal predecessors; the restrictions on a husband's control of his wife's property were hotly contested, coverture notwithstanding; and fatherly control of children, especially in questions of marriage, was increasingly threatened for ideological as well as socioeconomic reasons. In short, the discourse of gender, and hence of gender in portraiture, is considerably more fractured than this book would have us believe.

And finally, great art is more than ideology. However Lawrence intended his portrait of Sarah Moulton—"Pinkie"—it seems sadly reductionist to find in this extraordinary picture so little "visual pleasure," to have one's seeing directed only toward a "visual rhetoric" that communicated "not actuality but ideology," only the promise of its subject becoming "a wholly acceptable child-woman" (p. 200). Art, in short, is more than politics by other means.

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ANDREW HEMINGWAY. *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 363. \$95.00

Andrew Hemingway's book is an erudite and compelling addition to the latest scholarship on landscape and is representative of some recent welcome reinterpretations in the field, particularly its intersection with issues previously less in evidence (if not totally absent) from approaches to landscape—namely, class attitudes, art theories, criticism, and patronage. In this respect it injects some new life into the study of landscape on various levels and underscores how one-dimensional past readings of landscape have

tended to be. Its aim, even given the precedent of John Barrell and other scholars whose work has had such an impact in the past decade, is overtly radical: to transform the study of landscape by focusing on the concept of modernity itself, which means incorporating diverse cultural areas as well as redirecting focus from traditional views of the countryside to the urban milieu.

In chapter 1, "Art Seen," Hemingway explains this urban-centric methodology, examining how art exhibitions served as a form of public amusement and recreation and how their audiences changed over time. He also discusses the myriad priorities of how the exhibition system and periodical press worked. In the next section, entitled "Ideology and Naturalism," he continues with an examination of, among other things, how modes of production affected the social relations of artists, critics, patrons, and the viewing publics and how ideological structures functioned. The historical focal point of this book in many ways is how the author reinterprets and mandates "modernity" (however elusive) as "the basic criterion with which I operate" (p. 11). He then very competently offers readers a consideration of ideology as the social formation of ideas, citing the Swedish theorist Göran Therborn, as well as Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" as background for his own beliefs about how internalized and cultural conditioning affects responses to forms in art, landscape and otherwise. The problems of defining naturalism are also explored, from the pitfalls of "accurately" observing nature, to the implications of the picturesque beyond the principles enunciated by Gilpin and Price, to the author's reconceptualization of naturalism with more multivalent emphasis on both stylistic and social ramifications.

The third chapter, "Artists in British Society, 1800–1830," raises the issue of how artists thought their works were construed by the public and is a brilliant exegesis of how artists' roles were defined by patronage, the art market, class fractions, and other factors in a commercial, capitalist society. Besides pointing to the increasing professionalization of artists, Hemingway also elucidates the interaction of artists with various exhibition bodies, societies, and outside forces such as publishers, print dealers, and other intermediaries. He also treats the hierarchization of the profession, from the heights of history painting and portraiture to the more problematic status accorded landscapists and, in quite brief terms, women artists.

"Philosophical criticism's man of taste" in chapter 4 and the related tenets of philosophical criticism and the science of landscape in chapter 5 trace the emergence of a new kind of literature defining the parameters of the elusive notion of "taste," partly as an outgrowth of urban entertainment but also as part of a process of aestheticization. Both chapters embrace the science of signs as gracefully as they do theology and other intellectual disciplines, interlac-

ing these with the evolution of the picturesque and the different visual pleasures of the country versus the city.

Chapter 6 on naturalism and the academic ideal once again takes up with intelligent results a formidable subject that might have daunted other scholars. No less than Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin Haydon, John Constable, and J. M. W. Turner are invoked in this section, which reviews rationalist aesthetics as well as those extolling the abstract ideal. The arguments here, as elsewhere in the book, can be a bit dense and labyrinthine at times, but the final effect is complex and wonderfully rich, particularly as a prelude to the study of the social distribution of taste and the tensions generated between naturalism and artists' perceptions of academic theory.

"Art Criticism and the Politics of Landscape" (chap. 7) both weighs and illustrates the different kinds of statements made about landscape paintings by the metropolitan press of the period. In fact, one of the greatest strengths in this book is its lucid and very capable analysis of the phenomenal growth of art criticism in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Even if one were not to read this book for its keen insights on landscape, it should be read for its analysis of art criticism in such periodicals as *The London Magazine*, *The Examiner*, *The Morning Post*, *The Literary Chronicle*, and other art magazines in their varying expressions of cultural critique and bias.

The final two chapters signal a departure from theory to iconology, shifting to the challenges of representing the modern in two specific sites, the seaside resort and contemporary leisure and the imagery of rivers. The first theme, chronicled in chapter 8, is especially engrossing and confirms Hemingway's flair for interpretation of meaning as well as theorizing. The symbolism of rivers inherently conveys the contradictions of progress, the author asserts, and this section too provides some highly original and persuasive probing of Turner's Thames series, Constable's representations at Stour, and the imagery of various Norwich rivers. One is left with a yearning for more such probing analysis, for although Hemingway warns in the introduction that this task was too huge, he has nonetheless whet the reader's appetite for more. The same might be said for the conclusion, on the passing of naturalism, which seems too succinct in general to summarize and reinforce the many excellent points he has made in his text. Clearly with this book Hemingway establishes himself as a major exponent in art history of revisionist history and methodology, and his assessment of the iconological roles that landscape plays is admirably fresh and perceptive, offering innovative perspectives on the history, politics, and aesthetics of landscape in the early nineteenth century and beyond.

SUSAN P. CASTERAS
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AUDREY LINKMAN. *The Victorians: Photographic Portraits*. New York: Tauris Parke. 1993. Pp. 192.

Almost everyone today has been photographed in formal poses on different occasions. The proliferation of portraits to the middle and working classes is a legacy of photography. One of the earliest and most consistent applications of photography has been for producing a record of people's appearance, for themselves, but especially for family, friends, and posterity.

Although it seems to us a "natural" function of photography to provide such images, their forms are culturally determined. Audrey Linkman situates photographic portraiture within an existing portrait tradition and discusses ways in which types, poses, and expressions conformed both to the theoretical models established in writings and to the considerable visual legacy of painted portraits.

This book surveys the types of portrait photographs during the Victorian period, drawing mainly on British nineteenth-century images from many British collections, including the author's. Whereas Linkman discusses continuities in portrait conventions, she also illustrates unusual portraits and novelty images. The views of photographers' studios, galleries on wheels, or backdrops on the sands are especially valuable in revealing the conditions under which the portraits were made and sold. The author traces the emergence and development of different types of photographs, such as the enormously popular *carte de visite*, cabinet, collodion transfers, and enlargements.

In discussing commercial photography she gives information on how studios were set up, how portraits were taken, and how characteristics of early processes affected the product. With some statistics on numbers of photographs produced, she gives an idea of the way in which businesses expanded and contracted. She has interesting things to say on marketing strategies, such as the club system, which induced working-class people to purchase relatively expensive photographs in the 1870s. She points out that albums not only became a fancy commodity but also could be considered a marketing device; their empty pages demanded to be filled with photographs. Furthermore, different kinds of albums were marketed for different purposes and became popular gifts. The physical resemblance between albums and books used in religious worship could lend prestige to photography.

Making such connections is a strength of the author, but the lack of discussion on specific ways in which photographs connect to Victorian social conditions at a particular time is a weakness. The book is governed by a presumption that there is some common Victorian culture. Pictures from different times are frequently treated as if they were interchangeable. One chapter chronicles the cycle of life from birth to death using photographs from different dates.

For photographers and their public the ability to convey character involved a recognized system of signifiers. Linkman discusses differences in male and

female poses, and the way in which "naturalness" alluded to manners of the upper classes. Although she discusses pavement portraits and other ways in which working people were photographed, class issues are a relatively minor concern.

The decision to have no notes limits the book's usefulness for scholars. The author includes brief comments on sources for each chapter, and a bibliography which, except for photographic collections, does not list the nineteenth-century archival materials or articles she used. The book is frustrating because the author seems to have drawn on potentially valuable primary sources, such as business records, but has not used them in a systematic way. In discussing aesthetic issues she cites writings from different dates and from American or French as well as British sources. Because she is not concerned with historical development, but rather with providing a general statement about portrait photography, she does not attempt to deal with chronological issues. Some of the photographs and supporting images, such as cartoons and illustrations from periodicals, are dated, but many are not.

Linkman wishes to go beyond presenting a compendium of Victorian portraits, and she provides useful insights about their conventions. The material she presents could be usefully explored further in light of issues raised in recent discussions on implications of portraiture in social change or the way the business of photography changed the product. (For instance see John Tagg, "A Democracy of the Image," *The Burden of Representation* [1988], and Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*, [1994].) The book is an attractive introduction to the subject and may provide a stimulus for further investigation.

GRACE SEIBERLING
University of Rochester

BERNARD SEMMEL. *George Eliot and the Politics of National Inheritance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 168. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Because George Eliot was the most learned of the English novelists and among the most intelligent, it is good to have an intellectual historian like Bernard Semmel review her contribution and read her novels as political tracts, which they occasionally resemble. It is doubtful, however, that her "chief purpose" (p. 139) was to build respect for the national heritage. The word "inheritance" resonates in Edmund Burke's writings, but it is not a key term for every conservative and is rarely sounded at all by George Eliot.

As with most mainstream English novelists of the nineteenth century, property is likely to be a key issue in George Eliot's plots, but Semmel perversely studies the several heroines who refuse inheritances to establish his thesis. Such acts of renunciation suggest an opposite tendency to the one he is looking for, and

they are in any case moral rather than political gestures. The point is that love and self-respect should count for more than material advantage. As a free-thinker, George Eliot was acutely sensitive to the difficulties of grounding morality without religion, but when the heroine of *The Mill on the Floss* (1860) rhetorically demands, "If the past is not to bind us, where can duty lie?" she is referring primarily to her own past experience and commitments, scarcely at all to inheritance, and patently not to a national or political inheritance (p. 21).

Semmel makes a strong case that George Eliot's fiction conveys a generally conservative message, although I am not sure that "the convention" has ever been to treat the novelist as a liberal (p. 54). Usefully, he demonstrates her resistance to the progressivist and collectivist beliefs of the followers of Auguste Comte. His best material turns out to be the debates that swirled about her among such friends and acquaintances as George Henry Lewes, Richard Congreve, Frederic Harrison, and John Morley. The book makes excellent use of the novelist's correspondence (*The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight, 9 vols. [1954-78]) and thus it nicely complements Rosemarie Bodenheimer's book on George Eliot as a letter writer (*The Real Life of Mary Ann Evans* [1994]). It also manages some substantial literary interpretations: a reading of *Romola* (1863) that links the teachings of Savonarola and Comte; a thoughtful account of "two pan-European nationalities, the Gypsies and the Jews, who seemed to be excluded from the prevailing ambition to achieve national self-determination" (p. 104), enabling Semmel to bring together George Eliot's verse drama *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868) and her last great novel, *Daniel Deronda* (1876). Moreover, he makes a persuasive case for Walter Scott's example on the nineteenth century, and in particular the wonderful influence of *Ivanhoe* (1820).

Semmel strains a little in fitting a politics of national inheritance to George Eliot novels other than *Daniel Deronda*, but he enlivens the intellectual milieu of the novelist and affirms the importance of historical fiction for the time.

ALEXANDER WELSH
Yale University

ANNE HARDY. *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventive Medicine, 1856-1900*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 325. \$59.00.

Anne Hardy's careful and densely argued monograph tests some important historical generalizations. At issue is the cause of the remarkable decline in mortality enjoyed by Great Britain (and other Western states) by the end of the nineteenth century. Hardy joins those who have undermined the paradigm proposed by Thomas McKeown, notably in his *The Modern Rise of Population* (1976). McKeown refuted positivists who credited medicine with falling nineteenth-cen-

tury mortality and instead asserted the role of improved nutrition. Hardy, although not reclaiming curative wonders for the doctors, questions the emphasis on nutrition and brings preventive social action to center stage. She does so in a local study that shows the crucial importance of social variables in the histories of disease and demography.

The "epidemic streets" are chiefly those of London, a large and diverse sample, but one of limited generality. Hardy focuses on eight dominant urban infections. Two of them (smallpox and tuberculosis) have received considerable historical attention; the other six have been relatively ignored, and Hardy serves nineteenth-century historians well by bringing those diseases under convenient review. The book's organization facilitates such use, for eight of its nine chapters separately concern the eight diseases. But although such an organizational principle simplifies the use of the book for reference, some repetition (of facts about the water supply, for instance) inevitably results.

Hardy shows that human intervention (medical or social) had little effect on four "children's" infections. She attributes declines in scarlet fever to the disease becoming milder autonomously; a less virulent strain of diphtheria reemerged as the dominant type in the 1890s, before the application of an antitoxin undeservedly credited with lowering mortality. Improved nursing and some oddly unforeseen nutritional changes may have reduced the severity of measles, but not significantly before World War I, and any reduction in whooping cough mortality may have been chiefly due to greater resistance bred in the population.

Typhoid, however, retreated with improved water supplies, domestic sanitation, and refuse disposal. A complex of preventive medicine, including not only vaccination but also notification, isolation, and relocating of hospitals, lowered the incidence of smallpox. The long urban pattern of epidemic typhus was broken by the end of the century by water, sanitation, and housing improvements, and by an end to disruption wrought by railway construction. To an already crowded field of explanations for the decline of tuberculosis, Hardy adds "covert" preventive measures begun shortly after mid-century: regulation of rental housing, provisions for parks and recreation, and the insistence by local Medical Officers of Health on isolation, fresh air, and (later) sanctions on spitting.

The history of each disease, Hardy argues, can only be understood within a local context that takes into account both a dense fabric of cultural practices and the actions of individuals. Different sections of London had strikingly different disease histories, even when they shared socioeconomic similarities. Thus, the chronology of typhoid decline differed markedly in Shoreditch and Whitechapel. Hardy shows herself aware of the complexities that shape disease history; the impact of the installation of water closets, for

example, requires attention to their design, the skill with which they were installed, and the ways in which people used and cleaned them.

In a final chapter Hardy raises two additional themes: the importance of "education" (in the broad sense), which brought popular culture to favor the intrusion of preventive public health in private lives, and the general role of social dislocation and social behavior (a more comprehensive and adequate formulation than McKeown's "nutrition") in relating poverty and disease. The former is especially suggestive and deserves more study, especially from the bottom up. Hardy's conclusion—that local social variables decisively influence disease and demography—suggests that more local studies of the kind she offers of London may be necessary, and that gallant attempts at generalization such as McKeown's may succumb to empirical attack.

JO HAYS

Loyola University of Chicago

DAVID CANNADINE. *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 321. \$30.00.

David Cannadine has made his career and reputation out of the British aristocracy. This is ironic because, from the evidence of this and his other publications, he clearly does not like them. A self-made scholar from the Birmingham middle class, he has much the same fascination and distaste for them as Joseph Chamberlain, that Birmingham middle-class scourge of the idle rich who demanded that they pay ransom for their privileged security. In *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (1990), Cannadine positively gloated over the deterioration of their fortunes. Now, in these rollicking essays spun off from the same research, he takes issue with those historians, often from the same orbit as the aristocrats themselves, who have romanticized and defended them.

Before the inevitable decline, beginning during the "Great Depression" of the 1880s, Cannadine argues that the aristocracy experienced their modern and final rise between the American Revolution and the Great Reform Act of 1832, precisely the years when the Industrial Revolution made them more rich, more powerful, more status-conscious, and more unified. By consolidating their broad acres, marrying heiresses, and swallowing up smaller fry among the gentry, not to mention harvesting the rich pickings of government patronage in what came to be called "Old Corruption," they were able to acquire the first fruits of that enormous rise in production in agriculture, manufactures, mining, transport, and town-building that made Britain the one world-wide superpower of the nineteenth century.

In a second general essay, Cannadine questions the usual notion that the nobility went to rack and ruin in the nineteenth century by gambling, drinking, wenching, and above all overbuilding vast, self-indulgent

houses. Some of them did so, like the fourth Marquess of Hastings, who drove himself to ruin and death after the Derby horse race of 1867. He turns the usual view on its head, however, by showing that many of them were indeed in debt, but that their income and assets were so huge that, with a few exceptions, they could easily escape bankruptcy. Some, like the millionaire seventh Duke of Devonshire, got themselves in debt by investing in grandiose schemes like the building of Barrow, its ironworks, and the Furness Railway, from which his heir, the supposedly indolent Whig leader, Lord Hartington, rescued the family fortunes chiefly by selling land.

The most entertaining parts of this provocative book are the excursions into the lives of aristocrats who were not always what they appeared to be to their admirers. Winston Churchill appears not as the greatest Englishman of his time, but as an aristocratic adventurer from a family of rogues and ne'er-do-wells who, until his salvation by World War II, was rightly regarded as an unreliable turncoat. He was self-aggrandizing, shamelessly ambitious, constantly in debt, a sponger off his relatives, contemptuous of the lower orders, and an admirer of Mussolini, and he pushed his worthless relations into numerous government jobs.

That androgynous pair Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson, who have been so romanticized by a covey of admirers (led by their son Nigel), Cannadine shows to have been snobs of the most nauseating kind, born out of their time, who dismissed everyone below their marginal aristocratic rank as "bedint," by which they meant too low-bred to know. Lord Strickland, another marginal figure, half-English and half-Maltese, used his minuscule talents and aristocratic connections to become a colonial governor in numerous far-flung places but was so abrasive that he failed in every post, including the extraordinary combination of British MP and prime minister of Malta.

Cannadine's final volley is fired at the amazing success of the British landed class in perpetrating the "country-house cult." They have persuaded the British public to treat their homes as national treasures, open for lavish fees to tourists. This makes their upkeep tax-deductible, and the homes are often maintained in splendor by the National Trust while the owners still live in them. Lord Strickland's descendants live rent-free in Sizergh Castle, owned by the Trust but (not mentioned here) open to the public only on Wednesday afternoons, when few of the "bedint" are free to come.

With this entertaining book Cannadine, one hopes, has settled his score with the British aristocracy and can now turn his considerable historical talents elsewhere. They were a vein well worth working but, if he is right—and they may be more resilient than even he thinks—their time is up.

HAROLD PERKIN
Northwestern University

JOHANNES PAULMANN. *Staat und Arbeitsmarkt in Grossbritannien: Krise, Weltkrieg, Wiederaufbau*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 32.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 477. DM 142.

The central purpose of this well-argued book is to examine the substantial shifts that took place in British public policy on employment and unemployment issues between 1930 and 1950. How far could and should government attempt to intervene in the workings of the labor market and what were the instruments at its disposal for this purpose? Johannes Paulmann shows himself thoroughly familiar both with contemporary published material and with subsequent historical research. He has also made good use of unpublished sources: governmental, business, and trade union. He is well aware both of the highly technical issues of economic policy and of the underlying debate about the nature and function of "the state." The problem was, of course, not new. Pre-1914 "Labour Exchanges" had reflected a belief that the underlying vitality of the labor market could be simply served by putting would-be workers and potential employers in touch with each other. By the interwar years, however, such a simple model of exchange could no longer serve. The disparities in regional levels of employment—largely, in turn, a reflection of the steep decline and stark circumstances facing particular basic industries—brought the issue to the forefront of politics. There were experiments with "Instructional Centres" and "Government Training Centres." Even so, there was a reluctance, not confined to trade unions, to believe, for example, that the decline in the employment potential of coal mining or shipbuilding would be permanent. If it was, however, should workers be encouraged/assisted to move elsewhere where "new" work was available, or should "new" work be brought to them? How far should governments go in establishing "Special Areas"? It was not likely that the national government would go far down this particular road. Yet, as the author points out, its broad philosophical stance only explains a certain amount.

We need also to look at different departmental perspectives on these matters. Manpower needs in wartime, and the experiments in "planning" that went with them, also gave birth to William Beveridge's vision on "Full Employment in a Free Society." Indeed, Paulmann begins his book by quoting Beveridge's ringing declaration in 1944 that it was as necessary to declare war on unemployment as it was to declare war on Germany. Subsequent chapters make it clear how difficult it was for a Labour government in practice. Control was perceived in some quarters to be "saying good-bye to the democratic spirit" (p. 448) that had given Britain victory. Labour was naturally not afraid of state power, but there was no unanimity over the extent, duration, and nature of central direction, particularly in the envel-

oping Cold War. Walter McLennan Citrine, back in 1944, had urged fellow trade unionists that to have full employment "a price must be paid and someone would have to sacrifice something" (p. 395). Postwar sacrificial lambs did not come forward very readily. It scarcely needs to be said that the problems posed by the simultaneous pursuit of "Full Employment" and a "Free Society" remain of fundamental importance. Paulmann's exemplary monograph shows how, for a time, British governments thought they could solve them.

KEITH ROBBINS
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JOHN SAVILLE. *The Politics of Continuity: British Foreign Policy and the Labour Government, 1945-46*. New York: Verso. 1993. Pp. ix, 293. \$59.95.

The Labour governments of 1945-51 are generally given high marks for their conduct of British foreign policy. Facing a sea of troubles extending from Europe through the Middle East to India, and with desperately inadequate financial resources, by 1951 Great Britain, in the assessment of Paul Kennedy, "had extricated itself from many untenable positions, threats had been contained, and new structures of security and prosperity had been devised" (*The Realities behind Diplomacy* [1981], p. 362). Much of the credit for this success in adjusting the nation's policy to the realities of the postwar world is usually assigned to Ernest Bevin, the foreign secretary, who reasserted the role of the Foreign Office and its head as the chief architects of Britain's external policy after the erosion of influence during the preceding decade.

This record of constructive accomplishment is nowhere in evidence in John Saville's study of Labour's foreign policy. The work, which is based on Labour Party and trade union materials as well as Foreign Office documents, depicts Bevin as a man of "crass ignorant stupidity" (p. 108) who continued to assume the centrality of the empire to British interests and vastly underestimated the strength of nationalism in the Middle East and Asia while overestimating the Soviet threat to British security.

This negative picture might be explained in part by the fact that the study is largely limited to the years 1945-46. These were indeed months of confusion when many officials, American as well as British, were slow to grasp the changes in the balance of power on the international scene. The skillful extraction of British troops from Palestine, the successful implementation of the Marshall Plan, and the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization all lay in the future.

The author makes it clear, however, that he does not regard the later direction of Labour's foreign policy as beneficial to British interests. Although the Marshall Plan allowed a somewhat higher standard of living than would otherwise have been possible, it also

led Britain to continue overseas commitments, which Saville deplores, weakened working-class radicalism, and ranged Britain on the side of the United States in a Cold War that was avoidable. In short, Bevin betrayed the Labour Party by failing to conduct a proper "socialist" foreign policy (p. 92).

Certainly the author is correct that Bevin's policies were not driven by ideology, although not everyone would agree with his assumption that this is to be deplored. The foreign secretary's left-wing critics attacked him on those grounds at the time. This work does little more than restate their case with a bitterness that the passage of four decades has done nothing to assuage. Perhaps Bevin's record needs to be reassessed, but it should be done by those less committed to one side in the intraparty debates of the late 1940s.

Saville has made many important contributions to our understanding of the history of the British labor movement. This polemical work is not one of them.

CATHERINE ANN CLINE
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MILES GLENDINNING and STEFAN MUTHESIUS. *Tower Block: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 1994. Pp. vii, 420. \$65.00.

In the last century, high buildings arose in Chicago and New York as a logical response to factors of location, market, and technology. In Britain, in contrast, a relatively modest building called Queen Anne's Mansions threatened to overshadow Buckingham Palace, and in the 1890s height controls stopped a parallel evolution. The first public-policy paper on high buildings was only issued in 1951-53. When high buildings did begin to develop after 1945, it was as a result of state intervention, social policy, and public-housing finance. After a peak in the 1960s, when high tower blocks of public housing were acclaimed as the epitome of the welfare state and the triumph of social functionalism and international modernist architecture, they came to be seen as no different than the slum tenements they replaced. Just as in the United States the Pruitt-Igoe public housing project in St. Louis was demolished, so were large projects in Glasgow and London. Many of those that remained have become "no-go zones." Raymond Unwin's adage "Nothing gained by overcrowding" was vindicated.

Miles Glendinning and Stephen Muthesius have produced a valuable scholarly review of the era, including a compendium of all such projects. They have also assembled a remarkable collection of plans, diagrams, and photographs. This book is an important resource for historians of urban design, planning, architecture, and art. That in itself would be an important contribution. Beyond that, however, Glendinning and Muthesius's research has carefully and convincingly set out the factors that produced

this unprecedented outburst of tower blocks. City planners, architects, structural engineers, designers, and technicians, seeking decent minimal housing, civic design, and architectural quality, eventually agreed that tower blocks were the best option. Added to this was the elusive idea of "urban community."

Glendinning and Muthesius trace the transition from the semi-detached ideal to "mixed development," and thence to the high-rise ideals of Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Thomas Sharp. These ideals were implemented first in the form of individual blocks, and then high-density tower blocks in every major city. They then trace the revolt against the tower blocks, stemming from the Garden City movement, to debates about townscape, "subtopia," "dystopia," and the fear of tenements reemerging. The book concludes with the collapse of public housing as the welfare state crumbled. Their assessment is trenchant and fair.

A number of key factors in the advent of tower blocks emerge clearly: the dominance of international modernism and the rejection of the traditional town patterns; the decisive strategy of powerful public servants; the socialist ideals of municipal politicians, wanting the best housing for the poor but opposed to losing voters to suburbia or the new towns; and the drive for quality. In the end, the impossible conundrum of housing high-density populations with adequate amenities prevailed. Municipal pride produced perverse results and ended the era. This book traces the whole cycle with clarity and insight.

NORMAN PEARSON
Walden University

BRENDAN O'LEARY and JOHN MCGARRY. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. (Conflict and Change in Britain, A New Audit, number 3.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Athlone. 1993. Pp. xvii, 358. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

This book provides an introduction to the scale and character of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Brendan O'Leary and John McGarry, political scientists from London, England and London, Ontario, respectively, have written a carefully worded and reasoned text. They use the term "paramilitary," not "terrorist"; they do not equate Catholic with Nationalist or Protestant with Unionist. They are at their clinical best in the chilling first chapter, in which they audit the level of antagonism and the types of violence associated with the paramilitaries and security forces. They conclude that the term "the Troubles" and comparisons of the murder rate in Northern Ireland with that of the United States are misleading. By any measure, given its size and population, figures show that Northern Ireland in the past twenty-five years has been one of the most violent places in postwar Europe.

O'Leary and McGarry concentrate on four periods: 1920-62, 1962-72, 1972-85, and 1985-89. From the

partition of Ireland in 1921 until now, two questions have remained constant. Neither a nation nor a full state, what state does Northern Ireland belong to? With a guaranteed Protestant majority and Unionist political hegemony, how has political power been organized and exercised over and within Northern Ireland's respective communities?

O'Leary and McGarry employ a model of exogenous and endogenous forces to help the reader understand the unfolding of events after the partition. The former include individuals in the Republic of Ireland, Britain, the European Community, and the United States. The latter include Northern Ireland's religious groups, its political parties, and paramilitaries. At other points in the narrative they describe changing environments that affect events, such as regional economic trends and shifting class interests. The models are put to excellent use when O'Leary and McGarry analyze the pivotal episode in the evolution of the present-day conflict: the explicit challenge to Unionist control laid down by Catholics in the civil rights movement that began in the mid-1960s.

After describing the collapse of the Stormont Parliament and the institution of direct rule in March 1972, O'Leary and McGarry detail national and local elections and negotiations for a settlement. The Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed by representatives of the Irish and British governments in November 1985, receives two chapters' attention, although the agreement's momentum toward a settlement had waned by 1989. In these closing chapters, a more concerted analysis of the resilient tradition of constitutional nationalism in Ireland would help to explain why the nationalist Social Democratic Labour Party has continuously polled more votes than the nationalist Sinn Féin Party in Northern Ireland and why it has been closer to the heart of the attempts at a negotiated settlement than its political rivals.

O'Leary and McGarry conclude their text on a pessimistic note. At the time the book was written, the authors did not see the potential statecraft required to break the manacles of the past and they also believed that ethnic antagonisms were being reformed rather than resolved. Four years later, one has some reason to hope that their careful considerations were mistaken on both counts.

LAWRENCE W. MCBRIDE
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JAMES B. COLLINS. *Classes, Estates, and Order in Early Modern Brittany*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 312. \$59.95.

Over the last twenty-five years the work on French provincial institutions has considerably enriched our knowledge of the functioning of the early modern state. This book continues that tradition, with James B. Collins using the Estates of Brittany as a window

through which to view both the meaning of absolutism and the nature of the society that it produced. Analyzing the Estates during the period from 1532 to 1675, Collins shows how its debates and decisions were influenced by the demands of the king on the one hand and by the pressures of the "social groups that counted" on the other. He argues quite convincingly that the great noble landlords, the core of the Breton power structure, reinforced their position. By the 1580s and early 1600s the number of their representatives in attendance at the Estates had doubled and they were able to dictate decisions in their favor, constantly opposing increases in direct taxation to protect their peasants' revenue from the king's tax collectors. The landlords were thus able to increase the rents that they themselves imposed on their peasants at the same time that they received regular pensions and kickbacks from the revenues they voted in the Estates.

Collins shows that the Estates were the central bargaining place for all the divergent interests of Breton society, the key to cooperation between provincial notables and the crown. The essential requirement for the king was to receive the financing that he requested of the Estates. To meet those needs he left the delegates free to choose their desired form of taxation—indirect taxes—until the 1660s and 1670s, when the king's demands became so great that new direct taxes had to be voted. Collins treats the problems created by the Estates' fiscal choices, the destruction of commercial interests, and resulting unemployment. He tries, not always successfully, to link these tendencies with the "groups that didn't count" in the decision-making process—peasants, women, and the poor—noting that the obsession with maintaining order during this transitional period necessitated political and ecclesiastical intervention to control the groups adversely affected by the biased fiscal and political treatment.

In this mix of conflicting social and political agendas, Collins's work is most significant when compared to William Beik's study of absolutism and provincial institutions in Languedoc (*Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France* [1985]). He agrees with Beik on the central position of landlords, the unfailing allies of the absolute monarchy. Collins, however, breaks with Beik on the question of the crown being able to discipline these large landowners, the local nobles who, according to Beik, dominated the evolution of the last stage of the reinforced feudal society. In the case of Brittany, Collins argues that Beik's thesis is too rigid, for we see not a new absolutist consensus but rather a myriad of conflicting situations in the process of working themselves out: a society of orders coexisting with a society of classes, individualism being superimposed on existing collective notions, geographic and economic mobility confronting preestablished social and regional hierarchies. Collins does not see Louis XIV imposing on this changing and evolving world a new order or disci-

pline but rather respecting traditional ranks and coming to new compromises with the changes that were transpiring.

This is an impressive book that is remarkably strong in its analysis of the patronage web spun by Cardinal Richelieu as governor of Brittany from 1630 to 1642. The Estates of the province during that period escaped the confrontations with the central government so familiar in the other *pays d'état*. Ironically, the fact that Brittany had Richelieu as governor for one of the most crucial periods studied detracts from Collins's attempt to present the province as "a valid microcosm of France" (p. 274). Although perhaps not a universal explanation, his valuable study provides us nevertheless with a new and enticing model for the construction of the early modern French state.

DANIEL HICKEY

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER, JR. *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility*. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 272. \$32.95.

Since the 1960s historians of elites in France before the revolution of 1789 have produced many studies, some constructing a profile of an entire social group and others pursuing a single family in depth as a point of entry to a wider society. Now Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr., traces the Lacger family, robe nobles of Castres, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, basing his study primarily on five volumes of family papers housed in the Château of Navès northeast of Toulouse.

The Lacger family employed all the levers of social advancement available in *ancien-régime* France, including the accumulation of land, *rentes*, judicial offices, and military commissions. Most important, the Lacgers pursued an endogamous marriage strategy and extracted (at least until the mid-seventeenth century) every possible advantage for their eldest sons from the testamentary freedom provided under the inheritance law of southern France. As Mentzer notes: "The family structure and kinship relationships of the Lacger . . . are familiar to those who have studied these issues for other French houses of the period" (p. 161). He hastens to add, however, that because the Lacger were Protestant nobility their history is distinct from that of Catholic elites, even those from the same region.

Mentzer concludes that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 reinforced mutual aid and solidarity in the extended Lacger family. Even earlier in the century he detects a greater concern among them for younger children, evidenced by wills reducing the claims of the eldest son and by providing dowries for all the daughters, rather than enforcing bachelorhood and spinsterhood or placing the women in convents as did the robe nobility of Catholic Toulouse. In short, Mentzer believes that an increasingly

beleaguered Protestantism induced greater equality in the treatment of the Lacger children. He might also have noted that, unlike the nobility of Toulouse, there is no sign that the Lacgers practiced birth control. This may mean that the family was taking no chances on dying out, arguably a defensive reaction by a religious minority under siege.

I am not convinced, however, that religious confession was as important to Lacger family solidarity as Mentzer believes. There are many examples of conversion to Catholicism from Lacger ranks, and while he may be right to characterize "new Catholics" after 1685 as crypto-Protestants, in the absence of personal letters expressing inner feelings about belief, I remain skeptical about the depth of their Huguenot faith. That Catholic and Protestant branches of the family remained on close terms suggests that family solidarity did not need much religious reinforcement. Mentzer admits that few of the Lacger were martyrs to the Huguenot cause; after 1685 they either converted, however reluctantly, or retreated to their land and the few distractions remote Castres offered. Mentzer is surely right to emphasize discipline and blood as essential to the survival of the Lacger family, but I am less sure about belief.

ROBERT FORSTER
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ARTHUR DONOVAN. *Antoine Lavoisier: Science, Administration, and Revolution*. (Blackwell Science Biographies.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. xv, 351. \$29.95.

Lavoisier studies have begun to match in quality and volume the scholarly endeavors long devoted to other giants in the history of science, and Arthur Donovan here provides a much needed synthesis of recent work on Antoine Lavoisier and the chemical revolution. One of the new Blackwell Science Biographies, Donovan's account is authoritative, splendidly written, and now the definitive introduction in English to the dramatic life and work of the founder of modern chemistry.

Recent historians have often tapped Lavoisier and the chemical revolution for case studies concerning the sociology of knowledge and the rhetoric of science. Donovan brilliantly inverts these approaches, deploying recent research to effect a nuanced, contextual understanding of Lavoisier's multifaceted career based on the complexities of science and politics in the *ancien régime*. The narrative follows him from youthful legal studies, through his commitment to science and chemistry, admission to the Academy of Sciences, posts in the General Farms and (as A.-R.-J. Turgot's protégé) the Gunpowder ministries, a happy marriage, the campaign for the new chemistry, agricultural research, and service on the Mesmer commission, to his several administrative occupations in the revolution before his execution at the height of the Terror in 1794. The presentation of the technical

content of the period's chemistry should be accessible to the nonspecialist and can stand as a reliable first pass through the intricacies of the chemical revolution. Although Donovan discusses Lavoisier's chemistry and his formidable career as a public servant in separate chapters, the result is nevertheless a happy blend of the content and context of a life in science at the end of the *ancien régime*.

Donovan provides close readings of many of Lavoisier's original memoirs and letters, but this volume is necessarily forged from the body of extant literature. In one interpretive novelty, however, he argues that experimental physics—notably of the type pursued by the Abbé Nollet—provided the exemplar for Lavoisier's approach to creating new knowledge in chemistry. Donovan makes a strong case that Lavoisier's research program, positivist commitments, and scientific style (self-consciously defined against Georges-Louis Buffon's more speculative tendencies) derived from the model and methods of contemporary experimental physics.

For the most part Donovan maintains a delightful postmodern self-consciousness about his enterprise. Perhaps because, like any good biographer, he has lived intimately, if vicariously, with his subject, the subtlety of his analysis gives way to a rigid and judgmental reading of events after 1789. The French Revolution is the palimpsest *par excellence* of historical interpretation, but one may still question a version that relies on Simon Schama's *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (1989) and explicitly privileges Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) (pp. 206, 245). For Donovan, little difference separates 1789 and 1793, terror being a revolutionary characteristic from the outset. The analytical focus on the economic consequences of the revolution, which directly concerned Lavoisier, rather than on, say, political rights, makes it seem an unfortunate episode, succeeded after 1794 by a "new order" (p. 269). Sadly, the revolutionaries chopped off Lavoisier's head. But by ending his account with this unhappy event, Donovan leaves readers with a perhaps overwrought sense of the malignity of the revolution. In any event, a full biographical treatment should include at least some discussion of Lavoisier's posthumous influence.

JAMES E. MCCLELLAN III
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GEOFFREY CUBITT. *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. vi, 346. \$59.00.

Of the many Catholic religious orders, the members of the Society of Jesus, established between 1534 and 1539, have traditionally attracted exceptional attention, creating a concern exceeding the interest in the Benedictines, Dominicans, and other religious orders. Geoffrey Cubitt has brilliantly elected to exam-

ine the response to the Jesuits in nineteenth-century France. He considers the France of that century as consumed by conspiratorial theory. This addiction allowed the French to identify the Society of Jesus as an appropriate target. This quarry invited endless suspicion, fear, dread of conspiracy, and plots threatening society and nation. At the outset of his history, he stresses that not only those of the Left but also those of the Right perceived the Jesuits as threats to the existing political and social order. Cubitt represents the years from the Bourbon Restoration to the end of the nineteenth century, and during the Third Republic, as consumed by suspicion, distrust, and fear of the Jesuit presence in France. This anxiety created apprehension and disquietude that became particularly acute during the Third Republic.

Cubitt calls appropriate attention to the importance of J. Burnichon's *La Compagnie de Jesus en France: Histoire d'un siècle, 1814–1914* (4 vols., 1914–22), and he credits René Remond with identifying the Jesuits as the central target of published anticlericalism in nineteenth-century France. Indeed, every possible threat to the Third Republic was attributed to the Society of Jesus. Cubitt stresses that the proposals of the revolutions of 1830, 1848, and 1870 were perceived as dangerously threatened by the Jesuits. In this climate Cubitt appreciatively emphasizes the negative presentation of the Jesuits in Eugène Sue's novel *Le Juif errant*. It is equally important when developing an understanding of nineteenth-century France to recall that Edgar Quinet (1803–75) and Jules Michelet (1798–1874) wrote *Les Jésuits*, a devastating exposure of Ultramontanism and the assertions of absolute papal authority.

Cubitt concludes his perceptive history with the observation: "The Left's appetite for the myth of Jesuit conspiracy, like the Right's fascination with masonic plotting, infused into French politics a subtle blend of alarmism and complacency which dramatized insecurities and systematized mistrust" (p. 314). Such anxiety greatly disturbed political discourse for a century and a half after the revolution of 1789.

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PATRICIA MAINARDI. *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 210. \$50.00.

In this important and provocative book, Patricia Mainardi probes the relationship between art and politics in the early Third Republic. She focuses on two events that signaled the end of France's official exhibition system: in 1880 the state abandoned the traditional Salon, the nation's annual art exhibition, to an independent society of artists and, three years later, it sponsored the exclusive Exposition Nationale Triennale, which turned out to be France's last official Salon. Art historians have tended to portray

the late-nineteenth-century Salon as an aesthetically irrelevant institution whose significance derived from its exclusion of modernist painters. Mainardi counters the conventional wisdom by focusing her attention not on the canonical modernists but on Academic artists and other aesthetic conservatives. By exploring the conservative critique of France's annual Salon, Mainardi illuminates tensions that shaped the French art system as a whole.

Mainardi links the end of the Salon to a conflict that dated from 1791 when the revolutionary government wrested the Salon from Academy control and opened it to independent artists. With that act, "the Salon became a store, and artists became free-market small producers" (p. 14). Independent artists depended on these large, undifferentiated annual exhibitions, but Mainardi points out that members of the French Academy ridiculed the state-sponsored Salon as a "bazaar." They clung to a vision of art as education, celebrated history painting of the grand tradition, and pressed for infrequent, exclusive exhibitions.

The core of Mainardi's thesis is that tensions within the Salon system paralleled political and economic tensions within the Third Republic. Just as the Salon was split between "paintings to see" and "paintings to sell"—art as education and art as merchandise—so Republicans were "torn between economic rationalism and their devotion to state-sponsored public works projects" (p. 61). The establishment of the exclusive Triennale and the abandonment of the annual Salon represented a temporary triumph for aesthetic and political conservatism, a marriage between academic art and the Third Republic's "return to order." Similarly, the failure of the Triennale signaled "in both art and politics . . . a major reevaluation and rejection of the concept of privilege" (p. 127).

Mainardi suggests that the state-sponsored annual Salon was, in its waning years, out of step not only with the development of the Parisian art market but also with emerging tendencies within French commercial culture as a whole. An array of specialized smaller galleries and societies proved much better able to attract an upper-class clientele. Looked at from this perspective, the Impressionist exhibitions of the 1870s and 1880s exemplified a more general trend toward market differentiation.

There is, in this account, some confusion between Mainardi's analytic framework and the position articulated by her subjects. Academicians may have bemoaned the commodification of art, but it is not clear whether other artists drew a comparable distinction between art as education and as commercial product. For many late-nineteenth-century art enthusiasts, paintings acquired special value as commodities through their supposed ability to elevate or spiritualize viewers. Mainardi's discussion of the Triennale suggests that, by the 1880s, even the conservatives were finding ways to reconcile the commodification

and educational missions of art. Extolled by its promoters as a bastion of noncommercial aesthetic purity, the Triennale adopted techniques of installation associated with private galleries and department stores. Mainardi's intriguing book invites further exploration of the complex ways in which divergent audiences and artist communities conceptualized the relationship between art and the marketplace.

RACHEL N. KLEIN
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LEWIS PYENSON. *Civilizing Mission: Exact Sciences and French Overseas Expansion, 1830–1940*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 377. \$45.00.

From the mid-nineteenth century to World War II, hundreds of Frenchmen (and a few women) practiced science around the world, from China to North Africa and from Madagascar to Ecuador. The stated goal of this book is to describe their activities as part of France's "patronage of and leadership in spreading civilized values" (pp. 1–2).

The great strength of Lewis Pyenson's book lies in the enormous quantity of information the author has gathered on French scientists overseas, not only in archives and libraries in France but also in Argentina, Australia, China, the United States, Canada, and Italy; he cites documents in no fewer than ten European languages plus Chinese. It is unlikely that more than a handful of French scientists working overseas in those years have escaped Pyenson's notice.

Despite its thorough research and the impressive evidence it contains, this book remains puzzling and difficult to review. One problem has to do with language and definitions, for the author uses common expressions in unusual ways; for example, French scientists did not form "old-boy networks," but "mafias" (p. 5); meteorology is "the study of sublunar physical phenomena" (p. 24); and military men are "professional killers" (*passim*).

Creative metaphors are one thing, but redefining the key concepts on which the book is built is a more serious matter. One such concept is "cultural imperialism." This expression covers not only such arguably coercive activities such as teaching science in French to schoolchildren in Algeria and Vietnam but also studying magnetic fields in China and giving a series of lectures in Canada. Cultural imperialism is not defined as spreading French culture to people overseas, but as "men and women who carried out research at permanent, overseas locations" (p. xi), whether or not they left any trace among the inhabitants.

The organization of the book is purely geographical: there are chapters on Indochina, Algeria, Lebanon and Madagascar, China, Mexico and Brazil, and many other countries. This is helpful to those who need information on a particular country or event.

For those who seek to understand the history of France or of science, however, it is maddening, since the book jumps back and forth in time, giving no sense of the evolution of French cultural imperialism or the social history of science.

Even more surprising is Pyenson's definition of "science." He ignores medicine, engineering, and the "practical discourses, such as agronomy and metallurgy, where the expectation of lucrative gain often overpowers other sensibilities" (p. 3). Hence those very activities that absorbed the largest investments and had the most profound impact on lands and peoples overseas are excluded from a study of cultural imperialism. Even among the astronomers, meteorologists, and geophysicists who occupy most of the book, there is a tension between the disinterested search for knowledge and the need for practical results. The distinction the author makes between these sciences and, say, agronomy and medicine is not only artificial but it also undermines the book's ability to explain how science contributed to the expansion of French cultural influence.

Finally and most disturbing of all, this book does not judge French science overseas by its impact on knowledge or understanding of the natural world, but by the daily activities of rank-and-file scientists who collected data, taught school, organized lecture series, or lobbied for funding. The book consists mainly of mini-biographies of French people overseas culled from their personnel files and obituaries. The attention they receive is quite random. Charles Nicolle, who received a Nobel Prize for his work on the bubonic plague, rates five lines of text (p. 131), while Charles Bois, who measured rainfall in Tunisia, receives sixty-six, nine of which are devoted to his pay (pp. 133–35). There is no evident criterion for selection: they are all here, including their appointments, promotions, salaries, connections, and petty administrative duties; the author leaves it to the reader to decide what it all means. In trying to avoid the current fad for unsubstantiated theorizing, the author gives us myriad factoids, leaving the important questions still unanswered.

DANIEL R. HEADRICK
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JULIO GIL PECHARROMÁN. *Conservadores subversivos: La Derecha autoritaria alfonsina (1913–1936)*. (Estudios de historia contemporánea.) Madrid: Eudema. 1994. Pp. 294.

This is a history of the ideology and action of the Spanish New Right (*nueva derecha*) during the first third of the twentieth century, from the bankruptcy of the old conservatives in 1913 to the outbreak of the civil war in 1936. It is a synthetic study based on a reading of all of the relevant material and is unique in its clarity. Julio Gil Pecharromán, the author of an earlier notable study of the Second Republic, continues to establish himself as one of the outstanding

integrators of modern Spanish history. This work, like his earlier one, is a model of crispness and economy.

The author places the Spanish *nueva derecha* in the context of the other European rightist movements of the period (although the Spanish one was one or two decades behind), showing how it developed the same three strains as its ultrapyrenean counterparts: neo-conservative (working through the old conservative parties but primarily nationalistic and regenerationist); social Catholic (corporatist, authoritarian, and clerical); and radical Right (nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and militaristic). What distinguished the *nueva derecha* from other rightist groups in Spain was its defense of Alfonso XIII and the monarchy, thereby placing it in opposition to the Carlists at one extreme and those conservatives who accepted the establishment of the republic at the other. The author traces the movement from the *joven mauristas* of 1913, through the establishment of numerous short-lived small parties that allied with each other but were unable to stop the decline of the monarchy. When the republic was proclaimed in 1931, the *nueva derecha* saw its opportunity to rally the Right in opposition to the reforms and disaster (as they saw it) of the proletarian Left. He describes the relationships and internecine struggles among the new parties (the Catholic Acción Popular, the purely monarchist Acción Española, Albiñana's Partido Nacionalista Español), the formation of the CEDA, and what the author calls "the fascist temptation" of the Falange, through to the conspiracy of 1936 that led to the civil war.

There is nothing startling in the interpretations the author offers, but the succinctness and constancy of focus make the work a useful and valuable study. In the end, he points out, the *nueva derecha* did not win the civil war despite the fact that the movement's leaders formed the majority of Francisco Franco's cabinets over the years. They had hoped for a restoration of the monarchy, and they had to wait for nearly four decades for it to happen; and when the monarchy was restored it was a parliamentary and democratic monarchy, far from the dreams and hopes of the movement's troubled past.

JOSÉ M. SÁNCHEZ
Saint Louis University

SIEGLINDE GRAF. *Aufklärung in der Provinz: Die sittlich-ökonomische Gesellschaft von Ötting-Burghausen 1765–1802*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 106.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 305. DM 68.

This study by Sieglinde Graf delivers what the title promises. We learn a great deal about the successive stages of a specific effort at forming an elite learned association, conducted largely by high-ranking officials serving the Bavarian Electoral government, by mediatized clerics and by "free" professionals during the period leading up to the reform era associated with M. J. Montgelas. Their ostensible purpose was to

advance "scientific" ideas about improving both agricultural productivity and the "moral" qualities of the rural population, all with a view toward putting these ideas to work in a new and "enlightened" administrative state practice. The author sets for herself the additional task of going beyond merely an organizational and intellectual history of the blend of the German Enlightenment's "progressive" and "traditional" elements observable in a provincial setting, and away from the purportedly more scientific-cosmopolitan and metropolitan organizations in Munich. Her expressed intention is to present us with what she sees throughout as a unique associational "life world" whose qualities are in themselves meant to serve as historical explanation for the members' "will to reform."

Even though one may question whether these intellectual goals are achieved or whether such a detailed, expressly phenomenological approach has, finally, much analytical power, one has to say the book contains solid historical research into various draft proposals for and constitutions of the association; membership composition (with some interesting statistics and a complete listing of members for the years 1765–78); and its collections, publications, correspondence, chronicles, protocols, and so forth. It is altogether a treasure trove of information about eighteenth-century Bavarian intellectual and social life.

Ötting-Burghausen was a regional revenue and military administrative center east of Munich on the road connecting Augsburg and Vienna, whose decline became certain when the annexation of the Innviertel to Austria in 1779 turned it into a border town on the edge of an increasingly stagnant and closed tribute empire to the east. Implicit but never fully explored in Graf's story is a question about the various members' personal interests in founding and reformulating the association through several incarnations—ending, significantly, in 1802, a year before the termination of the town's state administrative functions—as they sought to reinvent their careers and options by adapting innovative "enlightened" language, tempered by neostoic and cameralist moral convictions, to bring them into line with both a more or less conservative Electoral government and the progressive temper of the times. In this regard one has to agree with Graf that the "moral-economic association" was not a precursor of the more liberal reforms of the early nineteenth century.

Although one also has to agree with her that this is not a story about a "failed modernization," what the significance of the appearance and disappearance of this association is remains uncertain. There is no critical exploration of the ideas advanced in this provincial setting. That this was an elitist association having no connections to local life carries no weight in the story. One misses any appreciation of the alien qualities of the proposed projects for agricultural improvement, alien in the sense that the problems of

agricultural productivity and efficiency primarily involved not the technical knowledge and moral character of "peasants"—as the association's discourses would have it—but the latter's difficult and variable calculations of optimum labor deployment. In line with an uncomfortable pathos current in German academic fashion, this valuable book celebrates, almost in spite of itself, historically lost provincial opportunities for greater social harmony.

HERMANN REBEL
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WOLFGANG RADTKE. *Armut in Berlin: Die sozialpolitischen Ansätze Christian von Rother und der Königlichen Seehandlung im vormärzlichen Preussen*. Berlin: Akademie. 1993. Pp. 290. DM 98.

The appropriate balance between public responsibility and private initiative has bedeviled poor relief and welfare in modern times. Just what is the proper mix? For Wolfgang Radtke, the "interpenetration" of public and private is nowhere more obvious or more effective than in the work of Christian von Rother and the Königliche Seehandlung in Vormärz Berlin.

It will surprise no one to read here that municipal and state provision for the poor was woefully inadequate in a time of population expansion, great human migrations to Berlin, and the economic dislocations connected with the beginnings of industrialization. Rother, whom Radtke characterizes as both bureaucrat and philanthropist, was well-placed to deal with this concatenation of forces. From 1820 through 1848 he headed the Seehandlungs Sozietät, which functioned as an independent financial and commercial branch of the Prussian state. In this capacity, he undertook commercial ventures of various types (ranging from machine-tool production to steamship lines) that, according to Radtke, bore the essential marks of late mercantilism. Several of these enterprises, especially those established in the impoverished area of Silesia (Rother's own home), had the further goal of alleviating need. Here, as elsewhere, Rother appears sensitively aware of Prussia's economic infancy as compared to bureaucrats in more progressive, modernized Western states. He thus recognized that only mercantilist policies of protectionism and state support could foster economic progress in "backward" Prussia. Although Radtke regards Rother as a "late mercantilist" in his economic orientation, he attributes to him significant innovations as well. In particular, Radtke credits Rother with the social programs the Seehandlung nurtured, which Radtke sees as models of "comprehensive social security" for the entire civil population (p. 128).

Although the Seehandlung primarily reflected Rother's philanthropic orientation, it was also the motivating force, sponsor, and source of funds for other charitable projects. Radtke focuses on three of these—the Association for the Education of Morally

Neglected Children (1824), the Royal Loan Office (1834), and the Rother Foundation for Unmarried Women of Good Families (1840)—that he considers as beads on Rother's eleemosynary chain and integral parts of a visionary whole. Especially strong was the financial link between all three and the Seehandlung. The loan program for people of small means was probably the most expansive, judging by the thousands who lined the streets before the doors of its main office and branches. How useful it was in combatting poverty is less certain. One wonders if the loan program and state pawnshop ever did more than momentarily halt a slide into destitution.

Similarly, Radtke paints a moving portrait of the plight of unmarried women in Vormärz Berlin. But the Rother Foundation only addressed a thin slice of that population; it was concerned exclusively with the older, unwed daughters of lower civil servants. Considering this, and the tiny percentage of applicants the foundation actually supported in one way or another, one doubts whether Radtke's conclusion that it was "nevertheless . . . of the greatest importance" in relieving the material needs of single women is valid (p. 266).

Rother represents a type of philanthropist hardly unknown in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Energetic, well connected to elites, filled with plans, and possessed of the financial acumen to bring them to fruition, he resembled such eighteenth-century figures as Casper Voght in Hamburg or Benjamin Thompson (Count von Rumford) in Munich. Certainly Rother's dual position as bureaucrat and altruist gave him unusual scope for action, even if he remains a rather shadowy figure here. Apparently he wrote little about his philanthropic ideals (unlike Voght or Johann Wichern), and his thoughts thus emerge only in his deeds and in the guidelines for the institutions he organized. About these things Radtke tells us a good deal, but he ultimately leaves us uncertain as to how the interpenetration of private and public Rother exemplified made much difference to the poor of Berlin and Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century.

MARY LINDEMANN
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ANDREI S. MARKOVITS and PHILIP S. GORSKI. *The German Left: Red, Green and Beyond*. (Europe and the International Order.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 393. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$16.95.

Andrei S. Markovits and Philip S. Gorski tell two stories simultaneously: the history of the Left in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the history of the Green Party. They can do both things at the same time, they claim, because the Greens arose from a "political transformation of the German Left rather than as a result of an ecological crisis of capitalism" (p. viii). In the introduction they intelligently analyze the greening of the Left in three narrowing circles:

first, conditions common to all industrial capitalist economies (such as the waning of the blue-collar working class); second, conditions unique to countries where Green movements actually emerged (for example, no Communist Party providing parliamentary representation to the radical Left); and third, conditions unique to Germany (including the "Holocaust effect," a questionable term for the reaction to the legacy of Nazi crimes).

In the subsequent four chapters, Markovits and Gorski sketch a history of the Left since the 1950s, with the sections on the Spontis and feminism being especially illuminating. They say little about the actual founding of the Green Party, but they do provide blow-by-blow coverage of the subsequent debates that pitted Fundis against Realos (fundamentalists against realists). Markovits and Gorski show an impressive mastery of the writings of numerous Green leaders, but they see the Greens only from the top down, leaving unexplored what the party meant to members and voters.

Although Markovits and Gorski discuss the Greens' position on numerous political issues, they depict the relationship between the two principal Green themes of ecology and socialism as too static, ignoring how the emphasis has shifted over fifteen years. Furthermore, they consistently understate the importance of environmental concerns. After tiptoeing past the Left's disdain for environmental issues in the early 1970s, Markovits and Gorski present the radicals' about-face in favor of ecology around 1980 as a merely tactical maneuver. They concede no role in this reorientation to perceptions of a worsening environment, and they give too little credit to nonleftist environmental activists. They admit in passing that the first Green parties at the state level were founded by conservatives, but they ignore the implications of that fact.

Markovits and Gorski insist that when the Greens' first national program was written, although ecology was the first of four self-defining adjectives chosen by the new party and comprised the lead section of the program, "ecology was not then nor has it ever been the . . . dominant intellectual theme or political preoccupation of the Greens" (p. 152). To sustain this thesis, they do not mention *Waldsterben* (the death of forests, especially environmental damage to Germany's famed Black Forest), and they ignore polls that indicated that environmental matters were the central concern of Green supporters. Weighing just the evidence presented in this book, ecology should rank higher than these authors allow. For example, in the only election they treat in detail, the balloting in 1990 that was overwhelmed by the issue of national unification, Markovits and Gorski explicitly concede that Green electioneering emphasized ecology above all other issues.

Sometimes this book is shrill and unconvincing. For example, Markovits and Gorski attribute Green criticism of Israel's Palestinian policy solely to anti-Semi-

tism, as if no Israelis criticized that policy, and Green criticism of Ronald Reagan's nuclear strategy to "mis-trust of anything American" (p. 173), as if there were no other grounds for opposing those militarily destabilizing, technologically impractical, and financially ruinous nuclear designs. Although this book is provocative and informative, if time allows reading only one recent book on the Greens, Joachim Raschke's *Die Grünen* (1993) is a better choice.

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ROBERT C. DAVIS. *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 232. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Robert C. Davis, author of *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City* (1991), continues exploring working-class culture in Renaissance Venice in this work. He reveals in punishing detail a culture of violence among workers, artisans, and other socially and politically marginal men who contested for a share of public honor through alarming displays of bellicosity. As long as certain elements of the aristocracy found amusement in watching the poor battle each other, individually in *mostre* or collectively in *frotte* these spectacles of often uncontrolled violence survived.

Davis's approach, modeled after Clifford Geertz's "thick description," returns time and again to the heart of battle to uncover successive layers of meaning. Initially, Davis outlines a "social geography" (p. 11) of the *pugni* held at bridges that usually demarcated boundaries between neighborhoods. A total of five bridges were eventually deemed appropriate, based on their size and location. At level two, Davis provides a reading of the battles. No written or formal rules of conduct existed, but appropriate actions were roughly defined by consensus. These standards of behavior were extremely flexible. The victories of those in *mostre* who transgressed rules of honorable combat were not disallowed, for example. The salient principle was, quite simply, winning. Large-scale battles came to be conducted solely with fists rather than sticks, giving Venetians notoriety for their skill at fisticuffs.

Davis constructs an ethnography that explores the systems of honor, identity, and celebration generated by the *battaglie*, large-scale but organized brawling among representatives of neighborhoods (p. 109). The participants sought the full share of public honor denied them through their work; thus, they celebrated "maleness," defined in terms of strength, endurance, and aggressiveness. Davis introduces material that proves decisive in understanding the *pugni* in the chapter "The View from the Balcony"; aristocratic sponsorship and protection were crucial in staging these illegal plebian battles.

Why, Davis wonders, did the last of the *pugni* occur in 1705? Suppression through police power was ineffective; the battles sprung up again like weeds pulled above the roots. These roots were finally undermined in several ways. Aristocrats who had formerly appreciated these spectacles lost their taste for violent, popular sport in the eighteenth century. Just as significant was a demographic factor: many men from one of the two most important factions, the Castellani, were sent off to die in Venice's futile efforts to preserve its eastern empire (1640–1700). Workers also found other venues for earning celebrity through less violent means, in rowing competitions, for example.

Davis could more profitably have chosen to cast his material as history of sport. The wealthy play a crucial role in promoting and viewing from the balcony (or the luxury box suite) distasteful plebian violence configured as sport (as with boxing, soccer, and football today). The rich cultivate and exploit self-destructive violence among the poor and marginalized, a few of whom emerge with fleeting glory and equally transcendent wealth. When both money and fame are all too soon gone, the former champions sink back into oblivion along with the many unsuccessful but necessary pretenders. Instead, Davis gives us yet another dose of Geertzian thick description, a prescription that promises more cure than it has yet proven capable of delivering.

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CECILIA MILLER. *Giambattista Vico: Imagination and Historical Knowledge*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xi, 203. \$65.00.

The last decade has been a productive period for Giambattista Vico studies, even in English. The earlier focus on the *Scienza nuova* has given way to a broader awareness of the range of Vico's writings and the wealth and diversity of his intellectual background. Cecilia Miller endorses the wider perspective, although she pitches her argument as if little had changed since the publication of Isaiah Berlin's influential monograph (*Vico and Herder* [1976]). To an extent, then, she finds herself arguing with a straw man. The deficiencies she notes in Vico scholarship have often been remedied without yielding anything approaching an interpretative consensus. And on finer analytical points she is strangely silent.

Despite these limitations, Miller's book is based on a careful reading of the gamut of Vico's writings. She makes especially good use of the various editions of the *Scienza nuova* (1725, 1730, and 1744). Her case for the continuity of Vico's thinking from the early orations (1699–1707) is persuasive. Although it is disappointing that her discussion of the neglected *Diritto universale* (1720–22) should be so brief (barely six pages), she nevertheless gives appropriate point-

ers to interested students who may be coming to Vico for the first time.

Miller's emphasis on imagination in Vico is entirely justified. But this, too, will not come as a surprise to readers who have been introduced to Vico by Donald Verene, Ernesto Grassi, or Andrea Battistini. She distinguishes her view neatly from Verene's, endorsing in passing an important reservation of L. Pompa's *Vico: A Study of the "New Science"* (1975). Yet she stresses throughout the methodological rather than the epistemological significance of imagination. She glosses over the troubling link between a constructivist theory of knowledge and a residual realist view of the past. And in general she errs on the side of description rather than analysis in her presentation of Vico's ideas.

These problems aside, however, this remains a book that will be useful to beginners. Miller is patient in her treatment of some of Vico's more obscure texts. The section of her bibliography dealing with manuscripts and first editions is especially valuable. The secondary bibliography is wide-ranging, although the discussion in the text tends not to reflect recent currents in Italian criticism. Oddly for a historian of ideas, Miller makes little use of detailed discussions of Vico's intellectual milieu. The early, more conventional writings are certainly best read as late products of a humanist tradition in decline. Vico's great achievement was to fashion these unlikely materials into an exciting theory of history and culture. A book that stresses the continuity in Vico's thinking would have profited from a closer consideration of the debates that nurtured this shift of emphasis.

In short, this book is a useful piece of textual stock-taking. It leaves our understanding of Vico more or less where it stands, adding a proper awareness of different formulations of leading ideas. What we really need, however, is more rigorous engagement with Vico as a philosopher of history and culture.

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DENIS MACK SMITH. *Mazzini*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 302. \$30.00.

In the bibliographical note concluding Denis Mack Smith's concise biography of Joseph Mazzini, he speculates on the "strange reluctance to write a full study of his career" (p. 232). Decrying the neglect of Mazzini following the life produced by Bolton King in 1902, supplemented by the studies of Gwilym Griffith and Stringfellow Barr, both over fifty years old, Mack Smith has decided to fill the breach left by such distinguished writers as Adolfo Omodeo, Nello Rosselli, Giovanni Bovio, and Gaetano Salvemini, whose projected major biographies never materialized. Mack Smith certainly has the credentials to do so. Dubbed by some the doyen of historians of modern

Italy, he has published widely on the Risorgimento and its chief figures in such works as *Cavour and Garibaldi 1860: A Study in Political Conflict* (1954); *Garibaldi* (1956); *Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento* (1971); and more recently *Cavour* (1985) and *Italy and Its Monarchy* (1989). Furthermore, although the writer's acerbic wit and facile pen have often proved iconoclastic toward the other makers of modern Italy, they prove more sympathetic toward Mazzini, a personality, philosopher, and political activist the author apparently respects.

This work is the culmination of years of research and writing on the Risorgimento, and Mack Smith has used a wide variety of primary sources, including correspondence with members of the William Ashurst family, a source particularly important for an understanding of Mazzini's personal development and history. This is complemented by the author's urbane and fluent style, minimally encumbered by academic accoutrements, making the volume eminently readable. The author has been indefatigable in gathering the accolades of contemporaries and subsequent leading lights of the political and intellectual world, who praised the person, and appreciated the role of the prophet of united Italy and European union. Among those influenced by Mazzini's vision, Mack Smith cites Woodrow Wilson and David Lloyd George, who shaped the peacemaking process of 1919. To his credit, the author includes the critical appraisals not only of Camillo Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and Giuseppe Garibaldi, who contested his political plans, and Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, who challenged his social goals and solutions, but also his former friends Giovanni Ruffini, who saw him as "infallible antipope," and Antonio Gallenga, who perceived him as the "tsar of democrats" (p. 83). Although generally favorable to Mazzini, the author all too often "rides the sources," failing to integrate these contradictory assessments into a meaningful framework.

Reading this scholarly and ambitious study clarifies why others have shied from undertaking the task of examining the personal life, philosophical thought, religious views, patriotic vision, European goals, and political impact of Mazzini, within the confines of one, or even two volumes. Mack Smith must be applauded for the attempt, and for making a real contribution in focusing on Mazzini's British experience and relationships, which provided psychological as well as material support for his Italian enterprises and expeditions. It is a topic earlier explored by William Roberts's *Prophet in Exile: Joseph Mazzini in England, 1837-1868* (1989), curiously missing from Mack Smith's bibliography.

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JAMES J. SADKOVICH. *The Italian Navy in World War II*. (Contributions in Military Studies, number 149.)

Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1994. Pp. xx, 379. \$59.95.

Was the Royal Italian Navy (RMI) a substantial fighting force that accomplished its mission well in World War II? Or, as the literature in the field too often suggests (especially the Anglo-American school), was the RMI one more example of "greasy Eyeties at the mercy of that bombastic fool and master of bluff and braggadocio, Mussolini?" In this spirited revisionist "interpretive account of naval operations," the Italian Navy comes out pretty well, especially given the material odds against it. The naval war between the British and Italians in the Mediterranean ended, James J. Sadkovich concludes, in a *match parti*—a draw (p. 348).

To understand why the Italians did not "do better," the author constantly reminds us of Italy's material and technological disadvantages. Germany's industrial capacity, for example, was five times that of the Italians, who accounted for about 2 percent of world industrial output in 1940. Imagine Adolf Hitler (with the equivalent of Italy's military resources) invading France with three armored divisions or driving on Moscow with a handful of armored and motorized formations, a few hundred medium tanks and an air force about the size of the U.S. Navy's air arm in 1940.

In support of his argument, Sadkovich fills his study with statistics, from tonnages, convoys, and their compositions to apparently arcane tabulations of "Arrivals of Axis Armor in North Africa January-June 1942" and "Types of Radar Sets Mounted on Italian Ships." At times the plethora of charts may appear dry, but each tabulation contributes to the author's goal of evaluating the Italian Navy's "performance," not just in pitched battles but in the boring day-to-day activities (such as convoy duty) that are a critical part of a navy's mission.

This book is undoubtedly a healthy corrective to the current literature. The author is right to stress the material and technological mismatch between Italy's "fledgling" navy and Britain's "premier" service. He points out the RMI's success in getting convoys through to North Africa. He is also right to point out the mistakes that the Germans contributed to the campaign. The RMI cannot be blamed for Hitler's failure to appreciate the importance of the Mediterranean theater. Also, the Germans must share responsibility with the Italians for the failure to seize Malta.

Yet, at times, the author slips into the very finger pointing and name calling he deplores in the literature when he calls the German support of their ally "sporadic and niggardly" (p. 334). Neither is the author's focus on "performance" (a term he never defines) at the expense of "personalities" entirely convincing. Ships do not sail themselves; sailors sail them. Finally, without in the least detracting from the RMI's "tenacious and gallant" effort, there is something disquieting about Sadkovich's argument. It is the only one that can be made, and it applies to all the

Italian armed services in World War II: at least they "avoided defeat for thirty-nine frustrating months" (p. 349). There is not much admirable about getting into a war you cannot hope to win, and Italy's top brass must shoulder at least some of the responsibility for getting their services and their country into such a dilemma. The RMI (indeed, all the Italian armed services) deserves the kind of spirited defense that Sadkovich presents in this book. Nevertheless, such defenses never dispel the larger issues of Italy's ultimate debacle, and who was responsible for it.

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JAMES D. FAUBION. *Modern Greek Lessons: A Primer in Historical Constructivism*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiv, 307. \$35.00.

The work of a cultural anthropologist, this study is provocative—in the several senses of the adjective. James D. Faubion explores the meaning and extent of modernity in his selected laboratory of Athens, an oversized capital city for a smaller country on the margins of mainstream European developments. He labels the process of acquiring modernity among a small group of Athenian "reformers" as historical constructivism, the synthesizing of history, or the absorption of the past into the present. The multidisciplinary approach results in a broad-based analysis with countless references to an extensive list of theoreticians and models. Early on, the author warns the reader that "*Modern Greek Lessons* is not an 'easy' monograph" (p. 19).

Defining what it is to be Greek through the millennia has challenged not only Greeks but also those who have studied their history, culture, and society. Whereas many scholars emphasize apparently enduring characteristics for the wide chronological sweep, others dwell on the differing and often conflicting "world views" evident in the separate periods of classical, Byzantine, Ottoman-dominated, and now modern Greece. In seeking his definition of Greeks in the midst of modernizing, Faubion relates impressions drawn from, among other sources, conversations with Athens' educated elite, gay community, and literary figures; evaluations of architecture, interior design, and restaurant menus; and observations of "feline theater" on Athenian streets and group conflict at a disco near the airport.

The interdisciplinary character and intricate methodology of this book will doubtlessly provide food for thought for historians attracted by its innovative character. Most, however, will experience intermittent distress from its contents. Faubion's elaborate superstructure of contemporary analysis has a decidedly shaky historical substructure. For the reader conversant in Greek affairs, a number of sections devoted essentially to basic historical and political

information (see, for example, pp. 71–73, 127–31) read, because of the succession of errors, as if they came from the pen of an ill-studied undergraduate. Thus, in 1843, "on the heels of a military revolt and under foreign diplomatic pressure, he [King Othon] was compelled to install a republic" (p. 127). We are then informed that King Othon continued to reign in this republic for another eighteen years. The inventory of mistakes, inaccuracies, and misrepresentations in dates, names, institutions, demographic information, and geographical terms is, without exaggeration, lengthy.

Although Faubion's judgments are adorned in sophisticated terms and pronounced authoritatively, the individual who knows Greek life and Athens well will identify many other inaccuracies and a seeming disregard for precision. For example, in referring to apparent patterns in the naming of Athenian streets (p. 89), the author states that there are no roadways memorializing George Seferis, Greece's Nobel laureate, or Angelos Sikelianos and Constantine Cavafy, two other distinguished Greek literary figures. A simple glance at the postal zip code directory for Greece will indicate that there are seven, fifteen, and seven streets, respectively, named after these writers in separate sections of the Athens-Piraeus area. At still another level, small white onions and not potatoes are a major ingredient of the Greek meat stew, *stifadho* (p. 47).

The above appraisal should not be considered petty sniping, if only because Faubion's methodology relies so heavily on micro-detail, observations, and impressions. Model-building should be attentive to all of its informational pillars. And, granted that in interdisciplinary studies there will always be criticism exchanged over the use/misuse of methodology and sources between separate social-science camps, Faubion nonetheless should have included some references in his text—or even a mention in the bibliography—to the earlier studies of two eminent historians who dealt with some of his book's concerns: William H. McNeill's *The Metamorphosis of Greece since World War II* (1978) and Arnold Toynbee's posthumously published *The Greeks and Their Heritages* (1981). Finally, in what must be considered a glaring void, the multidimensional impact of Greece's membership in the European Union, with all of its modernizing implications, is hardly mentioned and certainly never developed.

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MOSHE Y. HERCZL. *Christianity and the Holocaust of Hungarian Jewry*. Translated by JOEL LERNER. New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 299. \$40.00.

The pursuit of cause in history is a complicated matter because to fully understand some events one cannot rely on the obvious ones alone. Yet at the same

time one cannot overplay the esoteric ones at the expense of the obvious ones. Who killed the Jews of Hungary? The obvious answer is the traditional one: the Germans on Adolf Hitler's orders with the help of Hungarian accomplices committed the deed. That was the answer of the Nuremberg trials.

Moshe Y. Herczl, however, is not satisfied with this answer and digs deeper, yet too deep for my liking. The deeper he gets the narrower his explanation becomes, and in the end he may miss the mark altogether. Herczl argues that the single most important factor in the killing of the Jews of Hungary were the Hungarian Christians. So single-minded is Herczl that in the end he hardly mentions Nazism or Hitler as the initiators of this crime. The German occupation of Hungary is of no significance to the author.

The most valuable and lasting part of Herczl's book is his study of Hungarian anti-Semitism and fascism prior to World War II. At that time the author was a young man and he writes of these matters with intimate knowledge and conviction. Although in the twentieth century fascist and anti-Semitic movements in Europe were mostly secular, even atheistic, the author is persuasive in arguing that in Hungary they were very closely connected with the church. On this topic I accept the author's thesis as given, but what I fail to see is his argument that therefore it was the Hungarian Christians who must be held collectively responsible for the murder of Jews in 1944.

It is true that many Hungarians prior to and during the war committed many shameful acts. The government's legislation of anti-Jewish laws, following Hitler's example and mandate, started in 1938 and was inexcusable. Yet the murder of Jews, in the case of Hungarians helping to round up the Jews for shipment to Auschwitz, was a different matter altogether. The orders to round up the Jews came through the ranks and were carried out by the police force, such as it was at the time. Without that order the Jews of Hungary would not have been transported. One could, as I understand Herczl, contend that, without the anti-Semitism that was part of church propaganda before the war, no order to kill and deport Jews would have been given, or even more importantly, obeyed. This supposition is the weak link in the author's argument. A historian simply cannot ignore the principle of higher orders in the murder of Jews within Hitler's empire. The Holocaust took place in all German-occupied countries of Europe, but it originated only in one: Germany itself. If one casts the principle of higher orders aside, as does Herczl, one is left with the multiple, almost simultaneous, origin of the Holocaust. Fascism, as we know from the examples of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, in itself did not kill Jews. One can say almost the same about anti-Semitism. The German perpetrators of the Holocaust, especially in the early stages, spoke a great deal about the pogrom nature of the killing operations, but to date there is no single documented case where civilians spontaneously carried out the action. In all

cases the atrocities were committed by men from the ranks of the police or military units.

The Holocaust is a polemical topic, as it should be, but by pushing the Christian guilt argument to the point that he did, Herczl perhaps goes beyond the bounds of debate and loses himself in the religious antagonisms of the past.

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MICHAEL H. BERNHARD. *The Origins of Democratization in Poland: Workers, Intellectuals, and Oppositional Politics, 1976-1980*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 298. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.50.

This book by Michael H. Bernhard is an in-depth summary and analysis of the emergence and activities of the opposition movements of the mid-1970s in Poland. His thesis is that Poland in these years offers a unique example in Eastern Europe of the "self-liberation of civil society" (p. 23). This process, although having roots as deep as the Stalinist imposition of communism itself, achieved "break-through," as Bernhard calls it, with the workers' strikes of June 1976 and the resulting governmental suppression, which in turn inspired the organization of KOR (Workers Defense Committee). The successful liberation of a "public space" (and its defense against the party-state) made possible the negotiation of a settlement in 1980 between the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdańsk and the state, which recognized the legality of the self-governing trade union *Solidarność* and "marked the reconstruction of civil society in Poland" (p. 193).

Bernhard's study begins with a very brief history of the term "civil society." Although he himself notes that it might seem "too general" or "schematic" for some readers, this section provides a minimum and essential orientation. The most important point that he makes is that while a "liberated public space" is a necessary condition for the birth of civil society, its survival and flourishing require that it "be legally separated from the state *by law*, and the actors within it must be guaranteed specific personal and group loyalties." In other words, "the public space must be guaranteed as a realm of freedom from the state *by the state itself*" (p. 4, emphasis added). This clearly describes the magnitude of the challenge faced by the Poles (and, ultimately, of their achievement in 1980). He follows this section with a (also brief) comparative history of civil society and democratization in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, to justify his claim for Poland's uniqueness. His third task is to root Poland's "self-liberation" in the regime's "failure to legitimate" at any time during the years since 1945, citing the crises of 1956, 1968, and 1970 (and the premature retirement of four general secretaries amid popular unrest) as evidence of its chronic instability. While there is nothing wrong with Bernhard's discussion of these issues, there is also

really nothing new or newly insightful here. This ground has been covered before, in Jakub Karpinski's *Countdown* (1982), among other more recent works.

The bulk of Bernhard's book is devoted to "describing and delineating" the growing collaboration after 1976 of workers and intellectuals in the struggle to liberate the public space necessary for the rebirth of civil society. The strength of these chapters lies in the clear and concise way that Bernhard traces the process, and especially in his conclusion. In it, Bernhard credits the intellectuals of KOR with showing the workers how to lead the country "out of the psychology of captivity" that had prevailed since 1956, and to transcend the "cycle of intense and sporadic protests punctuating periods of apathetic withdrawal" (p. 208) that had characterized the years between 1970 and 1976. Ultimately, of course, workers and intellectuals together did succeed in forcing the regime to concede the legal recognition of *Solidarność* in 1980, which, Bernhard argues, represents the triumph of civil society over the state. The survival of *Solidarność* underground after the imposition of martial law in December of 1981, and its spectacular rise to actual political power in 1989, are confirmation of this triumph.

This book is extensively researched in both primary sources and secondary literature, and handily written. Bernhard has succeeded admirably in distilling the essential achievement of the Polish opposition between 1976 and 1980. In addition, Bernhard provides some introduction to and critique of existing analysis. Although in a few places Bernhard's "own theoretical analysis" verges on belaboring the obvious (and I am not completely convinced of the self-proclaimed "newness" of his interpretations), overall this is a highly useful and readable book.

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MYROSLAV SHKANDRIJ. *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation: The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. 1992. Pp. xii, 265.

The topics around which the cultural discussion of the 1920s in Ukraine revolved remain critical in its post-totalitarian society: the adaptation of modernity by a static and apathetic population and the relationship of Ukraine to Europe as well as to Russia. This debate, which began as discussions of various literary approaches, became pivotal in the definition of Ukrainian identity and in the manner in which the republic came to be subordinate politically and culturally to the Muscovite center of the Soviet Union. Myroslav Shkandrij places the debate in its political context without watering down the cultural issues and reducing them to a Russian-Ukrainian confrontation. The weave of politics with the richly nuanced cultural crosscurrents allows the reader to follow both the

intellectual debate and its political uses. The heart of the debate was the relationship of art to the people and to the promotion of revolutionary sensibilities. To reach the people, literature in Ukraine had to be in Ukrainian. Ukrainians opted for a Western definition of culture and of revolution. The Ukrainian avant garde opted for Europe and rejected the need for a Russian intermediary in building a progressive society. The debate itself was not about nationalism or the rights of the Ukrainians, although it came to be identified and presented as such both by its supporters and by their opponents.

The scholar accustomed to an imperial or even a simple Russian framework in the analysis and presentation of the cultural developments of the former Soviet Union will find Shkandrij's approach useful and refreshing. He is interested in the cultural and political situation in Ukraine in the formative years of the Soviet Union. The critical discussions in Ukraine that fashioned its cultural landscape were shaped by a multiplicity of forces, including those of Moscow. The major issue facing the Ukrainian intelligentsia was how to reconcile their own cultural sensibilities, which were very much within the context of the European avant garde, with the perception of the political leaders, both in Kiev and in Moscow, of what popular predilections of the Ukrainian masses were. Initially, the Ukrainian communists agreed with Moscow that a single proletarian culture would emerge from the unified proletariat. But the growth of the popularity of national sentiment in Ukraine convinced even the most die-hard communists of the need either to ride the popular wave or lose the masses and their support of the revolution. At the same time popular sentiment remained philistine, and Ukrainian fiction and theater were expected to have the requisite romantic and even mawkish vaudeville character. The party found the emergence of the Ukrainian avant garde and its claim to speak for the future doubly disturbing: it challenged both the revolutionary hegemony of the centralized party and Russian cultural superiority. Above all, it gave ample proof that Ukraine was fully capable of existing on its own with no help or intervention from the north.

Shkandrij masterfully presents the interactions between the cultural elite, the party, the influence of both the classics and the European modernists, and the local Ukrainian party functionaries that came to personify national communism, the first incarnation of communism with a human face. He does this by presenting the full picture, warts and all, of the cultural development of modern Ukraine. This is an indispensable book for the study of the intellectual and literary history of the former Soviet Union as well as modernization.

The debates of the 1920s have resumed in the 1990s, but the original so far appears to have been

more perceptive than the contemporary reverberations.

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NEAR EAST

ENGİN DENİZ AKARLI. *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861–1920*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 288. \$40.00.

The parochial problems of our global village's smaller polities have not infrequently loomed larger when internationalized by the interposition of neighboring regional powers and the world's great powers. This is true particularly when these problems have been of the sort that engender civil strife and complicate the operation of meliorative social, economic, and political reconstruction. If only for this reason, then, the modern history of Lebanon, a Middle Eastern polity that has experienced such a combination of tensions in our own time, merits Engin Deniz Akarli's painstakingly researched contribution to our understanding of Lebanon's earlier nineteenth-century experience with these problems when it still was only a part, although a rather distinctive one, of the Ottoman empire.

The diffusion of the complex, and sometimes antithetical, changes associated with "modernity" contributed at first to painful polarizations in Lebanon's intrasectarian and intersectarian relationships. They culminated in the civil war of 1860, and led after this to the peaceful recastings of these same relationships into more tolerant and cohesive political configurations. Concurrently, however, similarly multifarious European and Ottoman developments played themselves out in the Lebanese arena. Thus, from the late 1830s into the 1840s and 1850s, European powers, particularly France and Britain, challenged each other's interests and Ottoman authority in Lebanon and involved themselves with their respective sectarian allies in the fueling of tensions there. In the early 1860s, however, the European powers and the Ottomans, reacting to the civil war and working within the emerging international order of the day (the Concert of Europe), helped craft, for what they hoped would be the resolution of the Lebanese problem, an interesting institutional framework that combined a significant degree of representative government for the Lebanese polity while reserving the appointment of its Ottoman governor to themselves. The subject of Akarli's study is the progress of a semi-autonomous Lebanon whose physical and political parameters they had drawn and whose development they sought to oversee.

An appreciation of the process of change in a polity subject to so complex a set of determinants invites the question of their respective hermeneutical weightings, a historiographical issue of interest to students looking to see how socioeconomic and political con-

siderations link up with regional and international affairs. Put in this way, the question for Lebanon becomes one of weighing the relative importance to the process of change of those discrete events that, combining endogenous, regional, and international activities, may be said to introduce some scene-setting modifications to the character of the polity, such as occurred with the internationally sponsored Lebanese settlement of the early 1860s, against those longer-term and broadly based socioeconomic and political influences that are portrayed as carrying the polity's development in their wake.

Drawing on the relatively numerous files on Lebanese affairs of the latter part of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman archives, a hitherto largely unexplored source, Akarli highlights the extent to which regional, rather than international, influences combined with indigenous ones to shape the Lebanese polity in this period. The Ottoman administration, he argues, shepherded Lebanon with statesman-like skillfulness through a relatively long period of progressive stability. Anxious to retain their hegemony over a region that was of ever-increasing interest to France and Britain, the Ottomans oversaw the political life of Lebanon in a manner that strengthened the Lebanese polity and its experience with democracy. In order to keep foreign intervention at bay, for example, the Ottomans curtailed the influence of some of the governors who by going too far in antagonizing public opinion might create a situation that would invite intervention. With such careful analyses, Akarli has given greater substance and weight to very important aspects of the modern history of Lebanon.

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JOSEPH KOSTINER. *The Making of Saudi Arabia, 1916–1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 260. \$39.95.

In 1902, 'Abd al-'Aziz Al-Sa'ud, commonly known as Ibn Sa'ud, captured his ancestral capital of Riyadh and refounded Saudi rule in Najd. Joseph Kostiner argues in this meticulous study that initially 'Abd al-'Aziz became a traditional Arab chieftain. He led an alliance of nomads and settled inhabitants who shared responsibilities and duties, but who lacked either a sense of nationalism or clear territorial limits. By 1936, however, this chieftaincy had evolved into a state displaying the essential characteristics of centralized government, social cohesion, and territorial limits.

In contrast to theories that attribute this state formation to the charismatic 'Abd al-'Aziz, or to aspects of the religious reform movement known in the West as Wahhabism, Kostiner emphasizes the crucial role played by changes in the external "environment." When the Ottoman empire entered World

War I against Great Britain, the resulting struggle disrupted trade routes, elevated tribal rivalries into warfare, and forced rulers to consolidate internally.

During the war, the Saudi chieftaincy benefited externally from a disproportionate subsidy and fractured British policy making. Internally—within Arabia—it possessed in the fervor of Wahhabi followers, particularly the disciplined Ikhwan, a unique political and military asset. Kostiner argues that 'Abd al-'Aziz reacted to events rather than followed a strategy, but he nevertheless defeated neighboring rulers and seized their lands: the Rashidis in Hail, Muhammad al-Idrisi in 'Asir, and King Hussein of the Hijaz. Where expansion failed, such as in Ikhwan incursions into trans-Jordan and Iraq, frontiers were demarcated and territorial limits established.

Kostiner bases this diplomatic history largely on British archival sources. Specialists will find valuable the detailed depiction of 'Abd al-'Aziz reacting to events such as anti-Saudi alliances, difficulties for Najdi pilgrims in the Hijaz, or religious zeal stirred by autonomous Wahhabi followers.

In contrast, Kostiner only briefly mentions other aspects of state-building implied by the title. The development of central administration and its relationship with the religious leadership occupy relatively few pages. Similarly, 'Abd al-'Aziz built much social cohesion through his many marriages, and this key determinant of political stability lacks detail. Kostiner does justify his summary treatment of the discovery and exploitation of petroleum, arguing that it largely affected later periods.

Although the accuracy and general quality of the book reflect the tradition of the publisher, two criticisms might be made. The few maps generally date from later periods and sometimes fail to indicate locations mentioned in the text. Thus, one searches in vain for al-Ahsa (Eastern Province). Second, the index fails to guide the reader to the hundreds of characters dotting the book. For example, an individual entry would be valuable for Faysal al-Dawish, leader of the Mutayr, the most important Ikhwan tribe. These minor criticisms, however, do not diminish the welcome contribution the work makes to Saudi diplomatic history.

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CHIBLI MALLAT. *The Renewal of Islamic Law: Muhammad Baqer as-Sadr, Najaf and the Shii International*. (Cambridge Middle East Library, number 29.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 245. \$54.95.

One consequence of the colonial takeover of the Muslim world was the imposition of Western-inspired law codes and the progressive reduction of the scope of application of Islamic law. By the end of the colonial period, the range of application of Islamic law had been restricted to the area of family law

(marriage, divorce, and inheritance), that is, those fields in which the colonial powers preferred not to intervene, ostensibly out of consideration for Muslim religious sensibilities. Following the colonial period, Muslim intellectuals have struggled to revive Islamic law, with varying amounts of success. Chibli Mallat focuses on the efforts of an Iraqi jurist and intellectual who, although little known in the West, was the "foremost" theoretician of a movement of Islamic legal production that unfolded between the 1940s and 1970s, a movement that Mallat characterizes as a "renaissance."

Muhammad Baqer al-Sadr (1935–80), scion of a family famous for its learning, was an Iraqi jurist who was active in Islamic politics in the 1960s and in the Islamic opposition to the Ba'ath party following its takeover in 1968. In June 1979, while on his way to greet Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, al-Sadr was detained; subsequently he was transferred to Baghdad where, on April 8, 1980, he was executed together with his sister, Bint al-Huda. His death brought to a premature end a lifetime devoted to intellectual engagement. It was largely through the efforts of al-Sadr, Mallat argues, that fields of Islamic law, which only a generation earlier appeared to be either moribund or non-existent—constitutional law, economics, and banking—emerged as vibrant new disciplines. Careful attention to the social and political context in which this "renaissance" occurred, Mallat suggests, is one key to understanding the contemporary history of the Islamic movement in Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon.

Mallat sketches the historical, social, and intellectual context in which al-Sadr's career unfolded. He analyzes the legal and social differences between the two main branches of Shi'i law, the Akhbaris and the Usulis, as viewed through the writings of one of al-Sadr's contemporaries, Muhammad Bahr al-'Ulum. Whereas the Akhbaris maintain that Shi'is must imitate the behavior of the Prophet and the Imams as reflected in narrative reports passed down from one generation to the next, the Usulis require their adherents to follow (*taqlid*) a living religious leader or *mujtahid* who is qualified to interpret the sacred texts. These doctrinal differences, according to Mallat, have important social consequences for the structure of the Shi'i community, although one wishes that he had been more explicit about these social distinctions. In the context of the *muqallid*/*mujtahid* distinction, al-Sadr abandoned *taqlid* in favor of independent thinking on reaching the age of legal responsibility. Mallat interprets this episode as a sign of al-Sadr's rebellion against the received curriculum of Najaf and against the imposing hierarchical structure that lay in the path of the aspiring jurist.

Mallat documents the process whereby *mujtahids* rise through the hierarchy of the religious authority (*marja' iyya*), gaining the allegiance of increasing numbers of imitators or *muqallids*; he argues that, inasmuch as the individual believer decides whom to follow, the process is a democratic one. Between 1940

and 1970 al-Sadr and his colleagues began to offer a comprehensive analysis of contemporary legal issues (such as the status of women, Islamic banks, and the structure of Islamic society), producing an Islamic system that might serve as an alternative to the Iraqi state system. The hierarchical structure of the Shi'i religious establishment provided a possible model for an Islamic government in the proposed, alternative system. In this context, Mallat emphasizes the manner in which the structure of "Shi'i civil society"—referring again to the distinction between *mujtahids* and *muqallids*—transcends state boundaries and allows individual Shi'is to follow religious leaders wherever they may be, thereby resulting in what he calls "Shi'i internationalism."

Baqer al-Sadr translated the model of the Shi'i religious establishment into the language of constitutionalism. Although the Ayatollah Khomeini's Najaf lectures in 1970, published as *Velayat-e faqih*, together with the constitutional articles of Taleqani, offered a general framework for an Islamic republic, these writings lacked the specific detail that would have facilitated institutional articulation. Mallat makes the bold claim that three treatises written by al-Sadr in 1979 provide the "missing link." In these treatises, written in response to a request from a Lebanese jurist for his view of a "Project for a Constitution of Iran," al-Sadr provided Qur'anic sanction for the jurists' (*'ulama's*) right, indeed, their responsibility, to rule. In the first treatise, al-Sadr advanced a novel reading of Q. 5:44 in which he found Qur'anic sanction for the argument that the *'ulama* serve as leaders of the community after the Prophet and the Shi'i Imams, identifying the Shi'i religious leaders (*marja'iyya*) with the Qur'anic reference to "Doctors of law (*akhbar*)" to whom was entrusted the protection of Allah's book." In the second treatise, al-Sadr advanced a philosophical argument for the enduring significance of the Islamic state throughout history. And in the third treatise, al-Sadr argued that the Islamic Revolution was the means through which his earlier theoretical speculations might find their practical implementation. According to Mallat, this third treatise constitutes "one of the early blueprints (probably even the earliest) of the Constitution finally adopted in Iran" (p. 70).

Al-Sadr posits four theses (*Iqtisaduna* [Our Economy] [1961]) that explain the relation between Islamic law and the economy: Islamic economics is a doctrine, not a science, and it explains how the economy should function rather than providing an explanation of past economic events; Islamic economics is based on the notion of justice; the key to Islamic economics lies in Islamic law; and Islamic economics must be discovered empirically from the texts of Islamic law, using the methodology of Islamic jurisprudence to derive economic principles from the Qur'an, *sunna*, and other legal sources. After positing these theses, al-Sadr engages in a discussion of how to read the law, the necessity of independent reasoning (*ijtihad*), and

the problem of objectivity. Especially interesting in this regard is his argument that if a contradiction arises between the reported practice of Muslims during the period of the Prophet Muhammad, on the one hand, and legal rules developed subsequently by Muslim jurists, on the other, the contradiction should be resolved by giving preference to the latter, a bold proposition for which al-Sadr subsequently was sharply criticized.

Having established his principles and his methods, al-Sadr turns to an analysis of the distribution of resources and the factors of production, that is, land, minerals, water, and other natural resources. This analysis yields a "general theory" of distribution prior to production involving laborers' rights to maintain the fruits of their work. As for the distribution of resources after production, al-Sadr argues that the appropriation of natural wealth is linked directly to labor, which confers on laborers exclusive ownership of products or resources they produce. In an Islamic economy work is the essential justification for profit, and an individual who does not work may not be guaranteed a profit.

Iqtisaduna has been subjected to criticism by Muslim intellectuals on the grounds that al-Sadr's method of reading Islamic legal texts is loose and faulty; that he has misstated the *shar'i* doctrine on private property and labor; that the work is ahistorical (for example, by defining the status of land in the twentieth century on the basis of the manner in which its inhabitants embraced Islam over a thousand years ago); and that its idealistic theory of distribution would be ignored by powerful landowners and the Council of Guardians. These criticisms notwithstanding, Mallat argues that *Iqtisaduna* remains "the most interesting and most comprehensive work written on Islamic economics" (p. 142).

On the issue of banking (*al-Bank al-la Ribawi fi'l Islam* [Interest-Free Banking in Islam]) al-Sadr realizes that an Islamic bank at first must operate in an adverse economic environment and make adjustments for this situation. That is, while not giving interest, an interest-free bank may place "deposits bearing interest in the banks that belong to people who do not believe in Islam, or in banks of states that do not adopt Islam as a system of government" (p. 167). Al-Sadr also analyzes the relations between depositors and investors (fixed deposits, profit, mobile deposits) and discusses the activities of an interest-free bank (e.g., deposits, loans, and compensation; checks, theory of deposits; and other transactions).

It is difficult to do justice to the richness of al-Sadr's thought and of Mallat's analysis. In his final assessment of al-Sadr, Mallat draws attention to the imaginative effort and vision required to fashion a new discipline based on a comprehensive synthesis of economic principles derived from abstruse legal texts. The efforts of al-Sadr stand out from those of other Muslim intellectuals of the twentieth century. Only

time will tell if his theoretical speculations can be translated into practice. Be that as it may, historians are indebted to Mallat for this rich and detailed study of an important modern Muslim jurist.

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AFRICA

KELETSO E. ATKINS. *The Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann or James Currey, London. 1993. Pp. xv, 190. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

Keletso E. Atkins has given us an important book. By providing analyses of "the range of ways African laborers effectively fought against . . . alien ideologies," she is able to demonstrate the creation of "a well-defined and disciplined consciousness" and African work ethic in colonial Natal (pp. 144–45). Her conclusions strike at the heart of the "lazy kaffir" myth, a frequently replicated view of African indolence widely held in Natal, South Africa more generally, and through various corollaries in much of the Western world.

Along with Africans themselves, many serious scholars of southern African history have long distrusted this mythic representation of African working people. What Atkins has accomplished, however, is to discredit the myth completely. Drawing on European testimony itself, she constructs a picture of how Africans created a sense of working-class solidarity so threatening to the colonial community that it "reacted by inventing a wholly different truth" (p. 143). Her accomplishment will be applauded by scholars long uncomfortable with Western colonial representations of Africans and anxious for further analytical evidence to reinforce their arguments.

Such appreciation notwithstanding, some readers may be troubled by Atkins's avowed "overriding concern . . . to reach beyond the academy to a much broader population . . . [of] young South African sisters and brothers and African American youths . . . desperately in need of access to histories about themselves . . . that conform to their humanity" (p. 7). Viewed from that perspective, her book might be seen as a discourse on the fictive demand, "The myth is dead! Give us our history!" rather than the creation of an African work ethic. But there is little else in the book to suggest either a privileged purpose or an appeal to a narrow audience. Centered as it is on African experience in the changing colonial economy of Natal, her book is rather a broad-based explication of both class and cultural encounters in nineteenth-century South Africa.

To achieve this, Atkins has taken up the methodological challenge of limited African sources, confronting an overwhelming preponderance of colonial

accounts with their predictable images of African lassitude. Her response was "to coax the [European] sources into revealing . . . the answers . . . which I had hoped to elicit directly or indirectly from the [African] workers themselves" (pp. 4–5). Going beyond the close questioning of colonial sources that has become familiar to historians of Africa, Atkins sees herself in the role of defense attorney cross-examining those whose testimony would convict her clients. This approach allows her to ask leading questions of her sources and to assume "if the hostile witnesses talked long enough they would incriminate themselves" (p. 6).

Perhaps in this aggressive methodological approach some historians may become uncomfortable with this book. Atkins could be viewed by some critics as bringing an unrestricted agenda to analysis of her sources. Yet few would deny the reasonableness of her conclusions concerning African agency in the Natal labor market and the inherent irrationality of the "lazy kaffir" image. Recognizing the significance of these conclusions, we must also accept the usefulness of her persistent methodological inquiries.

The net result then, despite potential reservations, is an important book opening new windows on the history of South African workers. Although not necessarily pathbreaking, it opens new doors in using an inquiry approach to European sources for constructing that history.

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WUNYABARI O. MALOBA. *Mau Mau and Kenya: An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt.* (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 228. \$35.00.

This book is a macro-analysis written in the tradition of Robert Buijntenhuijs's *Mau Mau Twenty Years After* (1973) and *Essays on Mau Mau* (1982). Wunyabari O. Maloba critiques recent interpretations of Mau Mau, which produced micro-level debates over Mau Mau's origins, membership, goals, direction, and the extent to which it reflected class and gender conflicts. Maloba concludes that these debates have obscured nationalism's role and suggests that Mau Mau be recast as a nationalist, patriotic peasant struggle. With the resurgence of ethnic nationalism in the 1990s and its tragic consequences in the Third World and Europe, where ethnic conflict had long been considered an archaic issue, Maloba's analysis assumes a new relevance.

Maloba's central thesis juxtaposes white nationalism with African nationalism. White nationalism created economic desperation and social discrimination in colonial Kenya, driving the African peasantry and urban crowd into the ranks of the African nationalists. A leadership crisis caused the movement to falter from 1928 to 1960. Jomo Kenyatta, who was most conversant with Western politics, spent many years in

Europe. Harry Thuku, whose leadership in the 1920s elevated him to icon status, was converted to the ranks of conservative, pro-government Kikuyus. Their loss meant that no one emerged with the prestige and following to create a multiethnic nationalist movement. Kenyan nationalism was characterized by an overabundance of ethnic-based associations.

Yet the greatest obstacle to effective, integrative African nationalism was white nationalists with whom the state colluded in its cynical domination of indigenous Africans and Asian immigrants. Suppressing the peasants' rebellion cost thousands of lives, millions of pounds, and loss of prestige for the British. Consequently, the state abandoned its support of the white nationalists and allied itself with moderate and conservative Africans represented by Kenyatta, Kikuyu Loyalists, and trade unionists; Mau Mau ex-combatants were excised from this process. They received little recognition and few material rewards when independence came.

Maloba's interpretation of this signal episode in Kenya's history is holistic, since the antagonists' actions and opinions were rooted in their economic, social, cultural, and political positions. The most interesting aspects of the narrative are the discussions of the conflicts between the older and younger nationalist leaders and the peasant generals' competition for hegemony in the forest camps. Maloba's use of recently declassified government documents discloses a better picture of the government's conduct of the anti-Mau Mau campaign. His analysis, however, stumbles on the issue of gender and fizzles when depicting the peasant voice.

The voice of the ordinary peasant participant is lost, for no oral interviews were collected. Given current political conditions in Kenya, Maloba would have had a difficult time obtaining these voices; he uses written memoirs of extraordinary peasants who became leaders and the fictional voice of the peasant from Ngugi wa Thiongo's novels and short stories.

More problematic is Maloba's discussion of gender. After opening with a critique of Luise White's thesis that traditional gender roles were reconstructed in guerrilla camps, he omits any consideration of gender until Mau Mau's legacy is discussed in the final chapter. This strategy misses the point of the new scholarship on gender and nationalism. It is minimized and relegated to a brief recital of research by women scholars. Such silence implies that women's patriotism was not produced when land was alienated, the migrant-labor system introduced, and discriminatory legislation enforced. Although excellent in many ways, this study largely reconfirms women's exclusion from the analytical paradigm of Mau Mau. Paradoxically, the final chapter acknowledges that gender discrimination is persistent in contemporary Kenya but denies opposition to gender discrimination as a call to arms for Kikuyu women in the 1950s.

Maloba's monograph demonstrates why there is an

endless fascination with Mau Mau. There were and are many Mau Maus. It is an anomalous African revolution that was not strictly revolutionary; it was a peasant rebellion, yet peasants were betrayed when its goals were achieved; it epitomizes racial campaigning of the sort brought to new levels of virulence in American and South African elections since 1980; in the race-baiting game of the 1950s, British propaganda succeeded in demonizing and discrediting the rebels—equating the very name with primitive thuggism. Mau Mau had few allies, yet this rebellion continues to speak through the decades as Kenya's elite, political conservatives, radicals, and ex-combatants compete to control and define its meaning.

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ASIA

EMIKO OHNUKI-TIERNEY. *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 184. \$19.95.

There is no doubt today that we need to study the many ideas, forms, and symbols that tie the idea of the nation with people. In this book, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney traces the role and use of rice throughout Japan's past to examine a popular notion common today, that rice is central to a Japanese conception of themselves and their nation-state. Indeed she concludes, "This double linkage to the Japanese self—representing its *body* and its *land*—may be a clue to the enormous power and resilience of rice symbolism which has *remained more meaningful and powerful than both the imperial system and agriculture itself*" (p. 132).

Regardless whether one agrees that rice has ever supplanted the emperor, Ohnuki-Tierney leaves little doubt that today rice in Japan is an important symbol of national distinction. She discusses the pervasiveness of this symbol: as the staple food, in everyday attitudes, in government policies over the past century, within agricultural policies of the Liberal Democratic Party, in trade disputes, throughout Japan's past (mythological, proto-historic, and historical), and in historiographical arguments over that past.

A common trope in narratives of a nation-state is a continuity, from a unique beginning, that establishes immanence within a totalistic story of transformation. Ohnuki-Tierney employs textual, visual, and ideational material—myth-histories, folk belief, money, art, nature, rice paddies—to show changing roles of rice at different moments of the past, as in, for example, the recentness of white polished rice as the staple food. But the whole demonstrates the prevalence of rice in a Japanese belief system. Ohnuki-Tierney's conclusion falls within this standard narrative form, that of mutability and immanence: "Paradoxically, then, the Japanese collective self has both changed and not changed" (p. 129).

This paradox exposes the ways that the nation-state

is imbricated in social scientific and humanistic discourse, restricting specialists on Japan (and other nation-states). One analytic problem is the use of a reflexive duality—self/other—that usually affirms the very concepts that one seeks to problematize. Although within a professed epistemology of change, process, and construction (see the first and last chapters), the use of this binary form reinforces the immanent nation (p. 131). The other problem is external to Japan, “rice became a different rice each time the Japanese self encountered a different other” (p. 129). Exteriority is defined by non-Japanese (China, the West, the Stranger Deity), reinforcing a collective singular, Japan, as a nation-state, here, dated from the ancient period (pp. 101–02). Such a dualism fits within centripetal tendencies of a national language that help formulate the collective singular. Connections occur within the common sense of the nation-state: “rice consumption, polity, rice production, harvest ritual, and human reproduction are all equivalent in meaning” (p. 57). The very concepts and connections that were often formulated as the nation-state was being defined are reified.

If one recognizes a dialogic rather than dualistic interaction, then evidence marshaled to show continuity might demonstrate the lack of a national belief. For example, the cosmology in the *Nihonshoki* (A.D. 720), which is written largely in Classical Chinese using the style of Chinese dynastic histories, could also have been written to distinguish the Yamato from commoners or competing elite families, using the similitude of China to give authority to Yamato hegemony. Peasants, too, might be exterior; folk beliefs (a modern category) might be evidence of the lack of nation, that local beliefs were not tied together by abstract singularities, such as rice as Japanese, but by their understanding of their immediate environs. The centrality of rice paddies in Ohnuki-Tierney’s analysis as the node that ties earth and human together into the nation quite possibly indicates a series of autonomous localities in premodern societies rather than the romanticized agrarian landscape of modern and postindustrial societies. The plural inherent to a dialogic framework is not a quibble (see p. 7 for caveat); the relation between the data and the historicities that give meaning to that data must be interrogated. Failure to do so results in an uncomfortable confluence of body, space, culture as an inherent unit, the very modernist discourse that reifies the nation-state as transparent (see, for example, pp. 10, 57).

Historians must not dismiss such needs to distinguish between discourses embedded in sources, contemporary accounts, and our frameworks as the problem of an anthropologist. This is common in historical studies. There is much to learn from this book: it furthers our understanding of contemporary belief in the Japanese nation-state, and it is an impor-

tant step in our efforts to interrogate the interrelation between nation-state and common sense.

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JANET R. GOODWIN. *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 181. \$27.00.

In this book, Janet R. Goodwin provides the first extensive study in English of the various nationwide campaigns to collect donations for the building, or rebuilding, of Buddhist temples. These were known as *kanjin* campaigns. They were led by clerical fund raisers, including monks of the Ritsu school and wandering mendicants or ascetics known as *kanjin hijiri* who traveled the country presenting Buddhist teachings to high and low in such a way as to maximize the efficacy of their campaigns.

In her opening chapter Goodwin rightly argues that the surge in popularization associated with Kamakura Buddhism cannot be fully understood simply as a doctrinal development. It should also be understood in its socioeconomic context: the interaction between temples and patrons, proselytizers and the proselytized. In succeeding chapters she examines the earliest *kanjin* campaigns led by Gyōki (668–749), Jōkei’s campaign to revitalize Kasagidera between 1182 and 1203, Chōgen’s massive effort to restore Tōdaiji between 1181 and 1203, and the role of Ritsu monks in restoring Daigoji and Saidaiji in the mid-thirteenth century.

Goodwin does more than catalog these campaigns. She shows that the popularization of Japanese Buddhism in these centuries was not due solely to the efforts of the leaders of the new pietistic current of Pure Land Buddhism to spread “new” teachings and practices. Fund raisers for older temples also contributed to the popularization and revitalization of Buddhism. She also shows that the economics of the construction of temples—the physical edifice of Buddhism—drew from, and contributed to, doctrinal and institutional development.

The central theme of her book is the “interaction between Buddhist institutions and lay society, as demonstrated by *kanjin* campaigns” (p. 5). She draws on Amino’s Yoshihiko’s notions of marginality or non-attachment, *muen*, in arguing that such campaigns were frequently conducted not from the center by the power holders of the day but by smaller temples, from the provinces, and by marginal figures, *muen hijiri* or “vagabonds.” She also uses Victor Turner’s notions of “anti-structure” and “communitas” in arguing that the collection of donations involved the creation of local communities of donors on the margins of society bonded not by the institutionalized social structure but by common religious purposes in the realm of anti-structure. “Communi-

tas" forged by *kanjin* campaigns, she asserts, transcended the actual moment of the fund raising effort to provide an enduring anti-structure in local society.

The activities of *kanjin hijiri* were important, and Goodwin's approach does much to open new terrain in the study of medieval Japanese Buddhism and society. By looking at Buddhist temples and their patrons, small as well as large, she is able to expose both the interaction of Buddhism in society and what might be called the economics of salvation. She is also able to transcend the uninformative, but much used, distinction between "new" and "old" Buddhism.

Her reliance on Turner and Amino for theoretical framework both helps and hinders her efforts. It helps in providing a clear and concise structure for her book. It hinders in that it forces her to assert that *kanjin hijiri* were more marginal than perhaps they actually were. It is hard to argue that Jōkei of Kasagidera or Chōnen of Tōdaiji were marginal figures in their age. Further, the attainment, through such *kanjin* campaigns, of an enduring "communitas" at the local level is asserted rather than demonstrated. Even with these weaknesses, Goodwin's book is still well worth reading by those interested in the workings of medieval Japanese society and religion.

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MARY ELIZABETH BERRY. *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxxii, 373. \$45.00.

This is an important book. Examining Kyoto during the crucial hundred years from 1467 to 1568, Mary Elizabeth Berry ranges from the intricacies of endless succession disputes in elite military households to an analysis of the screen paintings that depict commoners' lives, yet she achieves a remarkable coherency for all her breadth of coverage. Her organizing principles are the "culture of lawlessness" that permitted the violent rupturing of norms and expectations and the "politics of demonstration" through which violence was both displayed and controlled (p. 11). Coherence is reinforced by Berry's distinctive voice; this is clearly her retelling of wartime Japan and none other. She makes sense of disparate issues—why the massing of enormous armies resulted in relatively little killing or why commoners danced in the streets—by pointing to parallels between them. Her depiction of how the warlords and their minions betrayed kin, friend, and master constitutes a stunning exposé of the politics of self-interest; her demonstration that what mattered in the end were the practices of commoners, who held the city together while shaping it anew, gives this book lasting significance.

Berry's ability to tease out diverse layers of meaning in the events and practices she discusses is noteworthy. To take one example, her analysis of the Hokke league and insurrection draws on a careful marshal-

ing of scattered comments to illustrate how the league's adherents sought to intimidate the governing elite into accepting them as a political power. In a telling use of scarce resources, Berry cites a number of documents in varying contexts to support vastly different arguments regarding everything from the disorder that plagued the city to the innovations by commoners that replaced corporate hierarchies with horizontal, class-based neighborhood associations. Illustrations, some in color, plus liberal quotations from diaries, petitions, and directives enable her to reconstruct a persuasive picture of the mental universe of a wide range of people, literate and otherwise.

In interpreting elite motivations and behavior, Berry's conclusions are straightforward. In depicting the commoners, she presents two interpretations—one that emphasizes passivity and elite cooptation, and another that makes the case for agency and subjectivity—and then defends the latter. The history of fractional fighting among the warlords, paralleled by the development of commoner institutions of self-rule, is a complicated tale sometimes confusing in the telling, but her extended meditations on performance and play comprise a tour-de-force effort to find meaning in the dynamics of diverse social interactions, from the waves of commoners dancing en masse to tea rituals.

This book is so rich in insight and so filled with information on wartime patterns of behavior, beliefs, and identities that asking for anything more must seem gratuitous. Yet, rather than so many long-winded formulations and reformulations of what documents might imply, some acknowledgment of work done by other scholars would have been in order. As it stands now, the book appears to have arisen wholly out of Berry's own head, and her debts to Japanese scholars remain buried in the endnotes. While no one would disagree with her interpretation of the place of precedent in the commoners' view of their relations with their patrons, Hitomi Tonomura's evidence ("Forging the Past: Medieval Counterfeit Documents," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40.1 [Spring 1985]: 69–96) showing that precedents were often forged suggests the possibility that commoners manipulated this relationship more than Berry acknowledges. Both Tom Keirstead (*The Geography of Power in Medieval Japan* [1992]) and Herman Ooms (*Tokugawa Ideology* [1985]) have created much more sophisticated arguments regarding power, legitimacy, and authority in medieval and early modern Japan than those found here. Finally, an already powerful statement regarding the social function of tea could have easily been put in the context of Pierre Bourdieu's ideas about cultural capital (*Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* [1984]). The obverse of Berry's close reading of documents is her relentless refusal to engage theory.

These caveats should not detract from a book to be mined for information and studied for insight. People

interested in politics, popular movements, local history, and the tea ceremony will find it a treasure trove. I plan to use it for at least three classroom lectures: one on the causes and protocols of war, one on the dynamics of religious movements, and one on commoners at work and play. I doubt that the limited attention span of undergraduates would permit its use as a textbook, but graduate students will profit from a close study of its methodology. It offers as well a powerful antidote to the stereotype that the Japanese are an innately harmonious people.

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LINCOLN LI. *Student Nationalism in China, 1924–1949*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. x, 209. \$49.50.

Student nationalism was a potent force in Republican China. This is well documented in the numerous studies of the May Fourth Movement (1919), the anti-imperialist disturbances of 1925, and the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident (1931). Lincoln Li focuses here on the interplay of student activism and Chaing Kai-shek's Kuomintang. His main interest is the Whampoa Military Academy, training base for the young officers of the Nationalist army. This helps to explain why 1924, and not 1919, is his starting point. For purposes of comparison, the author says, student involvement at the Communist base in Yanan is discussed in some detail.

The more familiar episodes of student activism (1919, 1925, and 1931) provide only a background for the author's main topic, which is not well integrated with these major events. Indeed, his assertion that students in North China were less agitated by the Manchurian Incident than those of the Shanghai-Nanjing area suggests that more reading in available published sources would have given Li a better perspective. The statement defies logic, since students of the north were much more directly affected by Japan's aggression. It is based on where the demonstrations took place (the republican capital of Nanjing, mainly), which causes the author to overlook the fact that students traveled there from far and wide—including the north—to demand government action and offer their services.

Li provides valuable insights and new information on his main topic, especially with regard to the Young Officers Movement after 1931. For instance, the idea that Whampoa was a bedrock of Chiang loyalism comes into question when we learn of some reactions to the Xian incident (1936), when Chiang was kidnapped. The author notes that some among the cadets and young officers put principle above the personal safety of their leader. (On an interpretive plane, however, was it not possible that these soldiers

saw adherence to their principles as the ultimate expression of loyalty to Chiang?)

Li also offers a somewhat tantalizing discussion of fascist influences among the junior officers that emanated from the German and Italian military advisory units in China. Once again, Li would have benefited by complementing his impressive documentary research with examination of published studies on the German advisors, Chiang's mid-1930s lean toward fascism (which included accommodation toward Japan), and related matters. (William Kirby's *Germany and Republican China* [1984] is one book that speaks to these issues.) Moreover, Li may be wrong in stating that the Blue Shirts were not fascists. True, as he explains, the color blue was inspired by the republican flag. But that does not, as he says, refute an accusation of fascism. Back in those days, there were Black Shirts, Brown Shirts, and Green Shirts, all with the same political coloration.

By contrast, Li's assertion that Mao Zedong's approach to idealistic young people was much more effective than Chiang's—Mao converting them to socialism, Chiang simply deflecting and pigeonholing them—seems unassailable.

This is a good book on hitherto only thinly explored subjects that would have benefited from a wider focus and the insights provided by published sources on related matters.

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MERLE GOLDMAN. *Sowing the Seeds of Democracy in China: Political Reform in the Deng Xiaoping Era*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 426. \$39.95.

Much has been written about the economic reforms that have transformed China during the reign of Deng Xiaoping. Very little has been heard about the rich and fascinating intellectual history that has accompanied that most extraordinary process of economic growth. Merle Goldman does much to rectify the deficiency in her detailed and often absorbing account of the relations between China's intellectuals and the Chinese Communist Party during the first decade of the post-Mao era.

Goldman is primarily concerned with a large and amorphous group of intellectuals she calls the "democratic elite," the most important of whom were associated with Hu Yaobang, the democratically inclined general-secretary of the party from 1980 to 1987. Although the term "democratic elite" may appear an incongruity, it does accurately characterize an intelligentsia who believed that a Leninist party could be refashioned to build democratic institutions, and who ardently promoted democratic rights but distrusted popular political participation. Without dwelling too long on such inconsistencies, Goldman insightfully examines the writings and activities of her many subjects over an extraordinary decade of intel-

lectual exploration and political ferment, amid periodic bouts of state repression. The chronological line runs from the 1979 "theory conference," which marked the ideological break with the Maoist past, to the chaotic democratic ferment that began in late 1988 and merged into the great Democracy Movement of 1989.

Goldman, while obviously sympathetic to the aspirations and activities of her subjects, is by no means uncritical. She observes, for example, that democratic intellectuals were silent when Deng Xiaoping was jailing the Democracy Wall activists in 1979–80. And she laments that most intellectuals failed to even contemplate forging ties with the working class. Indeed, it is striking how little the leading intellectuals of the 1980s had to say about the social conditions of the people. There were exceptions, of course, most notably Liu Binyan.

Goldman successfully strives for comprehensiveness in relating the history of the "democratic elite" and their complex interrelationships with the party. But that success precludes probing the intellectual lives of her many subjects in any depth. For example, whereas she notes that most members of the "democratic elite" were "committed Marxists" (p. 29), she seems uninterested in exploring their efforts to revitalize Chinese Marxism on the basis of the Western Marxist tradition and their search for a viable democratic socialism, among the more intellectually intriguing themes of the time.

While Goldman praises the members of the "democratic elite" as sowers of the seeds of democracy (which she optimistically concludes will someday flower in China), her greatest enthusiasm is reserved for younger intellectuals inclined to challenge the party without rather than ally themselves with reformist leaders within the establishment. The prototypes of what she hails as "a new type of intellectual activist" are Wang Juntao and Chen Ziming, the main subjects of her concluding chapter. Members of the Red Guard generation and veterans of the Democracy Wall movement of 1978–79, Wang and Chen were determined to establish autonomous organizations beyond the control of the party. In the 1980s they founded an independent social-science research institute and an influential weekly journal. In the Democracy Movement of 1989 they cultivated close ties with embryonic workers' organizations, which earned them thirteen-year jail sentences in 1991. (Both, in ill health, were released in the spring of 1994.)

In this concluding chapter on "intellectual activists," Goldman implicitly raises, but does not directly address, the crucial question of whether the Chinese Communist Party is reformable. There is much in Goldman's account of the 1980s to sustain hopes that the party—in a post-Deng era—might well generate democratic reformers within its own ranks, perhaps in unexpected ways. Nevertheless, it may be that only an organized challenge by intellectuals and masses from below will bring fundamental political and social

change, as Goldman seems to believe. Should that turn out to be the case, the consequences for China and the Chinese people will not be nearly as pleasant as might be suggested by the idyllic springtime metaphors that close this splendid book.

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ROBERT P. WELLER. *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts and Tiananmen*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 255. \$49.50.

Robert P. Weller has produced an excellent mixture of anthropology and history, grounded in the important issue of resistance. He argues against univocal readings that either cast all acts of nonconformity as resistance or overstress the power of hegemony. In part, Weller follows poststructuralist thinkers in refusing to assign one fixed meaning to a given set of cultural symbols. He goes beyond the deconstruction of texts, however, to examine the social and institutional mechanisms by which meanings are constructed in practice. Weller supports his theoretical arguments with case studies of the massive nineteenth-century Taiping Rebellion; ghost worship in booming, capitalist Taiwan in the 1980s; and the Tiananmen massacre of 1989.

Weller's examination of the Taipings combines fieldwork in Guangxi with the most recent Chinese and Western studies of the movement and produces important new insights. He argues that the roots of the Taipings' initial growth lay in the amalgamation of Hong Xiuquan's largely Christian vision with well-known shamanistic strains of Chinese popular religion. The universal familiarity of these practices, rather than Hakka exclusivity or Christian novelty, transformed Hong's vision into a movement. That the movement subsequently evolved toward resistance was a result of the efforts of Hong and his lieutenants to impose a rationalizing order on the protean religion, in part by insisting that only leaders were capable of spirit possession.

Weller next examines what might have become a similar religious movement in late-twentieth-century Taiwan. Over the course of the 1980s, the Temple of the Eighteen Lords developed from an obscure shrine devoted to spirits of uncertain origin into a huge, immensely profitable temple that spawned books, movies, television soap operas, and even imitation temples. Unlike more traditional temples, devoted to gods and linked to residential communities, this temple is dedicated to ghosts, who by definition have no residential allegiance. It thus caters to individuals rather than communal groups. The vast majority of these individuals belong to the seedier side of Taiwanese society—prostitutes, pimps, gangsters, and money lenders—who simultaneously revel in and atone for their ill-gotten gains. Weller explains the

popularity of the temple as a reflection of the overall social and economic climate of Taiwan in the 1980s, when nouveaux riches risked large sums of money in dubious stock-market and real-estate ventures. Although this and other religious movements in contemporary Taiwan purvey values that clearly differ from the half-Confucian, half-modern posture of the Taiwanese state, this religious revival exhibits little tendency to crystallize as resistance. The power of the state, the general wealth of the citizenry, and the multiple voices of competing cultural perspectives combine to keep this activity at the inchoate level of chaos.

The treatment of the Tiananmen massacre and its suppression (the "control" of Weller's title) is less original than the chapters on the Taiping Rebellion and Taiwanese ghost worship, and Weller admits as much. The object of the discussion of Tiananmen is to illustrate that subtle expressions of resentment and self-definition occur even in a tightly controlled social order like that of the People's Republic of China.

This book manages to be rigorous, thought-provoking, and fascinating all at once. I can only praise the vision and energy required to bring the three disparate sections of the work together. Reading lists for any course dealing with modern China should highlight this work. My only concern, and a minor one, is that the richness of the core chapters outshines the larger theoretical architecture of the study. Weller illustrates brilliantly that resistance is an inadequate, modernist concept incapable of capturing the complexities of the Chinese experience, but he leaves us still searching for a postmodern lens through which to view modern China.

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STEWART LONE and GAVAN MCCORMACK. *Korea since 1850*. (Topics in Asian History, Politics and International Relations.) New York: St. Martin's or Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, Australia. 1993. Pp. xi, 226. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$16.95.

Stewart Lone and Gavan McCormack provide a short history of Korea in the last century from the last days of the Chosŏn (Yi) dynasty, through Japanese colonial rule (1910–45), the division of the country by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1945, the horrific Korean War (1950–53), and separate political and economic developments under two systems in North and South Korea since 1948.

The authors do not cite any sources in the Korean language directly, but they have used a wide variety of materials in English and Japanese, including some, but not all, of the important secondary scholarship in those languages. Although the omission of important material weakens some of their interpretations, the book offers much useful information to the uninformed reader.

The best feature of the book is the serious effort to

provide a fair and balanced view of a number of controversies that have plagued politicians and scholars for years. In the first chapter on the Chosŏn dynasty, Lone tries to transcend two conventional views: that of the Japanese historians of the early twentieth century who ridiculed that dynasty for its inability to overcome the economic, political, and social stagnation that characterized the *ancien régime*, and that of the Korean historians after 1945 who sought to blame the loss of Korean independence on Japanese aggression and Korean collaborators. Lone portrays a variety of late-nineteenth-century leaders who sought a way out of Chinese domination by borrowing ideas and institutions from both the West and Japan, and he praises the progressive intentions of pro-Japanese groups rather than condemning them as traitors.

Against the conventional Korean condemnation of Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945 as an unmitigated story of cruelty and repression, Lone attempts a more balanced view by tracing institutional, cultural, and economic developments in the period. Against the radically opposed views of South Korea since 1945 as either the triumph of the industrial development and democratic politics or the tragedy of military dictatorship and bureaucratic capitalism, Lone describes the blending of those contradictory elements without making any moral judgments. Personally, I would have preferred a few.

In his two chapters on the Korean War and North Korea since 1945, McCormack also does his best to provide a balanced counterweight to the often fractious dispute over the origins of the war and the nature of Kim Il Sung. He is aware of Kim Il Sung's initiative in planning an invasion of the South in June 1950, but because he did not have access to recent studies of the Soviet and Chinese archives he spends too much space speculating about alternative explanations. To McCormack's credit, he does not abandon the important findings of Bruce Cumings (*The Origins of the Korean War*, 2 vols. [1981, 1990]) that the war should be regarded as a civil war in which the leaders of both North and South Korea were eager to unify the peninsula by force, but he does not ask whether Kim deserves greater responsibility than Syngman Rhee of South Korea for the destructive consequences of bringing the United States and China into the war.

In discussing North Korea since 1953, McCormack also attempts to strike a balance between admiration for industrialization and the equitable distribution of wealth versus condemnation for dictatorship, the personality cult of Kim, economic autarky, and thought control. In place of the North Korean portrayal of Kim as a superhuman guerrilla commander and the South Korean denigration of him as a phony politician picked for leadership by the Russians, he adopts Dae-sook Suh's neutral view that Kim was "neither fraud nor saviour," one of several able anti-Japanese patriots favored by circumstances and

luck, and he cites the recollection of General Lebedev and Colonel Mekler that Joseph Stalin picked Kim over Pak Hŏn-yŏng in 1946 (p. 100). But judging only from a comparison of Kim's guerrilla record with other anti-Japanese nationalists, and his accomplishments as leader of North Korea until his death in 1994, McCormack gives much less credit to Kim than he deserves.

Possibly McCormack was offended by Kim's violations of both Western liberal and Marxist values, his transgressions against civil liberties, voluntarism, popular participation, and true fulfillment of the classical Marxist program of elevating the working class to actual control of the socialist state. What is lacking here is an attempt to understand Kim on his own terms.

Kim was convinced that the Korean people suffered historically from fawning subservience to foreign power and foreign culture, had forgotten the glorious military traditions of the Koguryŏ dynasty (conquered in A.D. 313), lacked a strong sense of national identity, and had suffered under the "feudal" *yangban* landlords of traditional times and the Japanese capitalist-imperialist overlords and their Korean collaborators to 1945. A total regeneration of the Korean people was needed, and this could only be done by a system of total control in which he, as national leader, would not only solve the problem of the distribution of wealth through nationalization but create an independent economy and transcend an imported Marxist-Leninist ideology by creating a distinctive Korean ideology (*chuche*).

Lone's three chapters suffer from a number of problems. Although the introduction to the volume highlights the importance of nationalism, Lone fails to address the nature of Korea's tributary relationship with China, identify Key-hiuk Kim's (*The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order* [1980]) assertion that China adopted the tactics of Western imperialism toward Korea after 1882, and assess how the universal, ethical aspects of Confucian thought might have contributed to the weakness of national consciousness. He makes no mention either of the problems of class and status, the legacy of slavery, the differences between the *yangban* and the Chinese gentry, and the government's response to economic changes since 1600. His treatment of the colonial era lacks an evaluation of the conflicting aims and goals of the Korean communists and the cultural nationalists, an assessment of whether colonial rule engendered class conflict with potential revolutionary consequences, and an opinion about Cumings's view that Korea's semiperipheral position in the Japanese empire provided a model for the postliberation Northeast Asian regional system under American hegemony ("The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Product Cycles, Industrial Sectors, and Political Consequences," *International Organization* 38, no. 1 [Winter 1984]: 1-40).

Lone's chapter on South Korea is almost embar-

assingly devoid of debate on a number of crucial issues. Central power, military coups, and dictatorship are described, but there is not a word about why those phenomena should be so prevalent in a country dominated by the U.S. presence. The same is true of economic development: why, for example, did the South Koreans choose state control and guidance over the free market? Lone says Syngman Rhee had no economic policy (p. 145) and cites Chalmers Johnson (*MITI and the Japanese Miracle* [1982]) as a guide to Park Chung-hee's state-led development, but he fails to mention Chung-en Woo's admiration for Rhee's import-substitution policy or Park's control of bank finance and leadership from the top rather than the postwar Japanese pattern of relatively weak political leadership and strong ministerial assertiveness (*Race to the Swift* [1991]).

The authors make no serious attempt to analyze the political system with respect to the relationship between leaders, factions, and individuals or the use or absence of police and the judiciary, information, and propaganda. And the book lacks any serious attempt to assess the nature of U.S. policy toward South Korea: the maintenance of solidarity against communism, stability, and the status quo against disruption, the fostering of economic growth to prove the superiority of capitalism, the restriction of South Korea to permanent peripheral status to benefit U.S. economic and military hegemony, and the development of the free market and the creation of a bourgeoisie as the best means of nurturing democracy.

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VELCHERU NARAYANA RAO, DAVID SHULMAN, and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 349. \$39.95.

This study is a landmark contribution to historical scholarship on South India in the premodern era, a period notable for major changes in the institutional bases of South Indian society. The book focuses on the cultural history of the three states founded in the sixteenth century in the Tamil region by the Nāyakas, Telugu military entrepreneurs who had begun their careers as agents of the central Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara. Despite Nāyaka dominance in Tamil Nadu for a period of over 200 years, the Nāyaka state and the culture of the period have hitherto not received from historians the attention they deserve. In an unusual and remarkably felicitous collaboration the authors of this volume—two scholars of literature and an economic historian—have succeeded in remedying the situation.

Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam's chief concern is to establish the innovational character of Nāyaka kingship, which they view as evolving in organic relationship with Nāyaka cultural sensibilities. They advance their ar-

gument in part through explorations in the copious imaginative literature of the period, in which they discern fascinating refractions of the distinctive themes and rhetoric of Nāyaka kingship. The success of the venture is in large measure due to their synthetic approach, and to their energetic and insightful interpretation of a wide variety of sources, most of which have not been studied before. Thus, the writings of Dutch and Portuguese entrepreneurs and travelers are discussed here in relation to Nāyaka period literary texts in Telugu, Tamil, and Sanskrit, ranging from royal biographies and elegant court poems (*kāvya*) to temple dance dramas, folktales, and satirical plays. Lucid writing renders this rich fare accessible to nonspecialists, as well as to South Asianists who are not literary scholars.

According to Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, the definitive feature of the Nāyaka state is its fluidity, an existential mode demanded by the new ethos that the Nāyakas, who were Telugu warriors with Balija cultivator and merchant caste affiliations, brought to their new homeland. Throughout their existence, the authors argue, the Nāyaka kingdoms of Tanjavur, Senji (or Gingee), and Madurai were "in the process of 'becoming'" (p. 44). Earlier models of kingship in South India had been based on a land-centered economic and cultural symbiosis among kings, cultivator castes, and brahman priestly elites. In contrast, and true to their migrant-warrior sensibility, Nāyaka kings favored a "fluid" cash economy, especially in the context of a flourishing trade with Southeast Asia and with European merchants in India. Nāyaka culture invested itself not in stable institutions but in extravagant acts of enjoyment and consumption (*bhoga*). *Annadāna*, feasting the brahmins, replaced royal gifts of land: even Nāyaka largess was rooted in the culture of *bhoga*.

In a bold yet convincing argument, Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam suggest that Nāyaka spending was motivated more by symbolic and cultural considerations than by material ones. In Nāyaka culture, "One spends in order to substantiate an identity, to fuse with the symbol" (p. 81). Noteworthy among the many new themes that contributed to this complex relationship between symbol and substance at the Nāyaka court are an emerging sense of the individual in history and of the erotically charged human body as the site of transcendent experience and value, a self-consciousness that nurtures the mutual accommodation of panegyric and parody, and a universal feminization of the subject.

The perspectives the authors offer on the complex linkages among kingship, material culture (the rise of fortified towns, the use of firearms, commerce), and literature and the arts in the Nāyaka period are germane to the study of premodern history in a global, comparative context. For South Asianists this book is a treasure trove of insights into military entrepreneurship and state formation in early mod-

ern India. It is to the authors' credit that they have established the uniqueness of the Nāyaka case, at the same time opening avenues for work on other aspects of the Nāyaka period, and for comparative studies. One can imagine, for instance, a comparison of Nāyaka political and cultural styles with those of the Marathas, who started their career as military entrepreneurs in the Deccan and in Mughal North India in the seventeenth century, and eventually took over the Tanjavur Nāyaka kingdom. Finally, not the least of the many attractions of this study is the fact that it makes delightful reading: seventeenth-century kings, merchant-magnates, courtesans, and learned and not-so-learned brahmins come alive in the pages of this book. Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam have brought to us a perspective of the Nāyaka world that is at once engaging and enlightening.

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CLIVE DEWEY. *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 292. \$40.00.

The title of this book is completely misleading. To prove a claim that ideas determine events in history, and that men are "prisoners of the ideas they absorbed in their youth," Clive Dewey provides short and disparaging studies of two members of the Punjab Commission, Frank Brayne and Sir Malcolm Darling. One had a muscular Christian for a father, who taught that thrift and effort were the cures for poverty; the other, at Cambridge under Lowes Dickinson, learned that friendship was the best medium for the expression of beauty and truth. They went out to India in 1904–05, spent much of their time dealing with peasant agriculture, and retired in the 1940s.

These men are set up to represent the two dominant British approaches to Indians, the cult of improvement and the cult of friendship. Unfortunately, as presented here, Brayne (at Gurgaon from 1920–27) could not improve, nor could Darling (tutor to the maharaja of Dewas State Senior, who is already well known to us from E. M. Forster's *The Hill of Devi*) make friends. Both were misfits in Anglo-India (despite, or perhaps because of, their excellent connections with Lord Lugard and Sir Alfred Lyall); both were disappointed. Neither their careers nor their ideas, however, were typical; nor are the episodes related typical of them. Darling spent most of his career working in the Co-operative Department, whereas Brayne, who is savaged for his lack of political skill and inability to manage the secretariat, persuaded three viceroys to visit his district. Although Dewey is justifiably critical of Brayne's work at Gurgaon, it seems rather hard to imply that he might have eradicated malaria with DDT, which was not in use for that purpose at the time.

The author seems to have chosen his subjects because he stumbled across their papers twenty-five

years ago when writing his doctoral dissertation and decided that one day they would make a good book. I fear that these papers have failed him, and he them. For a guide to Anglo-Indian attitudes, one must turn to Bradford G. Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India* (1977). A warning is in order. One sees at once why Dewey was drawn to these papers, for he relies heavily on colorful quotations to achieve his effects. But all is not as it seems. The quotations have been manufactured: either cut and pasted together, with no indication of what has been left out, or rearranged. Since Dewey tells us how thankful he is to have escaped from a scholarly press, I doubt that he is seeking a scholarly reader.

The book has been the subject of acrimonious correspondence in the *Times Literary Supplement* between the author and Brayne's son, Thomas, in which Dewey accuses the younger Brayne of orchestrating a series of hostile reviews. I decided without any help that the argument of the book is false and the tone of it very nasty. But I recommend it to anybody with a taste for a hatchet job.

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PARTHA CHATTERJEE. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 282. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$15.95.

When one considers what is politically correct in the communist state of West Bengal, Partha Chatterjee's book is a remarkable work of history. For at least a decade Bengali historians have religiously followed the ideological dictates of Ranajit Guha, who championed the study of non-elites or subalterns. This was not accomplished without ludicrous ambivalence, first because Bengalis named Chatterjee, Guha, or even Jyoti Basu are among the highest elite castes known collectively as *bhadraloks*. Second, the high point in *bhadralok* history was the very high point of British dominance in the subcontinent, when Calcutta, capital of imperial India, was also the setting for the Bengal Renaissance.

Chatterjee's book is reminiscent of an age of innocence before the 1980s when Bengali scholars looked favorably on their renaissance and the galaxy of geniuses it produced, from "the Father of Modern India," Rammohun Roy (d. 1833), to the Nobel Prize poet laureate, Rabindranath Tagore (d. 1943). Even in America, historians such as Stephen Hay, Rachel Baumer, and myself became fascinated with different aspects of British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. Blair Kling framed his study of Dwarkanath Tagore, the first modern Indian entrepreneur, in the context of renaissance, as did other scholars on Young Bengal and the Brahmo Samaj.

In the 1980s, renaissance historiography was decon-

structed. Edward Said's influence on Bengalis became manifest at this time as all the British were condemned as agents of a hegemonic power. Even the famed Orientalist scholar William Jones was said to have a hidden agenda when he defanged the erotic masterpiece, *Gita Govinda*, with an insufferably dull English translation. Forgotten were Vidayasagar's struggle on behalf of Hindu widows or the heroic manner in which Dwarkanath Ganguli rescued Kulin women. The ancestors of the present Chatterjees and Bannerjees collaborated as "elites."

In my opinion, Chatterjee's most brilliantly provocative and original chapters are "The Nationalist Elite" (chap. 3), "The Nation and its Pasts" (chap. 4), and "Histories and Nations" (chap. 5). All three neatly document the rise of historical consciousness as a vital element in the rise of Bengali, Indian, or Hindu national identity. The next three chapters, which deal with the nation and women, peasants, and outcasts, are less satisfactory, presumably because Chatterjee is a far better anti-intellectual intellectual historian than he is a social historian of the underprivileged. The final chapters on postcolonial nation-building are least satisfactory because, having ignored his homework on comparative nationalist historiography, Chatterjee is rather naïve about the underlying forces that can make or break a multiethnic nation-state like India.

Chatterjee's main contribution is his well-documented thesis on the subalternization of the Bengali intelligentsia in the nineteenth century. At first, he contends, Bengalis were elitist by virtue of their newly acquired socioeconomic status and xenophilia, which alienated them from their own society and culture. But as evidenced by Keshub Chandra Sen's reversal of attitude after having met Ramakrishna in 1876, the intellectuals deanglicized themselves by undergoing an identity crisis that ended with a return to their own people and traditions. Gradually the earlier universal humanism of a Rammohun or Keshub was transformed into what Chatterjee holds to be nationalism or a "new subjectivity" constructed on "particularity and difference" with one's loyalty given to the "national community as apart from other communities" (p. 75).

Chatterjee seems to be building bridges between historical discourse today and the past. He begins his analysis of Bengali national histories with Mrityunjay Vidyalankar's *Rajabali* (1808). Chatterjee's treatment of Tarinicharan Chattopadhyay's *History of India* (1878) is superbly crafted and meticulous intellectual history at its very best. It is also refreshingly honest. For example, Tarinicharan was deeply influenced by the British Orientalists. They taught him that Indians were not always in a "degraded condition" but that "the arts and sciences of ancient India were of the highest standard" (p. 98). And Chatterjee concludes that "this evidence from Orientalist scholarship was

extremely important for the construction of the full narrative of nationalist history" (p. 98).

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TONY SWAIN. *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Australian Aboriginal Being*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 303. \$59.95.

Tony Swain's scholarship has been devoted to the study of Australian Aboriginal religions. With this volume, he moves "towards a history of Aboriginal being," attempting to understand how Australia's pre-European inhabitants responded to a series of encounters with strangers. Among the latter were Indonesians, Melanesians, and Europeans. We have come a long way with this book from both "the great silence" about *terra nulla* and rose-hued studies of Aboriginal purity and innocence. Swain's book is a welcome academic contribution to the continued scholarly historical revision born of the Australian bicentenary in 1988.

It is simply impossible to study the Aboriginals' precontact philosophy and religion. Swain recognizes this. He chooses to examine ethnographic texts and field materials—representations by others of the changes in Aboriginal ideas and behavior—in terms of the historical contexts in which they were collected. Thus, he pursues in one sense an ethnography of the ethnographic records of Aboriginal rituals, songs, and stories. In this way he can analyze the "continuum of territorial intrusion upon Aboriginal domains and underlying principles of [Aboriginal] historical response" (p. 281).

This project is most convincing where Swain provides the historical and analytical context to apparent changes in Aboriginal philosophy, language, social identity and organization, and subsistence patterns. Among the specific changes were the creation of Jesus-like myths about Aboriginal heroes and the fundamental shift away from an ontology anchored in place and space. Dreamtime and the Dreaming turn out to be postcontact inventions rather than timeless practices. The same is true of the concept of ancestral beings who stand in a single, universal relationship with all people. One might even speculate that such relatively recent constructions represent a response similar to the type of dislocation experienced by European settlers, who found themselves separated from their native lands and living permanently in Australia. As Swain notes about all migrants since the ancient Hebrews, time has replaced space for those who have left their homes.

Changes in beliefs and rituals were necessary for the Aboriginals to comprehend ethnic, economic, political, and social differences between themselves and the strangers and assimilate the newcomers into their cosmology or sense of being. They were brought into the Australian world order by adjusting Aborigi-

nal law or ontology. Swain's argument gives new and provocative twists to the invention and transformation of the *Mulunga* ritual and *Djanba* cult. Utopian visions, the appropriation of directional time, the notion of a corporate Aboriginal body, cargo cults, and comprehensive gods such as Father of All were also part of this adjustment and accommodation. The former sense of place did not require ideas of an origin; those arose from contact. Armed resistance completes this picture of Aboriginal response to strangers.

Swain's argument about Aboriginal cultural dynamism will most surely be taken up among Australian scholars, including historians of contact and the frontier. I am skeptical, however, about his claim to provide a "radical" reinterpretation of Australian Aboriginal existence. Swain is following the work of Henry Reynolds and Bain Attwood, two of the many scholars cited in the lengthy chapter endnotes, who earlier provoked us to reconsider the "traditional Aboriginal" as an academic fiction and historical invention (p. 178). The timeless Aboriginal, like the quiet frontier, was needed. It was therefore invented. Swain reminds us of the historical Aboriginals and their dynamic religious response to change.

Swain's historical study of Aboriginal religion will shed light on the land-rights movement of the past twenty-five years and the perplexing conundrum of urban Aboriginals. It is a vital contribution to our understanding about why things did not fall apart until the rules of the game were suddenly changed on the Aboriginal-European frontier as a result of settlers' aggressive pastoralism, the introduction of modern labor, and consumerism. Even under these circumstances, the resiliency of Aboriginal culture rivals that of the South Asian Hindus in their response to early contact with Europeans. We will have to rethink our assumptions about what C. D. Rowley called in 1970 "the destruction of Aboriginal society."

A few warnings are needed to balance these comments. Swain's volume is no place for strangers. Familiarity with Aboriginal culture and Australian ethnography is helpful. Names of rituals and ethnographers fly by, often without proper introduction, as do those of modern philosophers. It is quite a list. To name a few, we have A. C. Haddon, Michel Foucault, Marshall Sahlins, Henri Bergson, Derek Mulvaney, and Victor Turner. Swain also refers to his own field work in Central Australia and Australia's founding ethnographic texts by Edmund J. Eyre and his nineteenth-century colleagues.

A bibliography listing key ethnographic excursions and titles would have provided a much-needed road map. Illustrations of art and rituals representing Aboriginal ontology would also have strengthened the text. The chapters are organized well by regions and specific encounters with strangers. There are also watering holes for the reader to stop to read summaries of each chapter's arguments. Yet I would recommend that readers peruse the conclusion first to

prepare themselves for what Swain admits is a "collage-like" trek (p. 281). A clear summary of the book's arguments is found in that final chapter (p. 287). At times, Swain also abandons the scientific voice to assume the mantle of moralizer. These moments are rare, but one hopes they are exorcised by the next volume of this important project charting the history of the "Aboriginal mode of being-in-the-world."

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DAVID FAUSETT. *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land*. (Utopianism and Communitarianism.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 237. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

This book is based on a thesis David Fausett presented in 1988 to the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales with a more accurate title, "Amnioticon: Histoire de l'utopie 'australe'" (the "New World" of the present title refers normally to the Western hemisphere, but the book is about early factual and fictional accounts of Australia). It contains an interesting idea, although not one with which I agree: if I read it correctly, the book is concerned to insert into current discussion of the emergence of the novel and representational realism the hypothesis that "[t]he literary realism of the eighteenth century can be traced to reports [of Dutch shipwreck and marooning on the coasts of Australia] that were sensational but unverifiable and so raised what might otherwise have remained a mere sailor's anecdote into a vibrant literary theme" (p. 169). The hypothesis has epistemological implications that Fausett is prepared to defend: "[t]he rise of literary realism . . . preceded the crisis of consciousness rather than deriving from it. The nature and timing of events in the Southland appears [*sic*] to resolve such problems and to suggest that effects have tended to be confused, in this context, with causes" (pp. 162–63).

The argument is located mainly in the last four of the book's twelve chapters. These chapters offer readings of two works Fausett has edited, Gabriel de Foigny's *La Terre Australe connue* (1676) and Hendrik Smeeks's *Bescryvinge van het magtig Koninkryk Krinke Kesmes* (1708)—a major precursor to Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*—along with speculation on matters raised by these imaginary voyages in relation to actual "austral" events. After an unnecessarily remote beginning introducing early Greek travel fantasy and some imaginary voyages of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the middle chapters describe such utopian/dystopian works as Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605), Richard Brome's play, *The Antipodes* (1640), Henry Neville's popular *Isle of Pines* (1668), *The Hairy Giants* (1671?) and Denis Vairasse's *History of the Sevarites* (1675–79). There is also a detailed account,

scattered piecemeal throughout, of the major events of seventeenth-century contact with the Australian continent.

Access to the literary history recorded here and Fausett's consequential but hastily sketched interpretations of it requires an enormous effort that I am afraid few will be motivated to make. Perhaps this stems in part from the difficulty of making an English book from a French dissertation, but the text's problems of clarity and coherence seem fundamental. Data and generalization are mixed randomly; pronouns rarely have identifiable or grammatically related referents and often appear as the first word in a paragraph, leaving entire paragraphs floating free of reference; chapters begin and end with large claims about problems, processes, and modes never explicitly articulated, or else with no summarizing framework at all; works mentioned substantively in the text appear in neither index nor bibliography; the book's chief "hypothesis" stays pretty much under wraps until chapter 8. It is a shame that academic presses can offer so little editorial assistance these days; at the very least someone should have insisted that the text be proofread before publication.

MARY BAINE CAMPBELL
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MICHAEL BASSETT. *Sir Joseph Ward: A Political Biography*. Auckland: Auckland University Press; distributed by Oxford University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. xi, 330. \$35.00.

Joseph Ward (1856–1930) was the longest-serving cabinet minister in New Zealand's history. His twenty-three and a half years in cabinet spanned forty years and he was twice prime minister (1906–12 and 1928–30). As the financial expert of the 1891–1911 Liberal government, Ward deserved much of the credit for the amazing achievements of that government in completely restructuring the New Zealand economy and laying the foundations of a welfare state that was to last a century.

Ward derived his Catholic faith, his education, his business instincts, and his will to survive and succeed whatever the odds from his remarkable Irish mother, Hannah Dorney. Widowed after ten years of marriage, during which she conceived ten children to a drunken husband, Hannah became a hotel owner at Bluff on the extreme southern coast of New Zealand, where she brought up the three of her children who lived beyond the age of five. A biography of Ward's mother would make compelling reading.

By the age of twenty-one, Ward was a successful businessman and local councillor and at the age of thirty-one he became a member of Parliament. Although forced to resign in 1896 (after three years as colonial treasurer) when a judge condemned his business dealings and bankrupted him, Ward forced a by-election, which he won, and in 1899 returned to the cabinet. Ward and his colleagues, such as his

predecessor as Prime Minister "King Dick" Seddon (described by Bassett as a "portly pugilistic publican from the West Coast"), were not socialists but rather men who found sectionalism based on class or religion anathema. They believed in a pragmatic government and a harmonious society. Increasingly, however, they found that the divisions within society between employers and workers, unionists and non-unionists, free traders and protectionists, advocates of the freehold and advocates of the leasehold, town and country, Protestant and Catholic, and liquor prohibitionists and the liquor industry were reflected in the Liberal Party itself, dividing and eventually destroying it.

In 1928 the remnant of the Liberal Party, renamed United, fought its last campaign against the much stronger Reform and Labour parties. Ward was seventy-two and afflicted by diabetes, heart, circulation, and eyesight problems, but by promising to borrow massively for development he helped his party win twenty-seven seats to Reform's twenty-eight and Labour's nineteen. With the help of Labour and four Independents he again became prime minister, but his health deteriorated as the economy slipped deeper into depression and he died in 1930.

Although this is a political biography, Bassett's assessment of the personal Ward is fascinating. Bassett writes in a precise and economical style, and the story, which reflects an immense amount of research and which covers seventy-five years, never becomes pedestrian.

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E. M. ANDREWS. *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations during World War I*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 274. \$49.95.

As a part of the British empire, 412,953 Australian volunteers fought overseas during World War I. Ironically, while serving the Imperial cause, a national identity developed and a new nation emerged. In his concise and scholarly study, E. M. Andrews addresses what he calls the "Anzac illusion," which he defines as a double myth: the belief in the superiority of the Australian soldier, and the existence of a "special" wartime relationship between Britain and Australia that served the interests of both countries. Andrews contends that this myth has had important implications for Anglo-Australian relations and indeed even for the ideal of the Commonwealth.

Andrews has searched archival material in Britain and Australia and examined over 700 books, articles, and theses. But does this prodigious research establish his thesis of the Anzac illusion? Andrews, as he readily admits, is dealing with the slippery world of perceptions. The unprecedented death and destruction and the bungling of military operations (such as Bullecourt and Pozières) created friction between some British and Australian soldiers and politicians.

He provides numerous quotes to demonstrate this. But does he allow equal time for contradictory evidence in the letters and diaries? Is there not plenty of material to support the view that the common sacrifices against the German menace created a "special" Anglo-Australian relationship? Despite real and serious tensions between London and Canberra, can two closer war partners be found during World War I? I think not.

The most heated disagreement, at least from the Australian side, will be over the author's debunking of the view that Australians were exceptional soldiers with special fighting qualities. In making his case, Andrews takes on an Australian military history icon, C. E. W. Bean, the author of *The Anzac Book* (1916) and *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* (1937). Andrews is correct that many Australian officers, including General Sir William Birdwood, whose romantic faith in riflemen was notorious, were initially not up to fighting a modern war, and that the Australian role in the Gallipoli campaign of 1915 has been sanitized and glorified. Yet, as the author himself implies, the British commander in chief Sir Douglas Haig commanded no better soldiers than the Australians during his drive to victory in 1918.

This well-illustrated and nicely produced book is recommended, for it breathes new life into the subject of Australian-British ties in the twentieth century and is almost certain to lead to a reassessment. I am not, however, convinced that "'Anzac' was a myth in every sense of the word" (p. 215).

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UNITED STATES

JAMES W. TRENT, JR. *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States*. (Medicine and Society, number 6.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 356. \$30.00.

James W. Trent, Jr.'s history of mental retardation in the United States replaces Peter Tyor and Leland Bell's *Caring for the Retarded in America* (1984) as the best overview of the topic. Trent departs from the traditional narrative of names, dates, events, and institutions evident in Tyor and Bell. Instead, he offers a rich analysis in the tradition of Erving Goffman's *Asylums* (1961) of the ways deviancy (mental retardation in this case) was socially constructed.

Reduced to its essentials, Trent advances two general themes in his historic survey of the way superintendents of facilities for the mentally deficient and the social-welfare authorities who assisted them have seen their task. First, they always felt that the care and the control of mentally defective people were complementary rather than antithetical duties. Indeed, they felt that by "controlling" the defective patient in an appropriate way, they could help reconnect that

patient to the larger community. Usually their prescribed program of care and control was compatible with the enhancement of their professional and personal influence. They benefited from the care they provided others. Second, Trent attributes a "particularistic," technical focus to the superintendents and welfare officials. They sought to apply particular techniques to specific types of "feeble-minded" patients. In the process, they lost sight of the broader context: how the maldistribution of resources and power in the larger society was stacked against opportunities for the feeble-minded. Defined as economically unproductive individuals, the mentally retarded have been marginalized even with thoughtful matches between their deficiencies and their treatments.

Trent carries these themes through American history. Quickly, he notes how postrevolutionary America's sympathetic view of the feeble-minded (who were free to walk about in the community) tended to dissipate. By the 1840s superintendents of new state-run "idiot" schools argued that they were educating their patients and facilitating their return to the community as more economically productive laborers. Within two decades, however, this notion was replaced by a custodial ideal: that the mentally retarded were better behaved and more productive by remaining in special facilities. Whether institutionalized or released, superintendents espoused Edward Seguin's educational program of stimulating the senses of the idiot through exercise and drills of imitation. Although Seguin's perspective maintained a currency through the last half of the nineteenth century, superintendents became increasingly preoccupied with developing and managing large custodial institutions along cost-efficient lines to increase state appropriations. Although establishing various professional associations to enhance their interests and visibility, they held themselves out as protectors of the vulnerable who could not master the social complexity of the outside society.

In Trent's narrative, the world that the superintendents and welfare officials did much to construct became even more troublesome by the beginning of the twentieth century. They felt pressured to admit more and different types of so-called "feeble-minded" inmates, including epileptics and juvenile delinquents. Had they said "no" to such admissions, they would have curbed public appropriations and constricted the realm of their authority. Consequently, as their institutions became quite large with heterogeneous populations, concerns with educating the patients and even enhancing their productivity became secondary. The primary concern was to maintain orderly, efficient, routinized facilities that could take on even more inmates without undue burden. In effecting this routinization, attendants became more important than educators or medical personnel. As their institutions became large and heavily regimented, superintendents acquiesced in popular ster-

eotypes of mental defectives menacing the community through crime, illegitimacy, and drunkenness. Coupled with increased inmate institutionalization, many advocated sterilization to create a "safe," low-cost patient labor force in their facilities.

Trent's last and most interesting chapter concerns the post-World War II decades. The most encouraging developments were the emergence of parent confessional literature like Pearl Buck's *The Child Who Never Grew* (1950), plus patient advocacy groups such as the National Association for Retarded Children. The literature and the advocacy groups combatted the stigma of having retarded children and exposed the constricted nature of patient institutional life. Yet the expansion of patient populations in state schools for the feeble-minded continued through the late 1960s, Trent explains. "Deinstitutionalization" during the Ronald Reagan and George Bush presidential years meant that some of these large facilities were ultimately closed. But because federal funds for community services remained constant or declined, isolated and often less than optimal residential facilities and nursing homes—not integration in the wider community—continued to be "home" for many retarded adults.

The fact that this study is the best general history available on the subject does not make it problem free. First, Trent perpetuates the longstanding historiographical debate on whether those who managed deviant populations were benevolent and well-intended reformers or "social controllers" who sought to dominate their patients so as to enhance their power and prestige. He comes down on the side of the "social controllers" argument, along with others such as David Rothman, even though he maintains that the superintendents' desire to control was inseparable from their desire to care for patients. Gerald Grob and others in the alternate "benevolence" school have been making the same point in recent years. Consequently, Trent's perpetuation of the old debate is counterproductive and deters the exploration of new issues. Second, although Trent does a good job with the superintendents and their social constructions, he does less well at portraying the patients as full, complex people. To be sure, he tries harder than most of his predecessors, reviewing a century of photographs of institutionalized patients, seeking out patient letters, examining the anti-institutional exposé literature, and studying materials from patient-defense groups. Like his predecessors, however, Trent does not know how to render full-life patient portraits. He does not deal successfully with the underlying problem of comparatively scarce source materials through more imaginative use of data that are available. Finally, although Trent writes better than most of his fellow sociologists, his style is neither engaging nor artistic. Awkward and infelicitous phrases, sentences, and paragraphs abound.

Trent's literary talents are no match for the fascinating story he seeks to narrate.

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DAVID BRODY. *In Labor's Cause: Main Themes on the History of the American Worker*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 250. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.95.

Labor historiography has changed dramatically over the past three decades. Herbert Gutman taught us the importance of community beyond the workplace, while David Montgomery has taught us to pay attention to the patterns of workplace interactions and activities. This book, as well as much of David Brody's earlier work, reminds us that comprehending the larger economic and political context for both workplace and community remains central for explaining labor history. Such attention to national economic and political trends runs through all the essays in this collection.

The essays here demonstrate the breadth of Brody's interests. In "Time and Work during Early American Industrialism," Brody weaves together recent scholarship to discuss the varying attitudes of merchants, artisans, and factory workers toward notions of the length of the working day in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. "The Course of American Labor Politics" examines the "history that located organized labor at the margin of the political system" (p. 44) in the United States from the early nineteenth century to the present. "Shaping a Labor Movement" brings together three short pieces representing "three of the historical strands that bound the American labor movement to its particular fate" (p. 81): ideology, career leadership, and ethnicity.

With economic and political concerns central to his vision, it is no surprise that several of the essays employ techniques of comparative history. The final three essays ("Market Unionism in America: The Case of Coal," "The New Deal, Labor, and World War II," and "Workplace Contractualism: A Historical/Comparative Analysis") supply refreshing examples of the uses of comparative history. Brody's concern in these essays is not to prove or disprove some theory of "American exceptionalism," as is true in so many American attempts at comparative labor history, but rather to identify those economic and political institutions that seem to have made a difference in historical outcomes. Brody convinces the reader that voluntarism and laissez-faire capitalism combined with the particular histories of the working class to create a uniquely American system of labor relations.

The breadth of Brody's analyses should be admired and emulated. Nonetheless, the breadth of these essays limits the feasibility of the collection for classroom use. In his preface Brody acknowledges that the chronological breadth of the essays will create prob-

lems for syllabi traditionally divided into much briefer and more discrete historical time periods (p. viii). Without being held together by a shorter chronology, the essays' leaps in subject matter become almost insurmountable in classroom use. My guess is that fewer of us will use these essays in our classes than found use for the essays in Brody's *Workers in Industrial America* (1980; 1993).

While this collection may be problematic for classroom use, the historical scholarship evidenced is excellent, as many of us have come to expect of Brody. With his attention to the impact of broad economic and political pressures he successfully reminds us that social and labor histories must be embedded in economic and political histories. As always, Brody forces us to ponder in new ways over the connections between these all too often disparate ways of thinking about the past. Nonetheless, while Brody uses examples of ethnicity and race to illustrate several of his general points, none of the essays acknowledge even the existence of gender within the working class, let alone its operation within labor movements. I hope that future collections of Brody's work will demonstrate his ability to integrate gender into his analysis as well.

ILEEN A. DEVAULT
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LEONARD DINNERSTEIN. *Antisemitism in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 369. \$25.00.

This is a history of bigotry with a two millennia background. In contemporary America, anti-Semitism survives, but without the virulence of former times. During the nomination hearings for Justice William Rehnquist's ascendancy to Chief Justice, the fact that one of his New England properties contained covenants against selling to Jews raised scant concern. It was, after all, a dead letter by virtue of the decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948). Jewish justices Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin Cardozo, Felix Frankfurter, Arthur Goldberg, and Abe Fortas had sat on the Court. Nonetheless, just as constitutional amendments and other legislation may forbid racial discrimination, law does not necessarily change social patterns, prejudices, stigmas, and ethnic world views.

Leonard Dinnerstein commences his study with a review of the pre-Columbian Christian heritage. He then proceeds to narrate incidents and modulations of anti-Semitism from 1607 through 1992. Dinnerstein has devoted more than twenty years to the study of anti-Semitism in America. Here he focuses on the mainstream rather than the extreme, but nevertheless he overreports friction and alienation and underreports cooperation, pleasant, and neutral interactions. Thus, Dinnerstein may be presenting an overstated antagonism toward Jews as he notes that anti-Semitic stereotypes and sentiments are far more widespread than anti-Semitic behavior.

In a Christian world, in a Protestant nation, non-Trinitarians are suspect. Anti-Semitism was built on a foundation of centuries of Christian hostility. Jews were suspect as Sunday school lessons about Christ killers could influence attitudes and actions well on into later life. Stereotypes about economic exploiters, eternal aliens, subversive elements within normative society, or the embodiment of evil joined other Christocidal lessons. During periods of national stress, economic crises, personal anxiety, or social stress, Jews served as ready targets. Jews were the alien, the other. The Civil War, Great Depression, and World War II witnessed increases in anti-Jewish behavior.

A distinction was made between the mythical Jew and the Jew next door. The generic category was suspect, but the individual was tolerated. Desire for acceptance was chronic. Taking advantage of American openness became an illusion, at the turn of the century, however, as too many Jews attempted to join civic and country clubs and go to prestigious east coast schools. Ostracism and a quota system emerged, professional employment was limited. Anti-Semitism mixed naturally with nativism and anti-immigration.

Despite, or because of, anti-Semitism during World War II, American Jews, now predominantly an American-born community, were galvanized following the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel to curb the worst manifestations of ethnic prejudice. This led in part to Jewish liberals supporting the civil rights movement. Anti-Semitism became unfashionable. In some areas this was clearly demonstrable. By 1957, only a quarter of all American resorts maintained restrictions against Jews, and by 1962 such practices had virtually disappeared. Such advocacy, however, had an ambiguous impact on Jews living in the South. Despite Jewish support for civil rights, by the 1970s some African Americans recoiled into an amorphous, and then pointed, black anti-Semitism based on the underlying prejudices of the Christian majority group combined with antiwhite attitudes.

In the long historical and future view of Christian-Jewish relations, and black-Jewish relations, Dinnerstein concludes that "it may take several generations of promoting respect for, and acceptance of Jews . . . before centuries-old beliefs are eradicated" (p. 227).

"At Home in America," the title of Dinnerstein's last chapter, has become a trope for the contemporary ease of acceptance of Jews in America. Perhaps assimilation and acculturation are warning shots of Jewish disappearance as declining family size and increasingly common intermarriage suggest. But caution continues to be the watchword, for although prejudice is "now beyond the bounds of respectable discourse . . . History has taught Jews never to let down their guard" (pp. 243-44).

Dinnerstein has a thorough grasp of the literature. Documentation in this volume includes over twenty doctoral dissertations. In the discourse of the other, this book will no doubt be read differently by scholarly and lay Jewish insiders, Christians, African Amer-

icans, Arab Americans, and other groups with their own histories of degradation.

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HOWARD P. SEGAL. *Future Imperfect: The Mixed Blessings of Technology in America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 245. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.95.

I learned a great deal about technological utopias and dystopias from this book. The best part of Howard P. Segal's presentation is his raising of perennial questions: is technology synonymous with progress, or is technology a blight on civilization? Unfortunately, the author is not as adept in suggesting answers as he is in raising the questions. Are we to believe, as he suggests, that the problem is not so much technology as human nature?

The theme of the book is expressed in its subtitle. The four parts of the book deal with technology and American history, technological museums, technological visions, and high-tech culture. The section on technological museums is more of an interlude that gives Segal an opportunity to tell what an "exciting and enlightening place" (p. 64) the Maine State Museum has become.

I found the third part, "Four Technological Visions Reexamined," the most thoughtful and stimulating. Segal ranges over utopias and dystopias from Edward Bellamy to Lewis Mumford. The scope of works considered allows Segal to compare Kurt Vonnegut's *Player Piano* with Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. In the works considered, the author finds that if "unadulterated technological advance . . . is the immediate problem in all these works," then "human nature, it must be emphasized, is the underlying problem" (p. 139). I take this to be an over generalized and pessimistic view of human nature.

Segal is not a pessimist. He believes that the quest ought to be for a "middle ground" between a totally industrialized society and a pastoral one. His contention is that the "quest for the middle landscape has been no forlorn exercise in nostalgia but a quite realistic and deliberate effort to reconcile phenomena—country and city, machine and garden—that we too often teach and are taught are irreconcilable" (p. 26).

The book advocates what might be called the "golden mean" between the pessimists and the optimists of technological change. The pessimists would halt technological change and the optimists would see technology as the means to utopia. Segal thinks the United States ought to seek the middle landscape as well as the technological plateau. Are we prepared, he asks, to follow Mumford's urging and slow the pace of technological change? Can we have a dynamic equilibrium on a technological plateau where the country will have an opportunity to turn our attention

to other needs and problems? The resurgence of technological utopianism prompted by the Persian Gulf War tempered Segal's previous optimism that a plateau was achievable.

The last section of this book is a lively exposition of the way high technology is being exploited in this country for profit. Segal worries about the campaign to revitalize the spirit and values of high-tech utopianism. Writers such as Alvin Toffler are technological determinists. They are apologists, we are led to believe, for the high-tech corporations who want the United States to advance as quickly as possible into the technological utopia that Segal sees as the country's undoing.

HAROLD I. SHARLIN
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JOHN R. WUNDER. *"Retained by the People": A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights.* (Bicentennial Essays on the Bill of Rights.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 278. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

John R. Wunder gives us an analysis of the relationship between American Indians and the Bill of Rights. The author, who has written three previous books on American Indian and frontier history, attempts to provide a history of the American Indians' changing legal status and constitutional guarantees. The book is part of the "Bicentennial Essays on the Bill of Rights" series, co-sponsored by the Organization of American Historians. To no one's surprise, Wunder concludes that the Bill of Rights, right down to the present time, "does not provide protection from the powers of government, be it federal, state, local, or even tribal. Indians have been denied the individual rights or group rights given to all other inhabitants of the United States" (p. 213).

Wunder is most effective in dealing with the period from 1968 to the present. He adequately describes the origins and limitations of the Lyndon B. Johnson administration's Indian Bill of Rights Act of 1968. He clearly shows that the act contained omissions of certain federal constitutional guarantees. He traces how the act actually interfered at times with tribal sovereignty as interpreted by subsequent decisions. Wunder also analyzes the origins and implications of significant cases that have affected American Indian constitutional guarantees such as *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* (1978), *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* (1988), and *Employment Division . . . v. Smith* (1990). His analyses of contemporary issues also include discussions about the return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo, federal recognition, and federal restoration after termination.

Despite the importance of the subject and Wunder's effort to cover significant ground, his book is filled with errors of fact and omission, especially about the pre-1968 period. He never states that some conservative American Indians reject U.S. citizenship

and only see themselves as citizens of their Indian nations. To some, such as the Iroquois, U.S. citizenship and American constitutionalism was and is seen as a veiled attempt to absorb, tax, and dispossess. Wunder never discusses the implications of states' rights guarantees, provided in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, and their impact on American Indians. Moreover, Wunder is not clear about the end of federal-Indian treaty making in 1871. He never suggests that it was ended in part because many Americans believed you cannot make treaties with people you intend to absorb and make citizens.

His treatment of the Indian New Deal is equally inadequate. He unequivocally states that the Indian land grab stopped in the 1930s. Tell that to Indians who lost land for federal dam construction in Oklahoma and North Dakota in this period. Almost all of the land "returned" to Indians in the 1930s was submarginal. The Indian Reorganization Act did not, as Wunder suggests, encourage the exercise of true tribal sovereignty, but actually increased the supervisory control of the Secretary of the Interior. Commissioner John Collier's "indirect rule" was in fact based on the British African Service, a colonial model!

There are other problems with Wunder's cursory analysis. He contradicts himself about the origins and implications of the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946. Louis Bruce, a Mohawk-Sioux who was Commissioner of Indian Affairs was not from Pine Ridge Reservation, as Wunder states, but grew up on the Onondaga Indian Reservation and had a dairy at Richfield Springs, New York. The author devotes too little attention (fewer than three pages) to the Native American Rights Fund, which has been the key legal organization shaping Indian civil and treaty rights over the past quarter century. He also ignores the Oneida Indian land claims case, which set the precedent for the Passamaquoddy case that Wunder discusses. Thus, although a worthy subject of research, Wunder's book falls far short of the mark.

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JOHN OPIE. *Ogallala: Water for a Dry Land.* (Our Sustainable Future, number 1.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 412. \$35.00.

The southern Great Plains, Donald Worster asserted in his award-winning book, *Dust Bowl* (1979), "are a vast austerity." Home to sizable groups of horse-mounted Native Americans and perhaps 40 million bison in 1800, the Plains were overrun in the following century: its bison were slaughtered; its natural grasses were destroyed; and its surviving native people were pushed to the most marginal of its lands. Nothing in the previous history of the region—including severe geological occurrences—compares with the dramatic changes that have taken place since the beginning of the nineteenth century. John Opie

tells the story of that transformation, with special attention to the revolutionary influence of groundwater irrigation since World War II.

In place of the early nineteenth-century mix of humans, animals, plants, and grasses, a new paradigm descended on the Plains, one that imposed an exotic complex of animals and plants on the landscape. The fertile but arid region was in the process of being integrated into an expanding global capitalist system, structures and procedures that viewed the natural world and its attributes for what they would bring in the marketplace. At the onset of the Civil War, waves of settler farmers moved onto the Plains only to suffer disappointment and failure in the face of rainless summer skies. That cycle of agricultural advance and retreat persisted until the years following World War II when farmers began to tap the huge groundwater reservoir known as the Ogallala aquifer.

For a preciously brief period some farmers prospered by exploiting the vast reservoir of water beneath the Plains. "Rain when you want it," the promoters exulted, as farmers employed a variety of pumping and watering systems to increase their productivity. Opie traces the story of that agricultural revolution on the south-central Plains, the rapid depletion of the great Ogallala aquifer, and the larger meaning of the diminishing groundwater supplies for both American agriculture and its practitioners on the southern Plains.

When commercial agriculture came to western Kansas and the surrounding countryside, the environmental limits of the area were immediately noticeable, and the region, according to the author, "went on permanent alert." From the very beginning farmers experienced crisis after crisis, seemingly with no solution in view. But following World War II, farmers struck a Faustian bargain with the underground reservoir, "and today payment is coming due" (p. 2). Much of this book is an inquiry into the various ideas on how to accommodate the environmental limits of the region and strategies to achieve a sustainable agriculture.

Given the fecundity of humid agricultural zones in the United States and elsewhere, the author probably exaggerates the importance of subsidized farming on the south-central Plains. In other instances, Opie is contradictory or at best equivocal on the degree of overgrazing during the nineteenth century. And when he insists that his book "is not a morality tale . . . that seeks to tar capitalists" (p. 287), one is left with a vacuous sense of ecological relativism. The environment of the southern Plains has been dramatically altered during the last 150 years, and it seems obvious that the economic culture associated with capitalism explains much of that transformation. To ignore that reality is to miss the larger picture.

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JOHN E. SMITH. *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher*. (Outstanding Christian Thinkers.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1992. Pp. x, 150. \$34.95.

This volume is the product of a mature intellect. Its author, John E. Smith, has been general editor of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* since 1963. Although it breaks little new ground, Smith's book is the best survey of Edward's thought now available. It reflects Smith's own work on Edwards and summarizes and analyzes the research of editors of the Edwards papers such as Wilson Kimnach, Stephen Stein, and, especially, Paul Ramsey. It makes good use of recent writing about Edwards by Sang Hyun Lee, Roland DeLattre, and Norman Fiering. Curiously, in the end, Smith argues that modern scholarship seems to prove that the most profound study of Edwards's theology and philosophy remains Perry Miller's (1949).

Smith follows Miller in portraying Edwards as the theologian who used John Locke and Isaac Newton to reaffirm Calvinism and to attack the Arminianism spawned by the Anglicans, the Methodists, and the Enlightenment. Smith also follows Miller in proclaiming Edwards as America's great philosopher/theologian and the man who gave Puritanism a new look in the Great Awakening and another century or so of importance on the American scene. Smith gives us the "what" of Edwards, and he gives us the "when." But he does not give us the "why" and the "how." Smith's work follows the honored tradition of the "great chain of being" and is very good in that regard. But this is old-style intellectual history and is written without much concern for the historical circumstances of the actor. Like Miller, Smith expounds on the facets and intricacies of Edwards's thought, but he leaves the reader puzzled as to how a man such as Edwards arose out of the intellectual backwaters of the Connecticut Valley.

Edwards did not appear out of or operate in a vacuum. He was a product of the Connecticut Valley and the son and grandson of Valley ministers. Despite Edwards's personal and family relationship with his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, and his decision to accept a position as Stoddard's associate at Northampton, Smith does not credit Stoddard with having influenced Edwards. Yet a comparison of these two giants reveals that experiential religion lay at the heart of the theology of both men and formed the core of their evangelicalism. Edwards's notion of what William James later called the "varieties of religious experience," along with his discussion of religious affections and his explanation of original sin, are probably the most distinctive elements of Edwards's theology. These ideas did not simply provide the fuel for theological debate. They stirred the hearts and changed the behavior of the parishioners Edwards served; they produced the Great Awakening.

Remembering that it was Edwards's decision to break with Stoddard and demand a public profession

of religious experience from prospective church members that led to his dismissal, one wonders what was so different about the Connecticut Valley. This book does not provide the answer, but it does give us a very good survey of what is happening in that fairly sizeable cottage industry that is Jonathan Edwards scholarship.

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JOHN DEMOS. *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. xiii, 315. \$25.00.

In February 1704 more than 200 French and Indians attacked the Connecticut River town of Deerfield, killing many inhabitants and taking over 100 persons captive, including the family of the Reverend John Williams. For two years Williams and his children lived among the French near Quebec or with the allied tribes of Abenakis and Christianized Mohawks. Eventually, all returned to Deerfield except for one daughter. The child of a prominent Puritan minister, Eunice Williams converted to Catholicism, married a Mohawk, and raised a family among the Indian community at Kahnawake near Montreal.

In this book, John Demos combines factual information from family records with an imaginative recreation of events based on ethnohistory insights. Beginning with a familiar event—the Deerfield massacre—Demos explores, by way of Williams family history, the multiple cultural boundaries and the complex encounters between the peoples who lived in the region bordered by the Connecticut, St. Lawrence, and Hudson rivers. In particular, he reconstructs the life experiences of Eunice Williams—renamed “A’ongote” by her Mohawk kinsmen (p. 141). Her age at marriage (sixteen), the births of her children (at three-year intervals), her fluency in the Mohawk language and attachment to the Catholic religion, and her daily work and dress all testified to her assimilation into an Indian society characterized by influential matrons and multiple-family residence rather than the patriarchal authority and nuclear family that had previously structured her life.

As for the Reverend John Williams, restored to his ministry at Deerfield, his sermons and publications (such as *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*) posed both a personal and a societal challenge. According to Demos, Williams’s captivity and the fate of his daughter gnawed at the religious assurances of Puritan life. How had New England sinned that such tribulation should be visited upon her communities and inhabitants? Had the captives caused their own misfortune? And what were New Englanders to think when designs for the return of a captive such as Eunice Williams were rejected by the person who was the object of so much prayer and effort?

For many years, John Williams, his minister-son

Stephen, and other family members sought the physical restoration and religious redemption of their daughter and sister. In this context Demos illuminates what he calls the “Albany channel” (p. 179), a center for trade and smuggling between the Dutch and the French and Indians. The Williamses depended on prominent Albany traders and political leaders—members of the Schuyler, Cuyler, and Lydius families—for news of Eunice, for missions for her retrieval, and eventually (beginning in 1740) for notice of her arrival to visit with her New England kin.

As Demos himself admits, this study marks a departure from his previous, predominantly English-centered interests. As such, his research effort is impressive. Readings in primary sources were supplemented by contacts with local historians and knowledgeable scholars as well as visits to the New England and Canadian settings for his story. One could wish, however, that he had done more regarding the Williamses’ important Albany connections. In particular, Demos might have benefited from the extensive family and community history resources of the Colonial Albany Social History Project at the New York State Museum.

Demos repeatedly mentions individuals such as Pieter Schuyler and Johannes Schuyler, Cornelius Cuyler, and John Henry Lydius, but he never fully reveals the intricacies and significance of their personal, political, economic, and diplomatic status. Cornelius Cuyler, for example, was not only a merchant, as Demos notes, but he was also a member of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, a relative (by marriage) to the Schuylers, and Albany’s mayor during the 1740s. The wife of John Henry Lydius was from Montreal. Thus, both Cuyler and Lydius were in a unique position to help and inform the Williams family.

The story of one family and three communities (Deerfield, Kahnawake, and Albany), this book offers a blending of historical method and sophisticated narrative style. Demos’s dual story of the minister and his daughter moves through alternating chapters of intellectual and ethnohistorical analysis. As such, it will become a notable addition not only to the extensive body of New England studies but also to the more recent works that explore the middle ground between New England, New France, New York, and Iroquoia.

THOMAS E. BURKE
Albany, New York

PAUL W. WILDERSON. *Governor John Wentworth and the American Revolution: The English Connection*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1994. Pp. xiv, 364. \$39.95.

In Canada, Sir John Wentworth (1737–1820) is an important example of the benefits of the Loyalist diaspora. As governor of Nova Scotia (1792–1808) he earned the appellation “father of the province,” a

fact memorialized by the magnificent mansion he built in Halifax that is still the residence of the lieutenant governor. His Canadian career is competently described by Brian C. Cuthbertson (*The Loyalist Governor* [1983]), a good entry in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (mysteriously missing from Paul W. Wilderson's bibliography), and a number of specialized writings. He is best known to the general public by the notorious affair between his wife and the future William IV. Wilderson lists the amiable, fictional account *The Governor's Lady* (1960) by Thomas H. Raddall, but tucks the details into a footnote.

In the United States, Wentworth, typically of important Loyalists at least until recently, has been less well served. There is an entry in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and a biography by Lawrence S. Mayo (1921), both quite dated, and a sprightly piece by the indefatigable (if not always accurate) Clifford H. Shipton in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*. Revolutionary New Hampshire is generally well covered, especially by Jere R. Daniell (*Experiment in Republicanism* [1970]).

Wilderson has written a solid, very detailed (although I would have liked more on his family life), life-and-times account of Wentworth's American career concentrating on his years (1766–75) as last royal governor of his native province. (The book joins such studies as Bernard Bailyn on Thomas Hutchinson, Sheila L. Skemp on William Franklin, and Geraldine M. Meroney on William Bull.) The approach is largely chronological. The gradual breakdown of British authority provides a nice contrast to neighboring Massachusetts. Local matters, such as the Peter Livius affair, also get extensive coverage. The convincing, if perhaps exaggerated, thesis is found in the book's subtitle. In 1763 Wentworth went on business to England where he became friends with his distant kinsman, Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquess of Rockingham. Wentworth's stand during the Stamp Act crisis (personal opposition to the act combined with disapproval of strong colonial opposition) and his approval of Rockingham's policies determined his thought and actions after he returned to Portsmouth in 1767. Less convincing is the argument regarding motivation: Wentworth was a Loyalist because he was "blinded" (p. 11) by Rockingham. Wentworth would hardly have become a rebel even if he had never visited in England. In most ways he was more typical of his class of Loyalists than Wilderson seems to think.

Wentworth is correctly depicted as a most likeable, prudent, able, hard-working, aristocratic, patronage wielding, New Hampshire boosting, patriotic man with an agile, practical, but not intellectual mind, and a passion for the backcountry—a premature "green." Wilderson confirms the impression that Wentworth's career in Nova Scotia was very much a continuation of his life in New Hampshire. There is no reason to quarrel with Burke's opinion that a rebel Wentworth would have enjoyed "one of the most commanding and most distinguish'd situations in the United

States" (from the epigraph). Surely a Federalist, he might even have equaled his old friend from Harvard days, John Adams.

Wilderson's research is thorough (although he is nevertheless obliged to resort frequently to "must haves," "mays," and other modifiers), the illustrations well chosen, the contemporary maps interesting (a modern map of colonial New Hampshire would be welcome), the prose pleasing. There are some annoying repetitions. If he tells nothing startlingly new he does provide a worthwhile story in greater detail than ever before. He has written a Whiggish but important addition to Loyalist and New Hampshire historiography and to that of the American Revolution.

WALLACE BROWN
University of New Brunswick

PETER ONUF and NICHOLAS ONUF. *Federal Union, Modern World: The Law of Nations in an Age of Revolutions, 1776–1814*. Madison, Wis.: Madison House. 1993. Pp. vi, 224. \$27.95.

In this book, Peter Onuf and Nicholas Onuf explore two important instances of conceptual change. Nicholas Onuf considers the development of federal republicanism in the United States against the larger flow of Western political thinking; Peter Onuf examines the emergence of a modern law of nations against the efforts of the new United States to define and secure its rights in a world disordered by the French Revolution and Napoleon.

Nicholas Onuf begins by explaining that the framers of the Constitution were working within a conceptual tradition that stretched from Aristotle to Althusius to Montesquieu. In creating a more perfect union and government for the United States, James Madison employed Aristotle's distinction between *polis* and *politeia*. The federal republic under the Constitution was an association in the sense of a *polis* and, as such, stood above the several republican states and the structures of government, or *politeia*. The framers drew further on Aristotle and on Johannes Althusius in constituting a compound republic: a federal republic that included a variety of republican states. Aristotle believed that ascending parts of a society might be blended into a viable whole; and Althusius, that the ultimate power in a layered society could reside in the people. Thus, the framers were drawing on and contributing to Aristotle's and Althusius's ideas when they based their compound republic on the sovereignty of the people.

Peter Onuf considers how the creation of the United States affected a reconceptualization of international relations, a shift away from a European system of sovereign states checked by a balance of power (a system idealized by Emmerich de Vattel) toward a world regulated by a modern law of nations. At the beginning of their revolution, Americans tried to contribute to Vattel's world by negotiating treaties that would promote trade and prevent conflict and by

forming their own confederation of sovereign states. But after winning their independence, Americans could neither control the centrifugal tendencies of their states nor negotiate favorable treaties with European powers. To strengthen the United States, reformers abandoned their Vattelian confederation in favor of a compound republic. Briefly, they hoped that their example and the French Revolution would lead to a United States of Europe and more favorable trade agreements. But the wars of the French Revolution and domestic political divisions in the United States soon extinguished their hopes. Republicans, knowing that the Vattelian balance of power had collapsed, sought security for the United States in neutrality, territorial expansion, and rights for neutral shipping. Specifically, Madison tried to protect American shipping by creating a law of nations from treaties, judicial decisions, and customs. Although the British rejected Madison's arguments and drove the United States to war, those arguments survived to become the basis for a reformulated law of nations in the 1830s.

The separate portions of this book are not tightly connected or uniformly executed. Nicholas Onuf may well have had the more difficult task: the conceptual background for the Constitution was more complex than that for late-eighteenth-century foreign relations. But Peter Onuf has been noticeably more successful in tying conceptual change to specific events, in developing and sustaining a coherent discussion of ideas, and in allowing for peculiarly American influences in the development of political ideas. Notwithstanding these differences and the sometimes tenuous connections between their work, the Onufs have significantly advanced our understanding of conceptual change in the age of the American Revolution.

IRA D. GRUBER
Rice University

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. *Paul Revere's Ride*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 445. \$27.50.

David Hackett Fischer has identified yet another fallacy, one he omitted in *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (1970), his compilation of more than 100 common methodological offenses. This new transgression, which might be called the *poeta historicus* fallacy, lies in the belief that poets can write good history. According to Fischer, this error is exemplified by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, "Paul Revere's Ride," which got all the major historical facts wrong. Fischer's principal aim in this book is to set the historical record straight, once and for all. Whether rebuking the spirit of Longfellow deserves nearly 800 footnotes, nineteen appendixes, and twenty-seven pages of bibliography is another matter.

Fischer spends nearly two-thirds of the book authenticating folktales and attacking straw men while

reconstructing Revere's early life and famous ride. No subject is too trivial for Fischer's immense erudition. He informs readers about everything from the size, breed, and name of Revere's horse to the particular roads he and Brown Betty traveled on April 18–19, 1775. Fischer's relentless narration of every aspect of that famous night convincingly revises Longfellow's mythological depiction of a single rider alerting the countryside and supports his thesis that "Paul Revere's ride was truly a collective effort" (p. 98). Such a conclusion, however, has not recently been contested, and will not surprise historians of the American Revolution who, for the past two decades, have made community studies and group dynamics one of the major interpretive frameworks for understanding the period.

Revere disappears in the last third of the book, which Fischer devotes to skillfully re-creating the military response—strategy, tactics, troop deployments—of the colonists during the battles of Concord and Lexington, a subject neglected by modern military historians. Most older military histories agree that the colonists who hid behind walls, fences, and trees picking off the retreating redcoats were acting on their own. In contrast, Fischer argues that the Massachusetts militia, descended from Puritan trainbands, was an experienced, well-led, tightly organized military force that fought in large formations. Fischer undermines his argument, however, by attributing the militia's occasional ineptness to the troops' inexperience. It is hard to reconcile Fischer's contradictory descriptions of the Massachusetts militia.

Fischer's favorable portrayal of the Massachusetts militia is symptomatic of the study's deeper, methodological flaws, which follow from his vision of how history should be written. He believes that professional historians should resist their preoccupation with "social structures, intellectual systems, and material processes" and embrace *histoire événementielle*, a narrative strategy of "particular actions and contingent events" (p. xv). Fischer's criticism of modern historiography results from a theoretical disdain for any attempt to explain why people act in history or what historical actors thought in the past, two approaches to writing history he caustically denounced in *Historians' Fallacies*. But, in practice, Fischer himself proves unable to write a narrative of Paul Revere's ride without incorporating elements of causation and motivation. Rather than analyze these subjects in historical context, or build on Robert A. Gross's complex *The Minutemen and Their World* (1976), a study that documents Concord's political, economic, social, and religious pluralism, Fischer relies on the *deus ex machina* of New England folkways, a form of geographical determinism he constructed in *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989). The result is a tendency to invoke repeatedly and unconvincingly the values, customs, and meanings common in Puritan Massachusetts to explain Paul Revere's ride and the militia's actions at Lexington and Concord.

Surely concepts such as "covenant" or "Providence," for example, had radically different meanings during the age of the Enlightenment than they did for John Winthrop.

Readers put off by Fischer's preoccupation with slaying nineteenth-century historiographical ghosts should not neglect to read his small gem, "Myths after the Ride," buried between the appendixes and bibliography.

E. WAYNE CARP
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JAMES S. LEAMON. *Revolution Downeast: The War for American Independence in Maine*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, in cooperation with the Maine Historical Society. 1993. Pp. xviii, 302. \$29.95.

If John Adams was right in 1819 when he told Thomas Jefferson that the American Revolution occurred not in 1776 but in the previous decade, as the colonists, in the course of their struggle against imperial policies, developed a new American identity, then there are many regions of the British North American world that require special explanations when it comes to their experience of that revolutionary upheaval. In the great arc of British colonial possessions that stretched from Newfoundland to Jamaica there were localities where the political and ideological debate barely penetrated before the outbreak of war. This was true for the New England settlements in Nova Scotia, Maryland's Delmarva Peninsula, the Carolina backcountry, Georgia, and that huge area of eastern Massachusetts that now makes up the state of Maine.

Analyzing these regions is interesting in its own right, but the task becomes more substantive when the historian, in seeking to delineate how revolution came to these more remote areas, throws into sharper relief the configurations of the new revolutionary mentality in the more sophisticated parts of the colonial world. A considerable literature now exists on many of these regions, thus making it possible to do comparative analyses, beneficial alike for research and teaching purposes. This gem of a book by James S. Leamon will surely take its place as a first-rate addition to the scholarship on this topic. It is based on comprehensive and meticulous research in regional and local archives and a sensitive incorporation of the new material gathered into the extant scholarly literature. The author makes sustained comparisons to the other remote regions outside Maine and links his commentary not only to the modern scholarship on the emergence of American republican ideology in the revolutionary era but also to the scholarship that addresses issues of class and status rivalries, which were given social and political space to become active in the unstable conditions created by revolution and war.

The cardinal point Leamon makes is that it was the war itself that brought revolutionary transformation to Maine. The violence and confusion of the war

situation, the difficulties associated with the raising, paying, and deploying of the state and local militias, the questioning of traditional patterns of deference with respect to judges and other officeholders, and the challenging of old creditor/debtor relations all emerged into a public arena of debate once war shook the roots of society and economy in the townships downeast. All these crosscurrents were further affected, as they were in Nova Scotia and the lower South, by the periodic presence of effective British power, which probably more than any other single factor encouraged the emergence of the problematic (in terms of historical explanations) phenomenon of loyalism. Things were never simple, however. Leamon does an admirable job in showing the intricacies involved in trying to define what loyalism meant, from the inarticulate expression of traditional loyalty to the crown to the settlers in the short-lived, British-protected loyalist province of New Ireland who hoped that they might benefit from choosing the winning side locally. A thoughtful final section on the legacy of revolution makes the case that the separatist outlook of early nineteenth-century political culture in Maine was very much molded by the liberating impact of the revolution, notwithstanding its ambiguous origins and its tortuous course.

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Michigan State University

NORMAN K. RISJORD. *Thomas Jefferson*. (American Profiles.) Madison, Wis.: Madison House. 1994. Pp. xiii, 210. Cloth \$27.95, paper \$11.95.

The American Profiles series, which is initiated with this book and will be edited by its author, is premised on the hope that lively, relatively brief biographies can overcome an undergraduate's aversion to a dry and difficult parade of names and dates and "isms," interest some of those who come into our classrooms with reluctance, and take them far enough into some complicated subjects that teaching can begin. Maybe it will work. Norman K. Risjord has a major reputation as a teacher, and his textbooks have enjoyed unusual success. This volume should prove a worthy model for a series that will have a place for entertainers, athletes, and the like, as well as founding fathers.

Few authors, to be sure, will tackle individuals so central to our story or so difficult to compass in such space. A life-and-times biography of Thomas Jefferson in fewer than 200 pages is very close to an impossible assignment. Inevitably, perhaps, there are a few omissions and some places where the simplifying process has been taken further than necessity may have required. The important role of arguments over commercial discrimination in Jefferson's collision with Alexander Hamilton is neglected. The reasoning behind the Jeffersonians' conviction that the nation could prevail in a commercial confrontation with Great Britain is nowhere well explained. The chapters on the years to 1789 are not as deft, sure-footed, or as

entertaining, to my mind, as are the chapters on the new republic. The wonder, nevertheless, is that the author does so many things so well. Minor errors can be counted on a single hand. Assuming very little knowledge from its readers, the volume is a crisp, effective introduction to Jefferson and his age. The chapters on the party conflict of the 1790s and on Jefferson's presidency are truly marvelous exemplars of this genre.

This is not a book for specialists or even for the generalist who has a decent grounding in this era, although even they could be instructed by the way in which it mediates the controversy over the "liberal" and "country" dimensions of the Jeffersonian persuasion. It does succeed impressively, on balance, in doing what the author meant to do. It would be worth experimenting with in U.S. surveys. It could also be assigned to introduce and draw the students deeper into upper-level courses.

LANCE BANNING
University of Kentucky

IRVING H. BARTLETT. *John C. Calhoun: A Biography*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. 413. \$25.00.

When I entered graduate school, my introduction to historiography was a course in American political biography. The basic idea of the course was that we were to read one-volume biographies of political figures from many chronological periods. We soon discovered that, although there was no shortage of single-volume studies of lesser lights, the true titans of the nation's past evidently could not be captured between the covers of one volume. Today, a quarter of a century later, instructors hoping to assign biographies that offer interesting, fully rounded portraits of key figures in a relatively brief compass continue to face a challenge. It is a pleasure to report that Irving H. Bartlett has produced a model of this sort of biography in his study of John C. Calhoun.

There are enough gaps in the sources for Calhoun's early life to allow his biographer free range to construct, by inference and deduction, the youth who was father to the man. Bartlett sees the young Calhoun as a "child of the Revolution" (p. 20). The influences of his father, Patrick, and of the forces at work in the South Carolina backcountry, where he grew up, imbued Calhoun with the tenets of republicanism. According to Bartlett, Calhoun never lost this commitment to republicanism, but, as he matured and his career blossomed, the scope of the ideology he fought to preserve became more and more constricted. A thoroughgoing nationalist when he entered Congress on the eve of the War of 1812, Calhoun died in 1850 dedicated to the protection of the South and its peculiar institution of slavery.

Bartlett treats every phase of Calhoun's long public career: the "War Hawk"; cabinet officer under James Monroe and John Tyler; vice president; author of nullification and the "concurrent majority"; and de-

termined foe of Andrew Jackson, abolition, the Mexican War, and the Compromise of 1850. In addition to the close scrutiny he gives Calhoun's political career, Bartlett devotes considerable attention to the Carolinian as husband, father, and master of his plantation, Fort Hill. To create this balanced picture of the public and the private Calhoun, Bartlett sacrifices some detail when treating Calhoun's political ideas and his most important writings; at times, these sections read almost like laundry lists. Calhoun apparently was not much given to introspection, but Bartlett's frequent reconstruction of his subject's feelings more than compensates for this; most of the time these excursions into Calhoun's subconscious have the ring of plausibility.

Although the Calhoun who emerges from this work still bears some resemblance to Harriet Martineau's contemporary description of him as the "cast-iron man" (p. 19), his latest biographer adds shades of understanding, even occasional sympathy, and an analytical perspective. Because of its sprightly style, even-handed approach, and careful balance of detail and analysis in just under four hundred pages of text, Bartlett's volume belongs in every high school, college, and university library.

GEORGE R. LAMPLUGH
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ROBERT H. ABZUG. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 285. \$30.00.

The first of a promised two-volume study, this book marks Robert H. Abzug's return—after works on the liberation of Nazi death camps—to the inner world of antebellum American reform, the subject of his excellent first book, a biography of Theodore Dwight Weld. In Abzug's eyes, it is a world with New England at its center and religious fervor as its driving force. Its genesis is in the revolutionary era, in religious pluralism, in the final severing of church from state, and in visions such as Benjamin Rush's of "everyday life . . . recast in terms of Christian Republican virtue" (p. 25). Its Armageddon is the fracturing of antislavery unity.

If Abzug had simply asserted the importance of evangelical Protestantism in shaping antebellum reform, there would be little fresh about this book. But his argument is more subtle and his intellectual ambition much greater. It is "cosmological thinking" and reformers' quests for "sacred connection" that lie at the heart of Abzug's attempt to reframe our view of antebellum reform, and perhaps of American reformers and radicals more generally. Although this volume ends with antislavery schisms over the "woman question" and "the collapse of the evangelical Christian cosmos" in 1840 (p. 228), Abzug promises to continue the story past the Civil War in the next volume, suggesting that even today the "role of the

reformer itself . . . remains in many ways a radical religious calling" (p. viii).

Abzug's interpretation comes at a cost, and he is frank to acknowledge some of what his study necessarily excludes or pushes to the margins. As a work on religious feeling, it deals largely with the inner thoughts and public actions of particular men and women. This relatively slender volume, therefore, is not the place for the social or institutional histories of reform movements, or more than passing recognition of ones that may not fit his model, such as Owenite communitarianism and artisan radicalism, or biographies of reformers not of evangelical stock. Its New England focus also slights reformers from other regions, in spite of the Pennsylvanian Benjamin Rush's role as primal father and the centrality of southern-born Sarah Grimké and Angelina Grimké in the concluding section. It pays little attention to "secular" ideologies or languages, such as those of republicanism, possessive individualism, and science, or finds them to be religious at the core. It posits a conflicted relationship between "sacred" and "secular" when other relationships, or other formulations of the problem, are imaginable. And it argues the contestable proposition that reformers' cosmology lay in shambles in 1840 and their intellectual and spiritual disarray explains the subsequent flowering of utopian communities.

Because Abzug's goal was not to write a general history of antebellum reform and his central characters are familiar, the value of his book depends on its ability to cast reform in new light. On that score it succeeds nicely. Among its lesser, but important, achievements are rewriting the chronology of antebellum reform and relocating it in relation to the American Revolution, reminding scholars of the significance of religious pluralism, and looking beyond religion, narrowly construed, to cosmology as the heart and soul of reform. Although it is debatable how much Abzug elides from the story, and how much he can explain about reform in general, he is onto something significant in portraying reform as a religious calling. The weak links in much of the historiography of American reform are the emotional, cultural, linguistic, and personal ties that bind individual reformers to the larger cause and infuse their commitments with passion and meaning. Abzug's achievement is to help us see them from a provocative, intelligently argued angle of vision.

RONALD G. WALTERS
Johns Hopkins University

CHRISTIE ANNE FARNHAM. *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South*. New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 257. \$35.00.

This volume is an important contribution to the history of the antebellum South. Christie Anne Farnham provides a new perspective on issues raised by

Anne Firor Scott in *The Southern Lady* (1970) and valuable insights into the way that educational structures shaped white women's understanding of their role in a slave-owning society. The author shows that higher education, broadly defined, was more accepted for white women in the South than in the North before 1860. Southerners felt higher education offered no challenge to the dominant ideology of womanhood. It was expected to prepare women for cultured wifehood and motherhood, not for entry into a paid occupation. Using an impressive array of sources, Farnham provides information on the daily life of women students and faculty in higher-education institutions, and interprets the role of those institutions within the antebellum South.

Because husbands wished to share cultured life with their wives, the curriculum in southern women's colleges was similar to that of men's colleges. It was women's colleges, however, that pioneered the study of music, art, and modern languages, all firmly established disciplines in today's colleges and universities, while not requiring Greek (pp. 25–26). Farnham confirms a point made by Thomas Woody in his classic work on women's education (*A History of Women's Education in the United States* [1929]) that many women's institutions required the same well-known textbooks required in men's institutions.

Farnham describes the multiplicity of educational institutions for women in the South during the early nineteenth century. Some were called seminaries, academies, or collegiate institutes and not colleges, although the distinctions were often in name only. Most suffered from financial constraints because they lacked endowments and relied on income from student tuition.

Farnham examined essays by students at several institutions. Discussing one on "Gentleness," she suggests that the student accepted shame as controlling behavior, "a strategy central to the education of the young in societies based on honor" (p. 78). Southern women were urged constantly to consider their reputation in the community, while New Englanders, in contrast, taught students to internalize the norms of their society through "conscience-building strategies." I found that contrast intriguing since Farnham later writes that the transformation of southern women's education was "largely the work of evangelical Protestant clergymen and unmarried Northern women in their twenties." The latter, surely, brought with them their New England "conscience-building" strategies. How potent the amalgam of northern and southern methods for controlling women's behavior were may be gauged from Farnham's description of the "World of the Female School." There, efforts to teach students to internalize "obedience, passivity, and self-abnegation" were opposed by the norms of aristocratic culture (pp. 136–40). The resulting clash, however, was resolved differently in men's institutions than it was in women's. "In male schools discipline was viewed as an external force, and

increasingly the authors of this paternalism were seen as the enemy. A different approach was taken in female schools. All aspects of the institution conspired to inculcate the desired behaviors so that their observance was internalized as a matter of conscience" (p. 137). This observation could become a key to further scholarship differentiating more clearly men's and women's student cultures in general. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's categories in *Campus Life* (1987), for instance, could be more fully examined in light of Farnham's generative work.

JOAN N. BURSTYN
Syracuse University

MITCHELL SNAY. *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 265. \$49.95

This book is about the spiritualization of the sectional controversy by antebellum southern ministers. Mitchell Snay deals with familiar topics: the scriptural defense of slavery, the mission to the slaves, the denominational schisms, and religion's role in secession. The book reflects the insights from recent work on antebellum southern religion but goes beyond existing studies in its comprehensive consideration of the sources and expressions of antebellum southern religious nationalism. The book offers an interpretive framework, is organized with unusual clarity, and is well documented.

One of Snay's contributions is in suggesting that separatism is the best term to describe southern clerical ideas that promoted a sectional consciousness. Separatism encompassed southern sectionalism, or the attachment to values and interests associated with the South, and regional nationalism, the conviction that an independent nation was essential to securing southern interests. He fairly assesses the ways religion promoted but also sometimes undermined regional separatism.

The book clarifies the ministerial views on the relationship between religion and southern politics. The ministers insisted on the distinction between church and state and argued that the slavery controversy was a political issue and not of religious concern. But they went beyond that argument when identifying moral issues relating to slavery. When northerners in the 1840s tried to keep southerners out of western territories and foreign mission fields, southern ministers articulated a defense against the implications of southern moral inferiority. Their interpretation of the sectional controversy over slavery made the conflict between North and South into a larger one between orthodox faith and infidelity. What began as a political conflict was translated into a religious struggle.

Snay shows the Americanness of southern clerical thought. The Bible, moral philosophy, Evangelicalism, and civil religion all played a part in forming southern separatism, but each of those foundations of

southern thought was shared with northerners. He mentions Republicanism as well, but here one longs for more analysis. A central issue of the antebellum South that still needs to be resolved is the relationship between Republicanism and southern sectional distinctiveness. Mills Thornton, Lacy Ford, and others have clarified this issue somewhat, but their interests are mostly political. Snay might have done more to illuminate the relationship from religion's side. Despite the Americanness of his story, Snay admits that the ministers' sectional views were products of southern soil, with slavery and paternalism the particularistic foundations of a distinctive regional civilization.

Snay concludes that the sanctification of slavery was the key contribution of southern religion to forging enduring links between religion and sectionalism. "Indeed," he writes, "the scriptural defense of slavery might well have functioned as a sectional counterpoint to the free soil ideology in the Republican party" (p. 215). His conclusion reinforces the centrality of slavery in the coming of the Civil War. Religious proslavery provided one way to incorporate the world views of both planters and yeomen, focusing attention on their shared evangelical Protestantism and affirming the moral righteousness of their regional civilization that seemed to deserve support.

Snay says he offers a "modest contribution" to understanding the coming of the Civil War. He himself, however, is too modest in his claim. This book is a major contribution to clarifying what increasingly seems like a fundamental cause of the war: the differing ideologies, North and South, with religious values playing a key part in providing moral meanings to both sides in a sectional struggle that would lead to war.

CHARLES REAGAN WILSON
University of Mississippi

MARK Y. HANLEY. *Beyond a Christian Commonwealth: The Protestant Quarrel with the American Republic, 1830-1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. x, 210. \$34.95.

Historians of antebellum Protestantism have usually assumed the uncritical acceptance by American Protestants of the virtues of the newly formed Republic. It followed that Protestants often obscured the boundary line between religion and a developing political culture that all too easily wedded Christian piety to the celebration of unrestrained American individualism, chauvinistic nationalism, and material progress. Mark Y. Hanley, by contrast, attempts to establish that not all was at ease in Zion, for a dissenting body of Protestant clergy questioned the religious legitimization of the dominant social order, especially an all-too-facile identification of Protestant faith and an emerging "liberal culture."

Hanley contends that dissenting Protestants were "religious jeremiads" who proclaimed that there existed a fundamental distinction between Christian

faith and American culture. They warned of the problems that beset a society no longer attentive to the gap between the demands of the God that people worshiped and the republican institutions they sought to create in God's name. Focusing on mainline Protestant Christians, who Hanley groups together as "orthodox" Protestants because of their insistence on a form of Augustinian realism about the power of human self-interest and traditional Christian emphasis on "sin, salvation, and judgment," he examines sermons, religious journals, newspapers, and pamphlet literature to offer insights into the religious discourse of dissenting Protestants.

The major part of Hanley's study focuses on issues that range from the "critical republican vision" of dissenting Protestants to their critiques of the excesses of American nationalism and the varying forms of what he labels the "new infidelity," which sought to equate secularized manifestations of material progress and social reform with religious aspirations. What was most troubling to dissenting Protestants was that the reigning "materialistic ethos of the new economic and social order lulled the people into spiritual indifference, they would be rendered vulnerable to visions of human redemption keyed to popular material progress and unreined by the old doctrines of faith" (pp. 122-23).

Although Hanley's work is a needed corrective to one-dimensional assessments of the world of mainline antebellum Protestantism, it lacks a critical appraisal of the shortcomings of the tradition he himself so carefully delineates. His lack of a critical distance is perhaps due to the fact that he believes that the concerns and priorities of antebellum dissenting Protestantism "dovetails" with the insights and visions of Reinhold Niebuhr and H. Richard Niebuhr, primarily Reinhold Niebuhr's "apprehensions about the confluence of human freedom and human sinfulness" (p. 161). Much more problematic is Hanley's insular understanding of religion as a human phenomenon. He treats dissenting Protestantism as if it were a disembodied reality confined to some nebulous realm he labels as "spiritual," unrelated to the dynamics of a developing capitalist economy and the interplay of questions of race, class, and gender. One of Hanley's models of Protestant cultural dissenters to the dominant order is Francis Wayland, who was not only an important Protestant luminary but also the author of one of the influential texts of the period, *Elements of Political Economy* (1853), which provided an important religious legitimation for laissez-faire capitalism. Wayland both sanctified the centrality of the rights of property and the abolition of any governmental impediments to capital accumulation, such as poor laws, as well as resisted any congressional attempt to abolish slavery, arguing it was a violation of rights reserved to the state authorities. Finally, for all Hanley's analysis of the misgivings of dissenting Protestants about the existing order, he does not sufficiently demon-

strate that they took issue with the perpetuation of Protestant hegemony.

ROBERT H. CRAIG
Mount Union College

GRANT UNDERWOOD. *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. 213. \$24.95.

In this study of early Mormon millennialism, Grant Underwood demonstrates that the Latter-day Saints were both more moderate and more fully rooted in the religious world of the nineteenth century than most scholars have believed. He thereby helps us better understand both Mormonism and the impact of nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity.

Underwood argues that, during its first two decades, Mormonism held to an eschatology closely related to the premillennialism that became popular during the fifty years after the American and French revolutions. Like other Christians, the Mormons emphasized the soon coming of Christ, an event that would divide the world into the saved and the lost. Their unique version of this standard view was the idea of the "gathering," which referred to both the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem in the Old World and the converted gentiles and Indians to Zion in the New World.

This premillennialism was closely tied to a primitivist impulse, as was true with other millennial groups. The early Mormons placed more emphasis on the Bible, Underwood states, than they did on the *Book of Mormon*, using it literally, figuratively, and allusively. Significantly, it was this primitivist attempt to return to original Christianity that laid the basis for Mormonism's departure from what other Christians interpreted as orthodoxy. The Latter-day Saints regarded polygamy and the temple ceremony as revivals of Old Testament practice, while the modern revelation to Joseph Smith was both a continuation of biblical revelation and an authoritative directive among the contemporary cacophony of biblical interpretations.

Faced with competition from the Millerites, who predicted that Christ would come in 1844, the Mormons began shifting from an emphasis on an imminent end. The earthly Zion became increasingly important as the Latter-day Saints moved away from premillennialism and toward a "pluralized rather than a polarized picture of eternity" (p. 56).

Underwood concludes that the early Mormons were "moderate millenarians" who provided a primarily spiritual critique of society, rather than an alternative economic and social order. They appealed to those in both the United States and England who were dissatisfied with their societies' religious state, offering a new outpouring of spiritual gifts to seekers after pentecost.

The author's research is thorough. In addition to grounding his work in the extensive scholarship on American millennialism and the growing body of

Mormon historiography, he has analyzed a vast array of early Mormon writings. The latter include letters and journals, periodicals, sermons, books, and doctrinal statements.

Particularly useful is the author's quantitative analysis of the early Mormon use of the *Book of Mormon*. He demonstrates that the concept of the restoration of Israel dominated interpretation of both the Bible and the *Book of Mormon*, although the latter shaped Mormon understanding of the role of the gentiles. "Just as Christians in their use of the Bible," Underwood comments, "the Saints, too, with regard to the Book of Mormon, have had a canon within the canon" (p. 95).

Although Underwood emphasizes the moderate character of Mormonism in this volume, it would be a mistake to discount the movement's radical elements. This well-written work demonstrates that continuity existed between the premillennialism and primitivism that Mormonism shared with many other Americans of the period and the concept of continuing revelation that was to increasingly separate the Mormons from their surrounding society.

GARY LAND
Andrews University

JOHN J. KILLOREN. *"Come, Blackrobe": De Smet and the Indian Tragedy*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 448. \$29.95.

The title of John J. Killoren's book contains and perpetuates two myths that have long been present in American Indian history. In titling his book, "'Come, Blackrobe,'" Killoren perpetuates the notion that American Indians asked Christian missionaries to live among them, teach them the "Good News" of Jesus Christ, and establish Christian institutions among them. This myth has existed since the earliest days of Christianity in regard to pagan peoples of the Mediterranean—see the writings of St. Paul—and the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629 pictured an Indian with the words coming out of his mouth, "Come over and help us."

Only rarely have Indian peoples requested evangelization. In the case of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S.J.—a Belgian priest and naturalized U.S. citizen who spent fifty years (1823–1873) in the Indian service—Killoren claims a "unique relationship" (p. xiv) with Native Americans. Between 1831 and 1839 four delegations of Flatheads (led by Christian Iroquois living among them) journeyed to St. Louis to ask for a Catholic priest. Disenchanted with his clerical duties among the Potawatomis, De Smet answered the call, establishing (Killoren says), a "ready unity between a religious-minded people and their spiritual leader" (p. xiv).

De Smet's Flathead mission ended in failure within five years. He neither learned an Indian language nor settled among an Indian group. Instead, his long years of "dedication to the Native Americans" (p.

212) consisted of fund raising and "publicity releases" (p. 88) for the Jesuit order, punctuated by service to the U.S. Indian Bureau. During these years the Indians of the West succumbed to overwhelmingly expansionist U.S. power, losing their lands and autonomy.

The subtitle of Killoren's book speaks of "De Smet and the Indian Tragedy," and the author states that "De Smet's story embraces that tragedy" (p. 15). By calling the U.S. conquest of Indians a "tragedy," Killoren implies a fatal flaw in the natives' collective character: a benighted but doomed people. But the author does not analyze the content of the tragedy; neither does he analyze possible motivations for the Flathead delegations. In both cases he prolongs the mythic images without sufficient self-awareness. He does not ask in a critical manner what De Smet's role was in the "tragedy imposed upon these Plains tribes" (p. 350).

From the evidence of the book, De Smet was a colorful, popular, but relatively minor character who contributed in the chain of events leading to the entrapment and destruction of Indian cultures in the West. He made a map of tribes for the United States. He served as army chaplain and spy for the Indian Bureau. He baptized Indians at treaty negotiations. Despite his opposition to U.S. policies, he recognized that the "Cross would be a tool of the Crown" (p. 248) and encouraged Indians to accept the land cessions, the reservations, and acculturation. Most of Killoren's book has little to do with De Smet, as the author recounts the vagaries of U.S. policy in which the priest played little part.

Regarding U.S. policy makers, Killoren too often follows the insufficiently critical judgments of Francis Paul Prucha. Too often we encounter the phrases, "Prucha notes" (p. 195), "Prucha states" (p. 196), "Prucha points out" (p. 198), and so on. Too often Killoren assumes good-hearted motives among U.S. officials, for example, a "genuine concern for the Indians" (p. 198) by Commissioner of Indian Affairs George Manypenny, who in two years oversaw fifty-two treaties that usurped 174 million acres from Indian nations. When De Smet allowed himself to be used by those policy makers and exhorted Indians to accept U.S. demands, Killoren calls him "realistic" (p. 273). Finally, the author too often uses his imagination in claiming what "could have," "would have," "may not have," and "may have" (pp. 352–54) been De Smet's thoughts, while admitting, "There is no record of De Smet's reflections" (p. 355).

CHRISTOPHER VECSEY
Colgate University

CHARLES C. BOLTON. *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 258. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

In 1987 the appearance of Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter's *Farm Tenancy and the Census in Antebellum Georgia* opened new doors to the study of common whites in the antebellum South. This book follows their lead in some respects and expands on their work in others. Charles C. Bolton examines antebellum poor whites in central North Carolina and northeast Mississippi. His work focuses on the 1850s and the early years of the Civil War, but he also draws on evidence from the two decades before the 1850s and includes a short epilogue on poor whites in the New South.

Bolton identifies antebellum poor whites as landless white tenants and laborers, a considerably broader definition than most scholars have used. His subjects are not the degraded "poor white trash" of novels and movies, but the roughly 30 to 50 percent of the southern white population who owned no land. Believing that earlier writers have obscured the view of southern whites by combining landless whites with landowning yeomen into an ill-defined lump known variously as the yeomanry, common whites, and plain folk, Bolton splits off the landless portion of the population for separate examination. Fourteen settled counties in North Carolina and four frontier counties in Mississippi form the basis of the study. In addition, the author took samples of 250 poor whites from each of two counties in both regions from the 1850 and 1860 federal censuses. Many of his conclusions are based on these samples.

Bolton finds that landless whites were different in significant ways from landowning yeomen. The former were much more mobile due to their need to find temporary jobs, usually in agriculture. They suffered from a "massively fragmented family life" (p. 8), partly because of their mobility. Although they did vote, they "almost never held political office and rarely participated in the activities of political parties" (p. 9). Persistent poverty dogged most of them throughout their lives because slavery closed off opportunities for farm jobs and industrial wages, because the increasing commercialization of agriculture made it more difficult for the poor to buy land, and because the cycle of credit and debt limited chances for the landless to advance much beyond their usual state of poverty. Despite their depressed economic circumstances, poor whites did not turn to African Americans on one side or small-holding yeomen on the other to create a class-based political movement. Racism and personal ties to other whites prevented a black-poor white alliance, and the different interests of the landless and the yeomen combined with the smoothing effect of the two-party system to preclude a landless-yeoman combination.

This is a fine book that sheds new light on the common whites of the South. Bolton looks at his subject from a different perspective and arrives at sensible and reasonable conclusions. The only significant weakness of the book is the use of small samples from only four counties in two states. But perhaps it is

asking too much for the author to have examined more counties in more states with larger samples. He has produced a suggestive study that should lead other scholars to replicate his admirable work.

RICHARD LOWE

University of North Texas

WILLIAM W. FREEHLING. *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 321. \$14.95.

This volume gathers eleven of William W. Freehling's articles and essays, published between 1965 and 1994. Three appear here for the first time; Freehling has revised most of the essays and provided interesting introductions to all of them. The title, briefly explained in the preface, becomes fully illuminated in the last two essays, "The Divided South, the Causes of Confederate Defeat, and the Reintegration of Narrative History," and "Toward a Newer Political History—and a Reintegrated Multicultural History." One sentence from the last essay summarizes Freehling's holistic view: "But if political historians are to write a new American multicultural history, they must remember that all those supposedly invisible men and women, wonderfully visible in the New Social History, must be rendered equally visible, equally agents of their own partial triumphs, in the political dialectic that has slowly made America one nation—and that still leaves this pluralistic country with many cultures, partially and proudly apart" (p. 273).

The book is also a satisfying distillation of the chief subjects that have engaged a major historian over most of a long and fruitful career. It can serve as an illuminating companion to the prodigious *Road to Disunion*, volume 1, *Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854* (1990) and its eagerly awaited, presumably equally prodigious successor, *Secessionists Triumphant, 1854–1861* (forthcoming). Long enough to be both stimulating and informative, the present volume is still compact enough to include on reading lists of undergraduate courses in U.S. history or as a way to enrich the graduate student's or general history teacher's knowledge of the Civil War, and especially its origins in the Old South.

Freehling's research and writing have focused on the political action, ideology, and motivation of those slaveholders who helped create the democratic republic and later attempted to create a different republic, separate from those states unwilling or unable to protect and preserve African-American slavery. The concept of paternalism (white male domination of women, children, and slaves) is thematically central to Freehling's work. He stresses an idea originally and obsessively voiced by antebellum abolitionists: the most fearlessly logical of slavery's defenders eventually saw the need to dominate the unruly lower orders of white males. Conventionally enough, Freehling deplores the racism and separatism of the Colonization Society and the generation of

Upper South Republicans and Whigs who advocated a dim and distant emancipation followed by the deportation of ex-slaves. But with striking conviction and originality he demonstrates that colonization schemes, however feebly pursued and parsimoniously funded, were by no means *prima facie* absurd and certainly not impossible, given the enormous transfers of populations across the Atlantic that went on routinely in the nineteenth century. Neither does Freehling assume, in the fashion of both Garrisonians and Fire-eaters, that all colonizers had unworthy, even dreadful motives.

In one of the best features of the book, Freehling divides the Old South into zones and classes, clinically isolating the pure Slaveocrats within their own region. As the larger world became more liberal it became increasingly clear to a minority of interested men that they had to prevent the erosion of their quasi-nation around its fringes, where economic forces as well as abolitionist and libertarian ideas had successfully attacked slavery since the time of the American Revolution. Freehling also recognizes and illuminates the complex and contradictory role of Christianity, both sustaining and undermining patriarchal domination, in the racial politics of Dixie.

ROBERT MCCOLLEY
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

JAMES M. MCPHERSON. *What They Fought For, 1861–1865*. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 88. \$16.95.

James M. McPherson gave the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University in the spring of 1993, now published in this brief book. His research for the Fleming lectures was part of a larger undertaking that will soon appear as another book, to be titled *Why They Fought*. The entire project will likely be the most comprehensive study of Civil War soldiers ever conducted, as well as the most convincing.

McPherson's main point here is that Civil War soldiers were motivated by ideology. Indeed, he says "ideological motifs . . . almost leaped" (p. 4) off the pages of their diaries and letters.

The motivating ideas that Confederate soldiers most often cited were patriotism, liberty, self-government, constitutional rights, and resistance to tyranny. What gave a special spirit to the southerners' fight was the belief that they were defending their homeland and their womenfolk against invaders.

Among Union troops, the salient values were patriotism, liberty, democracy, majority rule, constitutional law and order, and republican government—in sum, the principles expressed in the Gettysburg Address. What gave added impetus to the northerners' war effort was the belief that they were punishing the South for its treason.

At the core of both southern and northern ideolo-

gies were the two themes of liberty and republicanism. Each side firmly believed it was fighting to defend the legacy of the American Revolution.

McPherson's last lecture concerns the soldiers' attitudes toward slavery. He finds that few southerners were avowedly proslavery. Those who were said they fought for both liberty and slavery and saw no contradiction in that. As for Union soldiers, slavery rarely came up in their documents, but eventually proemancipation ideals held sway.

McPherson has performed some kind of quantitative content analysis of the soldier's diaries and letters; we can tell that because he often cites the percentage of soldiers who held a particular belief, and he is scrupulously careful in arguing from his sample, which consists of 25,000 letters and over 100 diaries written by 374 Confederate and 562 Union soldiers, possibly the largest assemblage of personal testimony ever used in a Civil War research project.

It follows that the difficulty with this book is that the author has not shown us his methods of content analysis and his sampling procedures. The format of this book probably prevented that, but in social-science history one must ask to see the apparatus. If his methods are sound, then he has refuted some key propositions of Bell Wiley, Gerald Linderman, and Reid Mitchell, who asserted that soldiers were not ideologically motivated. It would also be helpful to know how McPherson thinks his findings fit in with the work on soldiers' values done by Earl Hess, Randall Jimerson, and James I. Robertson, Jr., and the systematic studies by Joseph Allan Frank and George A. Reaves, Peter Maslowski, and myself. We all look forward to *Why They Fought* for the complete results.

MICHAEL BARTON
Pennsylvania State University,
Harrisburg

GORDON C. RHEA. *The Battle of the Wilderness, May 5–6, 1864*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 512. \$34.95.

Gordon C. Rhea untangles as well as anyone the complex detail of the Battle of the Wilderness. He builds a highly readable if at times flowery narrative around rich sources that keep us close to the soldiers and to their commanders. With the critical skills of the lawyer that he is, Rhea weighs the decisions that led to the Battle of the Wilderness. In so doing, Rhea provides the data to emphasize perhaps a more important perspective: the Wilderness as a classic study of the chaos that accompanies battle, and of two gamblers who sought to stir the chaos because both understood its nature and how to exploit it. Rhea notes the gambler in Robert E. Lee, although he tends to neglect this part of U. S. Grant, while picking up on the cautious tendencies of George Meade and his army in battle.

Rhea is especially interested in showing how the initial plan of maneuver to force Lee to fight in the

open probably was flawed fundamentally, and at least practically, because of the unwieldy Union wagon trains. He does not note that Grant, the master of field transportation and supply and maneuver in the West, threw out the 1863 reorganization of the Army of the Potomac into a fast and efficient flying column to double the wagon standard. Why? Even Grant's friend, West Point roommate, and quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac Rufus Ingalls was mystified and frustrated. Perhaps Grant simply did not believe that this army could be depended on for maneuver. Perhaps he realized that there were no decisive victories to be won by maneuver in mid-nineteenth-century warfare against a competently led army. Grant and probably Lee both realized that victory was on the margin. And both realized that Grant had the numbers to win over time on the margin of attrition and exhaustion, forcing Lee to gamble from the weaker position. Grant's famous statement that he intended to win by attrition if by no other way probably discounted the other ways as likely to bring victory. Grant knew what he wanted to do with Meade's army, and he probably doubled its wagon standard because speed of maneuver was a secondary consideration to logistically contented soldiers with the morale to do battle. Grant wanted to bring Lee to battle, and he was not primarily concerned with how or where.

Rhea does catch some of this mood in Grant. He makes a point of Grant spending long periods whittling, taking little part in the battle. It might be speculated that he was whittling and waiting for the chaos to take a direction that he could exploit. Rhea does note Grant's eagerness early in the battle to engage under any circumstances, and that he assumed tactical control when Meade's army showed signs of faltering at a crucial juncture late in the battle. Rhea notes that Grant one day consumed a record twenty cigars, a testimony to Grant's awareness that the Wilderness was the critical moment for sizing up his new army and a talented opponent who knew how to play Grant's game.

Grant and Lee expected, accepted, and then tried to manage (as the nature of battle) the flawed execution that Rhea documents in his close study and judgment of strategic and tactical error and competency. By stepping back from this disposition in Rhea's analysis, one can read his narrative as a rich weave of the unpredictable elements to which Grant and Lee applied their styles of leadership in battle.

EDWARD HAGERMAN
York University
Toronto

HOWARD N. RABINOWITZ. *Race, Ethnicity, and Urbanization: Selected Essays*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 359. \$42.50.

This book contains essays published between 1974 and 1991 by Howard N. Rabinowitz, a historian of the

urban South. In several of these essays and his book, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890* (1978), Rabinowitz argued that segregation emerged in southern cities after 1865 in part because blacks expected equal conditions in the provision of services and because they viewed segregation as an improvement over exclusion. Thus, he challenged C. Vann Woodward's argument in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955) that segregation took shape in the 1890s, and he moved the scholarly discussion about segregation beyond the dating of its origins.

Many scholars will read this book and hope that after thirty years in the profession they will have ranged as broadly over topics in American history as Rabinowitz. His essays deal with race relations, Reconstruction, ethnic history, and urban development. His essay on Woodward's thesis is an exemplary piece of historiographical criticism, and his article on the limits and potential of cultural pluralism as an explanatory concept in American ethnic history (1983) articulates some of the critical issues currently under discussion in the profession.

Rabinowitz's early essays convey the excitement of a social historian seeking to understand the significance of federal and state policies for the daily lives of ordinary people. One essay examines conflict between black urban dwellers and the police in post-Civil War cities, and another demonstrates how northern radicals and their white southern compatriots initiated a policy of segregation in social services immediately following the war. Rabinowitz contends that southern blacks demanded separate services because they believed that they would be equal in quality and accessibility. Yet another essay follows the same theme in the history of black education.

The essays in this volume are solidly researched and written in jargon-free style that carries the reader effortlessly along. Rabinowitz pays too much attention to the question of whether particular changes constituted progress for blacks, but in this emphasis he is responding to the conventions of the literature. Far more troubling is the tone of his introductory essay, "Selected Reflections on Thirty Years of History as a Discipline and a Profession." Rabinowitz has stinging words for historians who "focus on the storyteller rather than the story" (p. 5), for postmodernist theorists, and for scholars who are more skilled at theoretical debate than "solid archival research" (p. 8).

Rabinowitz's foray into current historiographical and theoretical conflicts is spirited and thoughtful, but he offers readers merely a caricature of the work of younger historians rather than a sustained analytical commentary. The current distrust of the "scientific" model of research that Rabinowitz seeks to defend did not spring from the minds of impressionable graduate students and French "gurus." Rather, debates within several disciplines, along with a more generalized distrust of the promise of science in the post-Hiroshima era, have undermined ways of know-

ing and interpreting which have dominated the study of the past since the eighteenth century. The intense tone and the insistent theorizing that troubles Rabinowitz are symptomatic of a larger project, however imperfectly executed, of fathoming the relevance of the legacy of the Enlightenment for our own time. It deserves serious engagement rather than caricature and denunciation.

BRUCE TUCKER
University of Windsor

RICHARD A. COUTO. *Lifting the Veil: A Political History of Struggles for Emancipation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1993. Pp. xxxvi, 330. Cloth \$36.95, paper \$16.95.

The scope and goals of Richard A. Couto's volume are ambitious. He seeks to analyze the political history of black Americans in Haywood County, Tennessee, the South, and the nation, from the beginning of Reconstruction to the present. He seeks to personalize this account by including extensive comments from interviews with various descendants of slave-born Samuel A. McElwee, who served in the Tennessee General Assembly during the 1880s, and Elisha Davis, a black political leader in the twentieth century. At the same time, he offers a "paradigmatic description of American politics" (p. 259) by examining "covert and overt protest" (p. 261), "the politics of portions" (p. 262), and "the politics of transformation" (p. 265).

Clearly the strength of the book is the interviews the author conducted between 1987 and 1991 with a number of Tennessee blacks and their descendants, which trace local events, often dramatic, concerning the inchoate civil rights struggle. The book's title is derived from a caption to a photograph showing Elisha Davis lifting a blindfold from the faces of his two sons in 1940 at the time he was forming a Haywood County chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Color People. The photograph symbolizes a hoped-for new era, but one of Davis's co-workers, Elbert Williams, was lynched for his participation, and Davis was abducted by a white mob and narrowly escaped with his life by fleeing from the county. "So these guys stood at the door with these big long poles, you know the kind you drive cattle with," Nann Davis, Elisha's wife said. "He knew all of the men. Some of them he was raised up with. I kept asking, 'What are you gonna do with him?' But Eli just kept telling me to shut up" (p. 134).

The strength of the study is in the presentation of such dramatic events. Couto is less successful, however, when dealing with the substantial chronological breadth and integrating the "paradigmatic description of American politics," mostly placed at the beginning and the end of the book, with the personal histories and interviews. Indeed, the book would have probably been improved had the author simply excluded the "paradigmatic" pages. Couto also has problems incorporating a county history into a larger

political history, and his study suffers from the chopiness such efforts often entail. Here again much of the material is well known to most readers—the author concludes, for example, by quoting Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech—and could well have been cut substantially or eliminated. In short, while the effort is commendable, the result is not wholly satisfying.

LOREN SCHWENINGER
University of North Carolina,
Greensboro

LAURENCE F. GROSS. *The Course of Industrial Decline: The Boott Cotton Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, 1835–1955*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, number 15.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 279. \$42.00.

Perhaps no city has occupied a more central position in the lore of American industrial history than Lowell, Massachusetts. For scholars, novelists, and film makers, the "city of spindles," with its celebrated "mill girls," famous visitors, and well-connected investors, has been both model and metaphor for industrialization and the corporate style of mass production in the new nation. Yet, as Laurence F. Gross demonstrates, Lowell has an equally compelling tale to tell about the limits of American business practices and of industrial policies designed less to make cloth than to make money.

Focusing on the Boott Cotton Mills from its founding in 1835 and following its path through its reorganization as the Boott Mills in 1905 until it ceased operations in 1954, Gross charts in intricate detail the operation, functions, and performance of textile manufacturing as managers, workers, and owners negotiated their position in the national economy and among each other. Divided into five sections, the book chronicles each step in the interlocking processes that connected the relentless search for profits to decisions about production, technology, labor, reinvestment (or more commonly lack of it), niche markets, and plant maintenance. In this way Gross avoids a simple narrative of linear development and is able to show clearly not only the effects of choices made by the directors but also the context and purposefulness of those choices. Deindustrialization, argues Gross, was neither inevitable nor uncontested, and at the Boott Mill the course of industrial decline was well charted by directors willing to dump profits into investors' pockets and throw maintenance and equipment updating overboard. As Gross amply demonstrates, the practice of "plundering"—of skimming off profits to seek short-term gains at the expense of long-term survival and growth—was not new in the 1980s but rather a well-honed Yankee tradition.

Much of the story Gross tells is, of course, familiar, but the extensive records of the Boott Mill, especially the recent addition to Lowell University of the Flather Collection, provide an intimate portrait of the strug-

gles not only between management and labor but also between management and investors who were fiercely represented by the board of directors, most of whom were themselves principal shareholders. Gross uses the Flather material to show that after 1914 management's job was to provide no more than stop-gap solutions to the problems of deteriorating plants, high turnover, hazardous conditions, and low pay. After that date, regular expenditure on the plant would come from borrowed money because the cash generated by the Boott headed south to be invested in plants long connected to the owners of the Boott. Labor unrest, often a popular explanation for the runaway shop, had little to do with this shift and, as Gross shows, managers such as Frederick Flather could do little but forestall what directors made inevitable. Heavily dependent on supervisory personnel who ran the mill with outdated equipment and on workers' knowledge and skill, upper management scrambled to find niches, recruit new workers, and pursue new products. That the Boott continued until 1954 was thus a mark not of its failure, but of its great success. Cash flowed from the products of Boott workers, but it went to those dedicated to the mill's demise rather than to those who sought to give it a future.

One of the major bonuses of the book is Gross's knowledge of textile production and technology. Machines play a central role in his narrative and thick descriptions of operative skills quickly abolish the myth that cotton mill operatives were unskilled laborers. Numerous labor-saving devices, safety features, and other alterations in equipment flowed from the shop floor up to management as workers made adjustments, sought improvements, and struggled to maintain a degree of control over the work process. Despite the central role of technology to Gross's story, however, there are few images to illustrate the text and most readers unfamiliar with the highly technical jargon of textile manufacturing will have to strain to comprehend the tools of production. Few, however, will miss the book's major point, as Gross richly details what Herbert Hoover vaguely suspected: "The only thing wrong with capitalism is capitalists."

ARDIS CAMERON
University of Southern Maine

MENAHM BLONDHEIM. *News over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844-1897*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 42.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 305. \$39.95.

This engaging history of the Associated Press by Menahem Blondheim demonstrates how effectively a new technology can upset the balance of economic and social power. The telegraph was quickly recognized as a potent force in information gathering and became the tool with which several newspapers dom-

inated the acquisition and reporting of the news. The telegraph gave entrepreneurs an opportunity to re-route important information, especially European news, from its point of origin to centers where this knowledge could be controlled. Such was the power of this first modern information network, Blondheim argues, that there was a communications monopoly in the last half of the nineteenth century, a monopoly which had the power to define what Americans knew about the world around them.

By 1846 the first telegraph lines had linked New York, Washington, Buffalo, and Boston into a regional network. Five years later the New York Associated Press was formed by six New York daily newspapers to procure news and send it rapidly along the wires. From this point on, the development of the telegraph business and the news agencies, which were its largest customers, were inextricably linked. Much of this book is devoted to the struggles between rival newspapers and competing telegraph companies for monopoly of information. It is the classic nineteenth-century tale of unrestrained greed and vicious capitalism and as such it makes entertaining reading. The author has consulted an impressive array of primary sources and paints a detailed picture of the great newspaper and telegraph magnates and their dirty dealings.

The Associated Press and Western Union both aimed at monopoly and employed a fearsome array of financial, technological, and political weapons to achieve this goal. Yet both were continually thwarted by competing business associations and treachery within their own ranks. In faithfully recounting the tortuous history of these machinations, Blondheim gradually undermines his central thesis of a news monopoly, for maintaining one in the constantly changing context of newspaper combinations, telegraph networks, and government regulation was very difficult.

The most important question about this monopoly, how it influenced the news, unfortunately is not fully answered in this book. In a brief but illuminating section on controlling the news during the Civil War, Blondheim demonstrates that the Associated Press was an important ally of Abraham Lincoln's administration. In one short chapter on the politics of the 1870s, he shows how the Republican leanings of the news agencies brought them into collusion with Republican politicians, but not always to the benefit of the party. Upton Sinclair's charges that the Associated Press was a tool of big business and the Republican Party are neither proved nor dismissed. This is an important issue that has relevance beyond that of nineteenth-century politics and culture; the unimpeded flow of public information along technological networks is even more critical in the age of the "information superhighway." Blondheim has provided a foundation for further study in a book that

provides important insights into the operation and control of communications networks.

ANDRE MILLARD
University of Alabama,
Birmingham

LINDA PEAVY and URSULA SMITH. *Women in Waiting in the Westward Movement: Life on the Home Frontier*. Foreword by JOHN MACK FARAGHER. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 381. \$17.95.

Frontier historians, scholarly and popular alike, seem to delight in reconstructing one aspect after another of the Anglo-American "westward movement." Their specific topics, of course, have changed over time; in recent years, pioneer men have had to make room for pioneer women, and accounts of the mostly male gold rush have been pushed aside by studies of families on the overland trail.

The latest addition to the list of frontier family studies comes from Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, who have unearthed a rather unique source: letters written and received by eastern and midwestern wives who were left behind when their husbands rushed to the West to make their family fortunes. In this book, Peavy and Smith painstakingly reconstruct the stories of six such women: Abiah Warren Hiller, Almira Fay Stearns, Sarah Burgert Yesler, Harriet Burr Godfrey, Emma Stratton Christie, and Augusta Perham Shipman. Although they lived at different times and in various places, these women had one thing in common: while their husbands hitched their wagons to the stars of California gold mining, Montana homesteading, or the Washington lumber business, they stayed home and faced the practical challenges of feeding their families.

Their six stories bring to life many of the calamities that might befall a nineteenth-century married woman, from the death of a child to the loss of a home to the anguish of a marriage marked by long-term separation in a time when divorce was all but unthinkable. Although the book's unfortunate title raises images of long-suffering victims, the stories themselves do not. Despite the obstacles they faced, these wives managed to support their children and to carry out—and sometimes far exceed—their husbands' directions for managing the family economic assets. But because each success defied the Victorian notion that middle-class respectability was symbolized by wives' withdrawal from economic activity, it is little wonder that the women spent a great deal of time defending their absent husbands to their neighbors, and, one suspects, to themselves.

For the most part, Peavy and Smith let their research stand for itself; they tell their stories in matter-of-fact prose with only rare pauses for interpretation. What guidance they do offer comes in an introductory chapter in which they assert that their intention is to "provide a means of examining life on the home frontier and of assessing the nature and extent of the

impact the separation of families had on the women themselves, on their marriages, on family life as a whole, and on the westward movement" (p. 5).

The stories, however, continually elude this frontier framing. Because the accounts are focused primarily on the women at home rather than the men on the frontier, the term "home frontier" seems oddly chosen. Even the connection to the "westward movement" is tenuous, for, although some of the men eventually turned a comfortable profit from their sojourns, not all the families ended up in the West.

But if the frontier focus of this study ultimately proves too narrow to encompass the whole, the book nonetheless has something to offer. As individual portraits, the life stories provide intriguing nineteenth-century examples of the social role of "deputy husbands" identified by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (*Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* [1982]) and contribute to the demystification of the history of household economics exemplified by the work of Jeanne Boydston (*Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* [1990]). It is for these personalized accounts of the practical economics of nineteenth-century marriage and family formation that this volume should interest historians of the family, frontier or otherwise.

PEGGY PASCOE
University of Utah

LAURIE F. MAFFLY-KIPP. *Religion and Society in Frontier California*. (Yale Historical Publications.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 241. \$25.00.

Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, in contributing to the growing literature on the study of religion in the western states, analyzes the impact that northern evangelical denominations (such as Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist) made in the California gold mining area during the period 1848–69. Using diaries, letters, and journals, this study is enriched by comparing Californian endeavors with prior missionary work. There is no recognition, however, of previous specific studies, such as, for example, Alice Cochran's *Miners, Merchants, and Missionaries: The Role of Missionaries and Pioneer Churches in the Colorado Gold Rush and Its Aftermath, 1858–1870* (1980).

The author's severe judgment that "The 'Protestantization' of California was, by nearly any measure, a dismal failure" (p. 5) is based on the conclusion that prior accomplishments of evangelical missionaries were not replicated in California. Whereas earlier efforts to establish institutional Christianity were successful in the Ohio and Mississippi River Valley and effective on the eastern Great Plains at the time of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, such endeavors in California were impeded by the rapid influx of people and the concomitant "transiency, social mobility and commitment to speculative ventures" (p. 5) in the gold camps.

Maffly-Kipp argues that inherent in this scene is the "dramatic collision" (p. 4) between the traditional commitment to progress combined with individual self-discipline and moral character and the emerging commitment to the spirit of free enterprise bolstered by good luck or chance. This leads to a variant definition: "religion itself is not simply a matter of intellectual assertions or institutional expressions, but instead is concerned with one's basic orientation to the world, comprising concepts of time, space, causality and ultimate purpose" (p. 8).

The author next investigates religious practices further engendered by "extreme ethnic and racial diversity . . . a dearth of women, [and] a new and unfamiliar working environment" (p. 113). For example, because of the lack of effort on the part of the primarily young men resident in the camps, and the ineffective support network for the few women present, traditional religious life did not emerge.

Maffly-Kipp develops her thesis on the distinctive quality of religion in frontier California by arguing that the evangelical accent on revival and personal piety did not bear the fruit it had back East; in fact, "the goal of personal conversion through revivalism was an unabashed failure" (p. 92). Although there might be a good attendance at worship, it was not supported by commitment to the faith or loyalty to the congregational form. Added to this mixture was the fact that "California parishioners were a remarkably opinionated and demanding clientele and were fiercely independent in their tendencies" (p. 91). All of this frustrated the missionaries in the field and heightened tension with mission society executives in the East. The study concludes in 1869, when miners were lured to other gold discoveries and pioneers were attracted to the agricultural valleys because of the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the settlement of Mexican land claims.

The value of this study is its panoramic analysis of the Protestant home-mission phenomenon, the use of the insights of such disciplines as sociology of religion and anthropology, an extended discussion of the role of women, as well as the demonstration of the distinct character of religion emergent in frontier California. A discordant note is the lack of recognition of previous studies of mission endeavors in other western gold camps.

MYRON FOGDE
Augustana College

ANDREW LEVY. *The Culture and Commerce of the American Short Story*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. x, 165. \$44.95.

Like the literary genre it treats, Andrew Levy's study sets out to achieve, as briefly and efficiently as possible, a single effect: to portray the short story as an oddly exceptional yet central literary form in American cultural history. In so doing, Levy captures the

tension between elitism and popularity that has surrounded and shaped the short story since the time of Edgar Allan Poe, and he wisely sees the tension as a reflection of deeper ambiguities in Americans' sense of national identity. Having experienced these tensions as a practitioner of the form himself (his book contains autobiographical material on his experiences in the famous Iowa Writers Workshop and as an editor for *Boulevard* magazine), Levy delivers many fresh and valuable insights that make his book a worthy addition to the growing literature on the history of authorship and publishing in the United States.

Nevertheless, in its brevity (165 pages) and selective treatment of its topic (he analyzes only a few authors and institutions), the book at times misses the big picture. For example, he neglects the critical context from which Poe's review in 1842 of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* emerged, namely the world of story papers and cheap pamphlet fiction, whose editors constantly voiced, as Poe did, the need for aesthetic unity and economy of language. In apparent confusion between critical discourse about the genre and the social field in which it actually played, Levy leaps over the period from Poe's death in 1849 to 1885, the year in which Brander Matthews's "Philosophy of the Short Story" appeared. He thus slights important mid-century developments, such as the gentrification of the short story in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* (1857) and other similar magazines (see Richard H. Brodhead's chapter on Louisa May Alcott in his *Cultures of Letters* [1993]).

So, too, does he pass over the cross-fertilization between the short story and other similar forms, like newspaper reportage (Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, and Ernest Hemingway come to mind), comics, one-act plays, screenplays, radio scripts, advertising copy, and, above all, television dramas and situation comedies. Without touching on these, Levy's story seems hermetically cramped, as if there were one single line of descent from Poe to Iowa City and its workshop, by way of a few anthologies and handbooks and case studies of Edith Wharton and Bobbie Ann Mason. Certainly there are many more fruitful competing genealogies of the genre and better methods of studying it (for example, publishers' archives and authors' correspondence).

Despite this narrowness, or, perhaps, because of it, Levy delivers a compelling vision of what has driven and what drives so many Americans to embrace the short story as their own. In his view, they write in quest of a sense of self-worth based on ever elusive literary "quality," while fulfilling the democratic promise of the marketplace, with all its awards of public approbation and monetary gain: the too-often hopeless American dream of full self-realization on the public stage under the God of Mammon.

RONALD J. ZBORAY
Georgia State University

EDWARD CHALFANT. *Better in Darkness: A Biography of Henry Adams; His Second Life, 1862–1891*. North Haven, Conn.: Archon. 1994. Pp. xiv, 929. \$47.50.

Anyone who is familiar with Henry Adams's famous *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918) knows that its author went to extraordinary lengths to portray an image of personal failure. Various students of Adams have questioned this self-deprecation, but no one has so completely challenged the persona of the *Education* as Edward Chalfant in the second installment of his three-volume life of Henry Adams. In this sense, as well as others, Chalfant's book is a major revisionist work about this famous American writer and historian.

For Chalfant, Henry Adams was brilliantly successful. Indeed, he was the most important and most accomplished member of the whole Adams clan during its four generations of fame. He was greater than his great-grandfather, John Adams, than his grandfather, John Quincy Adams, or than his father, Charles Francis Adams, to say nothing of his brothers, Charles and Brooks. It was simply that Henry wished to accomplish major deeds without attracting attention, to be tremendously successful without being famous, at least during his own lifetime. Hence the source for Chalfant's title.

Adams himself penned the phrase "better in darkness" in a letter to his brother Charles in late 1866: "I would rather my name were wholly unmentioned," he wrote in reference to a decision not to sign a forthcoming article in the *North American Review*. "The estimate the world has of a man," Henry continued, "filters ultimately through the masses better in darkness than in the heat of the sun" (p. 124).

Seizing on these lines as a key to much of Adams's behavior, Chalfant concludes that his subject became the most successful politician of his age, a politician who never held office, either elective or appointive. Under a cloak of near anonymity, according to Chalfant, Henry became a co-minister to Great Britain during the Civil War, rather than just a private secretary to his father, sharing the ministerial position equally with Charles Francis Adams. Pursuing this line of argument further, Chalfant proposes that Adams held de-facto cabinet rank under President Andrew Johnson, that he laid the foundations for American foreign policy during the Gilded Age, that he was instrumental in rescuing American public finance after the Civil War, and that he played a major part in depriving James G. Blaine of the presidency in 1884. In Chalfant's opinion, it was Adams's anonymously written novel, *Democracy*, that delivered the *coup de grâce* to Blaine's presidential hopes.

In summing up Adams's accomplishments in politics as of the mid-1880s, Chalfant writes, "Among American politicians who mattered, he was alone in perfecting the ability politically *not* to exist while he existed" (p. 525). If readers are to accept this assess-

ment, they must agree with Chalfant's rather unorthodox definition of politics and political success.

Readers should also keep in mind that Chalfant has written about Adams after a long career of teaching literature. Accordingly, he makes a number of assertions about Adams based on literary symbolism that he supposes his subject would have understood as the biographer understands it. A prime example of this is Chalfant's proposal that Henry Adams thought of himself as a second George Washington. In this case the symbolic analysis has several parts, one of which involves a conversation that Adams had one day in his library with his beloved Elizabeth Cameron and her very young daughter, Martha. Spying a postage stamp with the head of George Washington on it, the child mistook it for the visage of Henry Adams and chortled that Adams's name was in fact "Dordy" (baby talk for Georgie). Out of the mouth of this babe, according to Chalfant, had come the truth, for Adams would one day "be looked upon as the Union's new founder, the greater Washington . . . By his own count he had two names, Henry in public, George in secret" (p. 538).

Less complex is Chalfant's cogent analysis of Adams's massive *History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (9 vols., 1889–1891). Here he reveals how Adams purposely obscured the very careful organization of this work in order to hide its true worth from the reading public of his day, yet another example of his preference for self-effacement.

Whether or not one accepts Chalfant's particular interpretations of Henry Adams, there can be nothing but praise for the prodigious research—gathered over a half century's time—that went into making this book. Chalfant was fortunate enough to interview dozens of men and women, including members of Adams's family, who knew and remembered him well. Out of one such interview came a new and plausible explanation for why Henry and his wife Marian "Clover" Hooper, whose tragic suicide forms an important part of Chalfant's biography, had a childless marriage. This and numerous other insights await readers of this study.

DAVID R. CONTOSTA
Chestnut Hill College

GENARO M. PADILLA. *My History, Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography*. (Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 280. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

In this audacious study, Genaro M. Padilla seeks to frame the collective representation of nineteenth-century group experience provided by Mexican-American autobiography. Inspecting disparate and sometimes contending recollections, Padilla finds one overriding common linkage: bitter opposition to the U.S. conquest of northern Mexico and intense pain resulting from the ensuing economic disposses-

sion, disruption of daily life, and Anglo efforts to effect cultural annihilation. Closely examining unpublished testimonies as well as published narratives, Padilla argues that these personal reminiscences parallel Native American and African-American autobiographies—particularly slave narratives—in “registering collective opposition to racialist and ethnocentric assumptions” (p. 8).

In making this argument, Padilla both draws on little-used sources and provides provocative alternative readings to some oft-used works. For example, some of these autobiographies have been criticized by other scholars as romantic nostalgia for a Spanish/Mexican utopian past that never existed. These are not as nostalgic as they appear, retorts Padilla. In fact, “the autobiographical reconstitution of life before the occupation was less a self-deluding compensation, or naive wish-fulfillment fantasy, than what I consider a strategic narrative activity—conscious of its general social implications—for restoring order, sanity, social purpose in the face of political, social, and economic dispossession” (p. 11).

The book’s title (the words of California aristocrat Mariano Vallejo) provides fair warning that the reader will not be taking an objectivist odyssey. Strongly (and repetitiously) positing his ideological position, Padilla engages his task of de/reconstruction. What unfolds is a newly prised history of the nineteenth-century Southwest. In Padilla’s reconceived Southwest, women and men of Mexican descent emerge as perceptive observers of their tenuous social situation. Moreover, he argues that, as verbal resisters against cultural destruction, they used autobiography as a weapon of struggle, consciously creating legacies of memory for future cultural warriors, like Padilla.

The author confronts a number of thorny issues, such as the class and gender bias of his sources. Most of these Mexican-American writers came from the landowning upper class, whereas well-to-do male voices predominate among the personal narratives that survive in the form of post-conquest interviews and depositions taken by Anglo researchers. Although he deplores that evidentiary bias, Padilla argues that these upper-class sources nonetheless reveal broader dimensions of Mexican life, even if they do not present alternative class perspectives. Moreover, Mexican-American women (to whom Padilla devotes about half of his textual analysis) provide defiant critiques of both traditional Mexican patriarchy and Anglo oppression.

Despite its richness, the book would have benefited from tighter editing. Padilla sometimes lapses into wearying redundancy in proclaiming his basic premises and arguments. How many times does the reader need to be informed that U.S. conquest and occupation disrupted Mexican-American life? Or that autobiography served as a form of cultural opposition?

Yet such reservations do not reduce this book’s

contribution as a major entry in the rewriting of nineteenth-century U.S. and Chicano history. Padilla’s textual readings often invite contrary interpretations, but his efforts cannot be ignored. He has provided an important study with which future historians of the nineteenth-century U.S. Southwest will have to contend.

CARLOS E. CORTÉS
University of California,
Riverside

GERALD BERK. *Alternative Tracks: The Constitution of American Industrial Order, 1865–1917*. (The Johns Hopkins Series in Constitutional Thought.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 243. \$35.95.

If recent scholarship is any guide, the Gilded Age ought to be renamed the Era of Lost Possibilities. From the Populist commonwealth to the humanized industrial order of the Knights of Labor, the era seems to have been remarkable for the number of alternative societies closed off forever, and present-day America is the worse for it. In this stimulating examination of railroad consolidation, republican values, and public policy, Gerald Berk shows the road to twentieth-century statism and monopoly and the alternative track not taken.

Challenging the notion that technology or the laws of economics made bigness inevitable in American business, much less desirable, Berk exposes how far corporate expansion was consciously created by the dispositions of those controlling American capital markets and by the political decisions that courts and regulatory agencies adopted. All economic decisions were, in effect, political: defined by policy and not simply by market forces. National system-building by railroads only made sense after judges had reinterpreted receivership law to give the managers and the system’s maintenance prime consideration. Only then could those running a railroad empire reconstitute fixed costs by running roughshod over bondholders’ and stockholders’ claims, and free the enterprise from its debts.

In addition, Berk emphasizes a pretty obvious, generally overlooked truth: you do not need a national railroad line to do local trade, and many roads did almost exclusively a local business. Far from being inefficient and outmoded, then, regional systems could have worked, given the right regulatory climate, and protected regional commercial centers rather than centralizing trade in the great metropolises.

That, indeed, was what the Interstate Commerce Commission worked to provide in its early years; not marketplace realities but rather court decisions forced it to accept railroad monopolies as natural, subject to federal regulation. By 1917, the regionalists had been routed by the national carriers and federal courts. But among the prizes were an adversarial relationship between big government and the inter-

ests it regulated, and the demise of that local autonomy and personal independence on which American notions of republicanism had been based.

Berk's study makes so appealing a case for regionalism that readers may well wish it were true; they may even forgive errors like the misdating of the Hepburn-Dolliver Act and whole paragraphs, virtually identical, that appear in two different chapters (pp. 110, 154–55). But a nagging feeling lingers that this study, like so many of the other lost-opportunity books, may overstate how open possibilities were. Would a different kind of receivership law have stopped national system-building, or merely forestalled it for a generation? The Maple Leaf system, Berk's example of a successful regionalist alternative, may be just that—or, really, an exception, a testimonial to the unusual talents of A. B. Stickney, the man responsible for it. Only further research into other railroads can resolve that point convincingly. But Berk has offered some powerful questions for future scholars to keep in mind, and no student of railroad history or of the history of business regulation can afford to overlook this book.

MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS
University of Kentucky

G. EDWARD WHITE. *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: Law and the Inner Self*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 628. \$37.50.

G. Edward White's biography concludes the slow but steady reassessment of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., that has taken place over the past two decades. Although short on fresh discoveries, it delights with thoughtful analysis and thorough incorporation of the abundant literature about this imposing figure of American law whom Catherine Drinker Bowen called the "Yankee from Olympus."

Like no one since Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe, the first "official" Holmes biographer chosen by Justice Felix Frankfurter, White has paid his dues in the voluminous Holmes archives, long maintained like state secrets by generations of Harvard Law School professors. But the factual details brought forth from the bowels of Langdell Hall are not as significant as the author's bold attempt to recast the meaning of Holmes's life for a new generation. White's biography, combined with the recent analyses of Holmes by Robert W. Gordon and Morton J. Horwitz, gives us a coherent, post-progressive portrait of America's most celebrated modern jurist. It is not an altogether flattering one.

On one basic level, White's achievement is monumental. A full-scale study of Holmes's life proved too daunting for several notable scholars, including Howe and Grant Gilmore. White has written the most complete and compelling one-volume biography in the Holmes literature. For all their fine qualities, Howe's two books, the last completed in 1963, never touched Holmes's career on either the Supreme

Judicial Court of Massachusetts or the Supreme Court of the United States. More recent biographers, including John Monagan, Sheldon Novick, and Liva Baker, lavished considerable attention on Holmes's private life, especially his dalliance in the 1890s with Clare Castletown, wife of the English nobleman Bernard FitzPatrick, but they failed to contribute much to our understanding of Holmes's place in American jurisprudence and legal history. White has done it all, always with intellectual rigor and often with panache.

With respect to the Holmes-Castletown relationship, White's judgment, while not grist for the *National Enquirer*, seems the most reasonable: a whole lot of flirting went on, but no sex. Like a past presidential candidate, Holmes kept his lust in his heart. That protectors of the Holmes legend attempted to suppress these matters, that other writers were mesmerized by them, and that several law reviews were offended says more about contemporary obsessions and prudery than those of the Victorian era.

White and other recent students of Holmes's career have been forced to confront a powerful image of the justice artfully crafted by his admirers in the years from World War I to the Great Depression. Largely on the basis of his free-speech opinions, hostility to substantive due process, and deference to legislative reforms touching economic issues, Holmes emerged as a jurisprudential hero to an influential generation of lawyers and legal intellectuals associated with various progressive reforms, a few major law schools such as Harvard and Yale, and publications like *The New Republic*.

The myth of the progressive Holmes was largely the creation of Frankfurter, his Harvard acolytes, and members of the Legal Realist school such as Jerome Frank, all of whom endorsed the creation of the modern welfare state in the years from Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt. Holmes, in their view, exemplified the modern, progressive jurist, someone who eschewed abstract thinking in favor of concrete facts, tolerated labor activism and government regulation, endorsed majority rule, and practiced judicial restraint, except when it came to the First Amendment and other "preferred freedoms."

As White's careful analysis makes clear, however, the Holmes of progressive imagination did not always correspond to the Holmes who decided actual cases on the Supreme Court. The progressive image of Holmes could be sustained only by ignoring large pieces of his jurisprudence and misinterpreting others.

In his famous *Lochner* dissent (1905) and other cases, for instance, Holmes ridiculed legal fictions such as "liberty of contract," but he remained wedded to his own set of abstractions, notably "sovereignty," which he often invoked to justify particular results. Compared to other jurists such as John Marshall Harlan, Louis Brandeis, Learned Hand, or even William Howard Taft, his attention to relevant social facts was frequently superficial. Holmes's celebrated

aphorisms often concealed more than they revealed and frequently avoided rigorous analysis.

Holmes's vaunted reputation for judicial restraint, White points out, must be reconsidered in view of his approach to common-law decisions. In the days of *Swift v. Tyson* (1842), when federal judges fashioned their own rules with respect to tort and contract, Holmes approached such cases with limited sympathy for juries or concern for judicial restraint. He displayed little concern for black litigants who challenged discrimination in voting or the South's criminal surety-debt peonage system. And his deference to legislatures in a range of civil liberties cases touching education and sterilization bordered on complete constitutional abdication. Finally, as White recounts the story with great precision, Holmes's long intellectual journey in First Amendment cases from the repressive views of *Patterson v. Colorado* (1907) to the libertarian dissent of *Schwimmer v. United States* (1929) was slow and often muddled.

The man and jurist who emerges from White's book would not please the keepers of the Holmes flame, but that it comes closer to the authentic Holmes with all his nuances and contradictions is unquestionable.

MICHAEL E. PARRISH
University of California,
San Diego

STEPHEN W. BASKERVILLE. *Of Laws and Limitations: An Intellectual Portrait of Louis Dembitz Brandeis*. Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1994. Pp. 409. \$48.50.

Much has been written about Louis Brandeis in the past decade. His career has been examined from almost every perspective, and a host of scholars have sought to chronicle his extraordinary career and to categorize his political and legal thought. Despite the proliferation of scholarly efforts, Brandeis remains an elusive figure. The depth and breadth of his public career make him appear almost larger than life and his thought defies meaningful classification. In fact, one would be hard put to pigeonhole Brandeis as a liberal or conservative or, for that matter, as a proponent of judicial activism or restraint. Brandeis was an American original. Small wonder that even fifty years after his death he still invites scholarly interest.

Stephen W. Baskerville's intellectual biography is a welcome addition to the profusion of works on Brandeis. Baskerville's approach is to eschew traditional biography, redirecting the reader's attention from an understandable fascination with Brandeis's activities during a public life that spanned four decades to the development of his legal, political, and social thought, what the author characterizes as Brandeis's "prophetic vision." The result is an informative, meticulously researched work that makes an important contribution not only to our understanding of Brandeis but the age in which he lived as well.

Like many lawyers during the late nineteenth century, Brandeis easily took up the defense of property and the status quo against an increasingly militant labor movement. Many will be surprised to learn that the young Brandeis was resolutely opposed to regulatory measures employed to achieve social ends and expressed on several occasions admiration for Justice Stephen J. Field's "masterly" opinions in defense of limited government. During the 1890s, Brandeis's social and political ideas began a transformation, culminating in a philosophy that rejected reliance on unexamined first principles and sought, through a studied understanding of the limitations of the human condition, institutional arrangements that would best provide for individual growth and development. The job of explaining why, during an age when the legal profession was overwhelmingly associated with the defense of capital, Brandeis underwent such an intellectual transformation is a difficult one, and Baskerville brings to this endeavor not only a detailed understanding of Brandeis but also a broad appreciation of the cross-currents within American political thought at the turn of the century.

The author also seeks to bring to light several of the inherent tensions in Brandeis's jurisprudence. Since the days of the New Deal, mainstream legal scholarship has regularly demanded that Supreme Court justices combine a steadfast defense of judicial restraint with a passionate commitment to progressive politics. Thanks principally to the efforts of Felix Frankfurter and his disciples, Brandeis was typically depicted as the model of judicial statesmanship. Although certainly an admirer of Brandeis, to his credit Baskerville paints a more complex picture of Brandeis the judge. By carefully drawing on the recollections and correspondence of Brandeis's law clerks, Baskerville illustrates how Brandeis, like every other justice before or since, could manipulate precedent, the facts, and even his colleagues to reach results that were ideologically satisfying. The apostle of restraint simply could not easily reconcile his political activism with the disinterested standards of judicial interpretation he had long advocated. This is a fine piece of scholarship that deserves careful consideration.

MARK SILVERSTEIN
Boston University

WILLIAM G. ROSS. *A Muted Fury: Populists, Progressives, and Labor Unions Confront the Courts, 1890-1937*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. 339. \$39.50.

In several periods of American history reformers have subjected the U.S. Supreme Court to severe criticism, particularly with respect to its use of judicial review. Major controversies erupted during the Jeffersonian, pre-Civil War, Reconstruction, New Deal, and Warren Court eras. Historians have paid less attention to the years 1890-1937, which William G. Ross believes

prepared the way for the great Court battle in Franklin D. Roosevelt's second term.

Populists in the 1890s attacked the Court because of its perceived protection of corporations and railroads at the expense of farmers and laborers. At that time the Court had invalidated antitrust legislation and income tax laws, and it had sanctioned the jailing of union leader Eugene V. Debs. Yet, as Ross notes, all of the denunciations by Populist leader James B. Weaver, Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, and AFL chief Samuel Gompers never affected the Court's powers.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Progressives initiated procedural changes and tried to alter the Court through appointment of more liberally minded justices. Theodore Roosevelt campaigned for the right of the people to recall decisions of state Supreme Courts. Woodrow Wilson's impressive array of legislation, the author asserts, demonstrated that reform could be achieved without modification of the judiciary and the Progressive era ended with the Court's power still firmly in place.

A return to conservatism during the 1920s stimulated renewed agitation. Republican Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin joined with the AFL to endorse a constitutional amendment that would permit Congress to reenact any statute declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. William E. Borah, Republican senator from Idaho, sponsored a plan that stipulated that at least seven justices must concur before an act of Congress could be pronounced unconstitutional. Neither scheme ever reached the floor of Congress.

During the Depression of the 1930s the Court struck down such major New Deal reforms as the National Recovery Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Bituminous Coal Act, the Frazier-Lemke Emergency Farm Mortgage Act, and the Municipal Bankruptcy Act. Franklin Roosevelt responded by introducing legislation that would have permitted the president to appoint six additional justices to the Supreme Court as well as forty-four judges to lower federal Courts. Despite an overwhelming Democratic majority in Congress, his bill failed and FDR sustained his first serious legislative defeat. Soon afterward, Ross points out, the Court without a single change in personnel proceeded to validate a whole series of New Deal measures including a minimum wage law, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Social Security Act. Eventually Roosevelt gained the opportunity to name several justices whose views more closely coincided with his own.

Fifty years of agitation by Populists, Progressives, and labor unions had failed to revise the powers of the Supreme Court. Ross attributes this phenomenon to many factors, among which include the American people's ingrained respect for the judiciary, failure of critics to agree on any one solution, and recognition by reformers that a strong judiciary might serve their own purposes. In the long run, the author concludes,

the Court proved flexible enough to fashion its decisions to correspond with public opinion.

Ross exaggerates the influence on the Court of efforts to diminish or modify its powers. Social and economic realities far more than demands for structural innovation really swayed the justices. Nevertheless, his carefully researched and well-reasoned analysis makes a worthwhile contribution to our understanding of American judicial history.

GRAHAM ADAMS, JR.

Mount Allison University

BERNARD A. WEISBERGER. *The La Follettes of Wisconsin: Love and Politics in Progressive America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 364. \$29.95.

The La Follettes of Wisconsin once reigned as one of America's most famous political families. There was "Fighting Bob," the Progressive-era leader whom the U.S. Senate designated in 1957 as one of its five greatest members of all time. He also may have been the most radical politician to hold state and national office in this century. When he died in 1925, his two sons carried on the reform tradition, "Young Bob" with great distinction in the Senate and Philip as three-term governor of Wisconsin during the 1930s. ("Young Bob" even became the model for the main character in Allen Drury's famous political novel, *Advise and Consent*.) Then there were the La Follette women: Old Bob's wife Belle Case, a prominent reformer in her own right; and daughters Fola, an actress and suffragist, and Mary, the only family member to avoid the public spotlight.

In recent decades the La Follettes have faded from historical view. A couple of brief interpretive works, most notably David Thelen's study, have appeared on the elder La Follette. There are also studies of Young Bob and Phil. But Fighting Bob, one of the twentieth century's most important political leaders, has eluded scholarly biographers.

In this engaging work, Bernard A. Weisberger reminds us why the La Follettes deserve to be remembered. Some qualifications are in order at the outset. First, despite the title, this is not a full-fledged study of the family. Fighting Bob, his wife Belle Case, and their first born, Fola, receive the lion's share of the coverage. Young Bob and Phil get born and reared. But their adult lives and significant careers are condensed into one thirty-four page chapter. Second, this is primarily personal and family history, not political history. The great issues the La Follettes confronted during their lifetimes receive cursory treatment, and then strictly from the La Follette point of view.

What Weisberger has done, however, he has done well. Drawing on a rich collection of personal papers, he skillfully fleshes out the personalities of the family members. He gets the relationships just right—between Bob Sr. and Belle, and between the parents and their four children. Weisberger is especially adroit at evoking the elder La Follette. One can almost see him

standing on the Senate floor railing at the corporations, or sitting alone in a railroad station in the middle of the night, writing to his family during one of his exhausting speaking tours. Weisberger hints at manic-depressive illness in Fighting Bob's make-up, but he wisely refrains from amateur psychoanalysis of the kind that has cheapened (and dated) many studies.

Weisberger brings to fore the La Follette women, especially Belle Case and daughter Fola. How Belle managed the tension between her public and private roles—between her participation in the political arena and her life as wife and mother—is a major theme of this work. The La Follettes were hardly a typical American family. But the fact of their exceptionalism gives one a “feel” for family life and gender relations at the turn of the century.

In a couple of extended footnotes, Weisberger provides provocative commentary on Progressive historiography. Among other shortcomings, Richard Hofstadter's “status anxiety” approach, he believes, has caused historians since the 1950s to examine unconscious motives rather than professed goals. In their eagerness to deconstruct progressive aims, scholars have turned a blind eye to some of the great moral evils that so upset reformers. Weisberger is onto something here. One only wishes that he had developed his suggestive, but almost off-hand comments into a full-blown critique.

This book should renew interest in a thoroughly admirable political dynasty. It is a superb evocation of the private lives of one of America's great public families.

PATRICK J. MANEY
Tulane University

ALEXANDER VON HOFFMAN. *Local Attachments: The Making of an American Urban Neighborhood, 1850 to 1920*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 311. \$39.95.

Scholars have traditionally conceived of neighborhoods as the social building blocks of the city, but few historians have attempted to trace the evolution of these vital urban components. In this study, Alexander von Hoffman seeks to remedy this omission by discussing the development of the Boston district of Jamaica Plain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He succeeds admirably, presenting a first-rate examination of this neighborhood and the institutions that fostered a sense of community among its diverse residents.

Von Hoffman first discusses the gradual transformation of Jamaica Plain from a semi-rural retreat for wealthy Boston estate owners to a built-up urban district of tenements as well as mansions. By 1900 it was no longer a homogeneous middle-class streetcar suburb but rather a neighborhood that housed some of Boston's wealthiest residents together with thou-

sands of middle-class proprietors and clerks and blue-collar factory workers. Contrary to the stereotype of the late-nineteenth-century suburb, Jamaica Plain was, then, a heterogeneous community with persons of various classes and ethnic backgrounds.

Through much of the remainder of the book, von Hoffman describes the social and political institutions that reinforced the residents' local attachments. In an impressive survey, he examines the churches, schools, and clubs of Jamaica Plain and how they tied people to the neighborhood, making it the focus of much of their lives. Von Hoffman then discusses the pattern of local politics and explains how the decentralized ward-based system of government bolstered neighborhood identity. Committed to municipal improvements, Jamaica Plain residents worked through their ward representatives to ensure that the neighborhood received its fair share of sewers and paving projects.

During the early twentieth century, a “war against localism” undermined the decentralized political system that had fostered community identity in Jamaica Plain. Reformers secured at-large election of city council and school committee members, eliminating the ward-based governing bodies of the nineteenth century. As a result, the neighborhood became less significant in Boston's municipal life. In fact, von Hoffman contends, structural changes in government contributed to the disintegration of community life, which left Jamaica Plain a much less vital and appealing district by the mid-twentieth century. Von Hoffman asserts this decline rather than describing it at length, and he might have strengthened his argument had he extended his coverage beyond 1920 and examined the supposed loosening of local attachments. But one cannot reasonably fault the thoroughness of his account of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Von Hoffman presents an exhaustive portrait of life in Jamaica Plain.

One obvious caveat is that all the world is not Jamaica Plain and thus von Hoffman's findings may well be of limited significance to scholars concerned with the broader picture of America's urban past. Yet this is a stimulating work, raising issues that historians might well explore in studies of other neighborhoods. Von Hoffman has, then, written a model neighborhood history that should inspire further work on the subject of urban districts.

JON C. TEAFORD
Purdue University

PERRY K. BLATZ. *Democratic Miners: Work and Labor Relations in the Anthracite Coal Industry, 1875–1925*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 368. \$19.95.

Perry K. Blatz has written a solid account of labor-management relations in the anthracite coal fields. It is a study that vividly displays the dynamic interrela-

tionship between capital, labor, and the state on a regional basis.

By focusing on the union's demands that workers have more control over their work place, Blatz demonstrates that labor-management disputes were more complex and politically sophisticated than too often assumed. Union officials were highly concerned about company tyranny over miners' workplace and work behavior. Labor-management disputes involved miners' demands for more control over their lives, both inside and outside the coal mine, as well as higher wages and safer working conditions. And he shows how those disputes helped fuel the dramatic, important five-month anthracite struggle of 1902 that resulted in the federal government's first intervention into labor disputes.

Blatz skillfully weaves into his regional study of labor-management relations the various roles and influences of national union and governmental leaders, national events, as well as rank-and-file miners. He explains especially well the policies and actions of United Mine Workers Association (UMWA) President John Mitchell during the 1902 strike.

The book is presented as a "work [that] concentrates especially on the workers themselves. Working class as opposed to union history." It does not. The study is clearly in the tradition of institutional labor history that focuses on unions (UMWA), union officials, strikes, negotiations, meetings, and conferences with coal industry officials. (We do not meet our first rank-and-file miner until page 55, and they remain inarticulate throughout most of the book.)

Rather than telling the story "from the bottom up," Blatz writes in explaining his approach that he is telling the story "from the top down." He defends his use of institutional sources such as union proceedings and commission hearings by saying that he will "dig deep enough to get at what a rank-and-file worker . . . must have thought" (p. xi).

This "trickle-down" approach to labor history does not suffice. The reader never gets a feeling for rank-and-file miners, seeing their values and aspirations. When the beliefs and goals of rank-and-file miners are portrayed, it is more by assertion than by evidence. In doing this he fails to pick up on or address the polyglot nature of most coal field work forces and cultures, which, at times, the author does seem to recognize.

"[T]he hate the immigrant workers had for the contracting system" (p. 249) was important in the union winning a particular dispute, he writes, but he never explains why they hated it so much, or if they hated it more than native miners.

For what this book claims to be, it falls short. For what it is—an encyclopedic account of labor-management relations on a regional basis (anthracite coal fields)—the study makes a useful contribution. It is a well-researched, well-written, and a much-needed

study of an important period of American labor history.

DAVID A. CORBIN

U.S. Senate Democratic Policy Committee

JOHN M. JORDAN. *Machine-Age Ideology: Social Engineering and American Liberalism, 1911–1939*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 332. \$39.95.

"America," John M. Jordan reminds us at the close of his book, "remains a largely misunderstood technological republic" (p. 286). Some who helped devise it in the first decades of the twentieth century, such as Thorstein Veblen, Frederick Taylor, Walter Lippmann, Herbert Hoover, and John Dewey, are well known. Others, like Wesley Mitchell, Mary van Kleeck, Morris Cooke, Harlow Person, and Beardsley Rumml, are hardly remembered today either by historians or the attentive public. These latter figures, however, are deservedly prominent in Jordan's story of the rise of the technocratic impulse within modern liberalism.

They, after all, animated and led organizations such as the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Taylor Society, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in a concerted effort to engineer a new society. We do not know them, and, more pointedly, do not know what to make of them, Jordan suggests, because we are still reeling from the impact of their efforts, still unable to appreciate "the stunning degree to which [they] overhauled life and thought" (p. 3). It is the particular contribution of this important book to take these people and institutions seriously, to examine their work as evangels of social engineering from 1911 to 1939. Broader than a monograph, the book draws on much recent scholarship in the history of the social sciences, philanthropy, and Taylorism to suggest an alternative to today's dominant narratives of twentieth-century U.S. history, implying, as they usually do, that the state is where the action is.

Jordan favors the term "rational reformers" for his protagonists. Influenced by the late-Victorian ideals of social Christianity and its insistence on social reform as duty, most were also deeply affected by the scientism of the age and its overweening presumption that most aspects of life could best be apprehended through rational calculus and investigation. Together, scientized empiricism and evangelical impulse produced a potent, if insecure, new type, the social scientist, whose charisma arose from the juxtaposition of deep immersion in the data of modern life with flights of techno-utopian aspiration.

That they worked within the larger reform and liberal movements of their day, which, in turn, emphasized the state as the critical battleground, only confuses matters for many of us. Too often it seems that we are so heavily invested in the pleasing drama of a liberal-conservative battle for the soul of the state that we are incapable of enjoying one of history's

more delicious ironies. For despite their statist enthusiasms, their peculiar quest for "the scientifically mandated state" (p. 132), Jordan's rational reformers rarely operated within the state. Instead, these "private" actors created and comprised a rich "public" realm. In other words, some of the most important chapters in the story of modern U.S. political history—the struggle to consecrate the authority of experts, to sanction a consumerist ethos, and to establish a managerial vision of social welfare—arose outside normal politics and the state in the aggressive programs of philanthropic foundations, ambitious technical professions, and entrepreneurial social scientists deeply committed to a vision of the engineered future.

Jordan analyzes this story over eleven chapters surveying the powerful metaphor of engineering as social reconstruction. He details the role played by political science and institutional economics, *The New Republic*, Herbert Hoover, and the Russell Sage, Carnegie, and Rockefeller philanthropies in the elaboration of this metaphor through the early 1930s. *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* and the President's Research Committee on Social Trends are only two of the more potent examples of the reach and hubris of these efforts and world view. The Depression simultaneously institutionalized and checked the metaphor, elevating some of its priests, like Rexford Tugwell, Charles Merriam, and Mitchell, into government, while corroding it through the acid bath of a history determined to move by its own rhythms.

Today, as Jordan writes, "it takes an act of cultural amnesia even to imagine such a world," one in which "the promise of applied science could be so awe-inspiring that reformers sought to apply the lessons and principles of engineering to the ruling of America itself" (p. 3). We are, then, wiser and sadder, more mindful of "the paradoxes inherent in any attempt to conquer politics with apolitical reason" (p. 231). And by so carefully tying the genealogy of our disillusion to the history of one of modernity's central obsessions, this wonderful book helps to clarify our present dilemma.

GUY ALCHON
University of Delaware

FRED HOBSON. *Mencken: A Life*. New York: Random House. 1994. Pp. xx, 650. \$35.00.

Henry Louis Mencken was the leading literary journalist in America for about two decades, from the early 1910s into the early 1930s, due to his editing of *The Smart Set* and *The American Mercury*. He had an incalculable effect on the careers of dozens of writers, thousands of college students, and uncounted others who assimilated in some way his ideas or habits of communication. He was a philologist who, almost alone after Noah Webster, established the field of American speech. He was an important literary critic of Joseph Conrad, Theodore Dreiser, and others of

their generations. He was a commentator on a wide range of political, religious, moral, and ethnic issues whose skepticism, cynicism, and frequent hostility to the status quo made him controversial.

Mencken prepared a wide variety of written materials to aid biographers, and since Isaac Goldberg in the mid-1920s their works have all but inevitably reflected these sources. Many sensitive documents were locked up for decades, although virtually everything should be available by the time this review appears. Fred Hobson had been over them all, and as a factual record and sober evaluation, his biography replaces all others. It contains few surprises, but fills in gaps and explicates controversial subjects.

Otherwise, the book disappoints. It has the air of having been conceived in a windowless archive: it tells us what is in the archive, but not why we should care. It does not establish the broader contexts of German-American culture, of the history of the magazine, of American conservatism, of religious skepticism after Charles Darwin, of philological research, or of literary criticism. Only rarely do we hear of what is representative or influential; just what happened, in a life as dull externally as that of a typical professor.

Two subjects engross the author: sexual relationships and the charges of anti-Semitism that have been leveled over the years. Mencken was heterosexual, and contentedly married for a brief period to a southern writer in poor health; beyond that, the details pall. He was congenitally critical of human nature, living in a world like a negative of Lake Wobegon, where everyone was below average; but he exempted many German Americans and all close friends. Those friends included a few blacks and numerous Jews, most of whom defended him from the attacks when they came. But Mencken rarely pulled his punches, and quoted out of context he sounds bigoted, especially to the politically correct. Some of the newly available material is indeed distasteful, and causes Hobson, an openly liberal southerner, considerable pain; but it is not quite as inexplicable as he finds it.

The most important quote in the book is the diary entry where Mencken records: "I was born here and so were my father and mother, and I have spent all of my 62 years here, but I still find it impossible to fit myself into the accepted patterns of American life and thought. After all these years, I remain a foreigner" (pp. 459–60). The German values he shared included prejudicial remarks about Russians, Poles, Jews, and the British. Although he had Anglophile attitudes toward the English language, he was largely opposed to British cultural influences in America, especially when they affected foreign policy. He loathed both Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt for taking America into wars against Germany and behaving deceitfully along the way. Like many Democrats who were ethnically Germans he wanted to remain true to the best of German culture while regarding Adolf Hitler as a buffoon. The situation was

difficult and habits of casual categorization learned before World War I sound ominous today, especially given the atmosphere of the late 1930s. It is also relevant to note that if Mencken had any nomination for bottom person on the ethnic totem pole, it would be a white rural southern Methodist. And as Hobson makes clear, Mencken privately went out of his way to sponsor a significant number of Jewish refugees, guaranteeing to support them if necessary while they became established. His actions were never anti-Semitic; rather they were the reverse.

Where the book most regrettably fails is in not capturing the tone either of Mencken's private life or his writings. Hobson is straightforward and academic; Mencken was joyously hyperbolic and caustic. It is a mismatch of subject and biographer that makes it hard to know why Mencken's voice shaped so much educated speech during the 1920s. Perhaps it was lost in translation.

ROBERT M. CRUNDEN
University of Texas,
Austin

D. G. HART. *Defending the Faith: J. Gresham Machen and the Crisis of Conservative Protestantism in Modern America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 227.

Historians who are tempted to regard the term "conservative Protestant intellectual" as an oxymoron would do well to read D. G. Hart's biography of J. Gresham Machen (1881–1937). Machen, the son of a prominent and intellectually active Baltimore family, was educated at Johns Hopkins University, Princeton University, Princeton Theological Seminary, and German universities at both Marburg and Göttingen. In spite of—and ultimately, perhaps, even because of—concern about the intellectual flabbiness of mainline Protestantism, he accepted a position teaching the New Testament at Princeton Theological Seminary, a conservative institution noted for its intellectualization of the Christian message. From this position he sallied forth with his best-known work, the conservative polemic *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923), as well as a number of other scholarly texts and more popular assessments of the Christian world view. In 1929 Machen resigned from Princeton in the wake of a reorganization of the Seminary initiated by moderates and helped found the conservative Westminster Theological Seminary. In 1936, after having been suspended from the ministry the previous year for lending his efforts in creating and sustaining an Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions that acted without church supervision, Machen concluded his career by breaking with the Northern Presbyterian church and founding the Orthodox Presbyterian church.

Hart maintains that the relationship between conservative Protestantism and modern culture is more complex than commonly assumed. In situating Ma-

chen within the matrix of American intellectual life during the first four decades of the twentieth century, the author emphasizes the similarities between Machen's views and those of other important thinkers. Machen's tough-minded criticism of liberal Protestantism's compromises with modernity, Hart argues, not only appealed to the fundamentalists but also resonated with the work of the Southern Agrarians and other conservative intellectuals. No less importantly, Machen's attack on the glib rhetoric and sentimental idealism of liberal Protestantism, his assault on the efforts of liberals and fundamentalists alike to create an alliance between religion and culture, and his advocacy of cultural pluralism bore striking similarities to the views of cultural modernists. It was thus not surprising that H. L. Mencken, Walter Lippmann, and other secular intellectuals praised his work.

Notwithstanding his preoccupation with the affinities between conservative Protestantism and other intellectual movements, Hart recognizes that certain of Machen's most cherished ideas were not only distinctive but also more noteworthy than those views that he held in common with others. In particular, the fact that Machen was virtually alone among the American intellectuals of his day in defending the primacy of reason in religion and the value of treating the pursuit and defense of propositional theology as important intellectual endeavors has had a profound impact on the history of American religion in the twentieth century.

Hart shows that the springboard for Machen's opposition to Protestant liberalism was resistance to church union and an ardent commitment to "Presbyterian traditionalism" (p. 68) rather than devotion to the premillennialism, biblical inerrancy, and anti-evolutionism that were the defining characteristics of fundamentalism. He also suggests that, given Machen's devotion to critical scholarly inquiry, the divide separating Machen from Protestant liberals was theological rather than cultural. Finally, he demonstrates that Machen's career, especially in his later years, cannot be understood without recognizing the tenacity of his allegiance to Presbyterian particularism.

Not all scholars will accept the author's assessments of the American intellectual landscape. For example, Hart comes dangerously close in some passages to embracing the familiar caricatures of fundamentalists as ignoramuses and liberals as shallow trimmers. In addition, his view of Protestant intellectual life prior to World War I is too irenic. Nevertheless, Hart's biography opens a number of fruitful lines of inquiry concerning the character of conservative Protestantism. His work deserves the careful attention of students of twentieth-century American culture.

JON H. ROBERTS
University of Wisconsin,
Stevens Point

EILEEN BORIS. *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 383. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$17.95.

The assumption that home and work are separate spheres has traditionally shaped ideologies about gender and labor in the United States and continues to inform contemporary debates about mothers who work for wages. Waged labor at home—ranging from production of goods in the nineteenth century to word processing in the twentieth century—has often been as invisible as housework and overlooked in both census tallies and historical accounts of working women. Eileen Boris demonstrates how this form of labor challenges traditional dichotomies and has stood at the center of critical legal and social debates over working mothers and the role of state intervention in labor contracts for over a century.

The book is organized into four sections, focused on case studies marking turning points in political definitions of homework. The book begins with a discussion of the first battles over homework in New York, and centers on a ruling in 1885 that struck down restrictions on tenement house cigarmaking and stymied the regulation of industrial homework for half a century. Boris argues that a gendered subtext defined homework as the right of a man to contract his labor and “affirmed his paternalism within the family” (p. 21). In contrast, women reformers in such groups as the National Consumer’s League argued for regulations because homework exploited working-class mothers whose “home had been invaded by the factory” (p. 122).

Boris next examines the homework debate from World War I to the New Deal, when wartime language of patriotism and citizenship reframed the discourse. Reformers with an activist notion of the state influenced a gendered approach to government regulation that flowered during the New Deal. Boris also explores the perspective of homeworkers themselves, using survey and interview data to suggest how race, immigrant status, and ethnicity contributed to homework practices. White-collar homework is the topic of the last section, when postwar images of middle-class women typing at home in the “electronic cottage” replaced that of the immigrant mothers producing clothing or cigars in a tenement. Boris concludes with a discussion of international trends in homework practice, organizing, and regulation in an increasingly global economy.

Sources are scant for documenting the actual extent of homework. But Boris grounds her study in exhaustive research into manuscript collections of labor organizations, reform groups, and government agencies, and she includes some powerful illustrations ranging from photographs by Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine to political cartoons. Boris brings an interdisciplinary perspective to her interpretation of law and social policy as she shows how the regulation

of homework illustrates the gendering of state action and the intertwining of family and industrial policy, topics usually considered separately.

This volume is a major contribution to the fields of labor and women’s history. It will be the standard account of industrial homework in the United States for some time to come. Boris’s imaginative analysis gives shape to a complicated topic and broadens our understanding of labor history by recognizing connections between women’s work, state formation, policy discourse, and labor practice.

LYNN Y. WEINER
Roosevelt University

BROOKE KROEGER. *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist*. (Times Books.) New York: Random House. 1994. Pp. xxi, 631. \$27.50.

The name “Nellie Bly” still conjures up visions of the glamorous “girl reporter” as a stereotypical figure in American culture. More than a century ago, “Bly” (in reality Elizabeth Jane Cochrane, an impoverished young woman from Pittsburgh) performed one of the greatest journalistic stunts of all times. As a twenty-four-year-old reporter for Joseph Pulitzer’s sensationalistic *New York World*, Cochrane dashed around the world in 72 days, 6 hours, and 11 minutes in 1889 to beat the record of Phineas Fogg, hero of Jules Verne’s romance *Around the World in Eighty Days*.

Her trip garnered extraordinary publicity, with Pulitzer promoting her as the personification of the independent American “girl” of the late nineteenth century. The feat gave her a legendary status and helped to further obscure the facts of her life. Given the pseudonym “Nellie Bly” (taken from a popular Stephen Foster song) by a Pittsburgh editor when she was twenty years old, Cochrane often ignored or embellished reality to create a persona for herself that outdid her own journalistic accomplishments.

This well-written book represents the first true scholarly biography of Cochrane’s life. Brooke Kroeger, a journalist, has researched her subject carefully. The book contains source notes, bibliography, and numerous illustrations.

In Kroeger’s lively account, Cochrane stands out as more than a “sob sister” or “stunt girl” during a period when newspapers dominated the mass media. She pioneered as an investigative journalist, pretending insanity to get committed to a mental asylum to expose mistreatment of patients. She interviewed the great figures of her day, such as Emma Goldman, John L. Sullivan, and John P. Altgeld. Her columns showed sympathy for the interests of working women. Her work set a new standard to which others could aspire in an era when women were becoming increasingly accepted in newspaper offices as token figures whose colorful prose could enliven news columns and boost circulation. An important dimension of the book is that the author relates Cochrane’s career to a

general widening of opportunities for women in journalism at the end of the last century.

Yet, as Kroeger makes plain, Cochrane was neither a deep thinker, a profound student of the social scene, nor a good businesswoman. She was a flamboyant figure who, as the events of her life proved, sometimes lacked insight into human motivations and could be preyed upon by others. Kroeger's painstaking documentation provides voluminous details on Cochrane's sometimes tangled relationships with her own family as well as those relating to her tumultuous marriage.

In 1895 Cochrane wed Robert L. Seaman, an industrialist whose relatives opposed the match. She was thirty years old, while Seaman was seventy. Before his death in 1904, she assumed management of his iron company, taking out patents on new machinery that she said she designed herself and manufacturing the first steel barrel sold in the United States. She also instituted a social-welfare system for her employees, but it was to no avail. As Kroeger shows, disputes, litigation, and dishonest actions by her associates led the business into bankruptcy.

Chronicling the last years of Cochrane's life, Kroeger tells how Cochrane was forced back into journalism to support herself. She went to Europe during World War I and sent reports from the eastern front to the *New York Evening Journal*. Returning to the United States in 1919, she no longer commanded a top income. The *Journal*, however, employed her to write a column, which she used mainly to campaign for adoptive homes for babies and neglected children. She died in 1922.

The strength of this book also is its weakness. Kroeger does not stray from her evidence, even when the reader might wish for more interpretation. She does not offer a final assessment of the life of Elizabeth Cochrane. The book, however, represents a notable contribution to the history of women in journalism.

MAURINE H. BEASLEY
University of Maryland,
College Park

ELAINE LEEDER. *The Gentle General: Rose Pesotta, Anarchist and Labor Organizer*. (SUNY Series in American Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 212. \$16.95.

Rose Pesotta's career as labor organizer and anarchist is an extremely interesting one. Born in Russia in 1895, she died in Miami, Florida, in 1965, leaving her autobiography, *Bread upon the Waters* (1944), and a modest collection of letters and photographs. These sources, plus International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) records and interviews with Pesotta's friends and associates, form the basis for Elaine Leeder's biography.

Pesotta was an organizer for the ILGWU and a participant in anarchist politics. Leeder sees her life

constructed around a series of polarities. In her public life she was a pragmatist, working hard and effectively to bring garment workers into trade unionism. In her political life she was an anarchist who believed that only revolution could bring a life for workers that would permit the free development of their true humanity. Within the ILGWU she struggled to make heard the voices of women and ethnic workers (particularly Mexican and Chinese with whom she worked in California) to a union leadership who often turned a deaf ear. Her public life was pragmatic; her private life, particularly her romantic choices, spontaneous and ardent.

Pesotta's life brought her into contact both with socially important movements and individuals of the first half of the twentieth century. She was a beneficiary of the workers education movement, first as a student, later as a teacher. She had close associations with David Dubinsky, Emma Goldman, Helen Gahagan Douglass, and a host of other labor and Left political figures. She contributed to the organizing campaigns of the CIO, and after World War II she discovered in the terrifying destruction of the Holocaust a new identification with her Jewishness and contributed to the labor Zionist movement. Leeder argues, persuasively I think, that Pesotta should be seen as a feminist because she constantly raised women's issues and fought for a largely female rank and file in a male-dominated union.

In discussing Pesotta's career in the ILGWU, Leeder adds little not already known from Pesotta's autobiography and the work of Alice Kessler-Harris. It is in discussing Pesotta's life as an anarchist that Leeder's book makes its major contribution. She sees Pesotta as torn between her need to make a practical difference in the world of trade unionism and yet desiring the larger and more idealistic vision of the anarchist movement. Her union friends mistrusted her politics and her anarchist friends mistrusted her trade unionism. Leeder also adds to our knowledge of Pesotta's personal life, a life also constructed around conflict. Propelled by an anarchist faith in the ability of love to be free, Pesotta often suffered in love affairs that failed to provide the full-scale nurturing and devotion she required.

Leeder's slim volume is a start toward the full biography that Pesotta deserves. It is brief and sticks too closely to Pesotta's own version of her life, and the historical context is sometimes too narrow. The prose is flat and fails to do justice to the vitality of Pesotta's personality. Nonetheless, Pesotta's vibrancy does peek through, leaving the reader wanting more.

JOYCE SHAW PETERSON
Florida International University

KAREN J. BLAIR. *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890-1930*. (Philanthropic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 259. \$29.95.

The image of the socially ambitious, intellectually pretentious clubwoman pursuing—and mangling—the fine arts is hard to shake. In this important study, Karen J. Blair cracks that stereotype by taking seriously the work of women in amateur arts organizations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She argues that such associations enriched participants' lives and fostered wide appreciation for music, visual art, drama, and pageantry, although she observes that community impact often came at the cost of personal artistic development.

Two strong introductory chapters frame Blair's subsequent discussion of particular art forms. The first surveys the ideological underpinnings of women's involvement in the arts: the connection between domesticity and beautification, the countervailing concern that culture would promote self-display, the precarious position of professional women artists. The second chapter, an overview of women's clubs between 1890 and 1930, identifies four stages of club activity: self-improvement, social service, community involvement for mutual benefit, and clubhouse building. This section makes perhaps the book's best point: that the General Federation of Women's Clubs' embrace of Progressive reform ("Dante is dead") did not preclude continued arts advocacy, and that, in fact, many clubwomen perceived culture as a tool for civic betterment.

Blair then draws on the records of the National Federation of Music Clubs and other groups to chart women's involvement in the rise of amateur musical groups, the establishment of children's and school music activities, and the "Hear America First" campaign that accompanied Progressive "Americanization" efforts. Similarly, in the visual arts, women assembled traveling exhibitions, launched art education in the schools, and served on municipal arts commissions. According to Blair, however, these efforts were less successful than crusades on behalf of music because Americans were more skeptical about their value; in consequence, arts clubwomen often had to compromise their love of "Old Masters" by channeling their energies into city planning, conservation, and similar movements.

Blair's chapter on pageantry highlights the use of such spectacles in the service of the women's rights movement. In the first place, Blair contends, pageants allowed a woman a respectable escape from domesticity; they permitted her to discover her talents for choreography, writing, organization, historical research, and the like. Second, the creation of all-women's pageants (chiefly by Hazel MacKaye) helped rally support for equal rights by dramatizing the history of the suffrage crusade. Women were also central to the successor of pageantry, the little theater movement of the 1920s. Blair notes that, as in the case of other arts, democratic impulses motivated little theater advocates, who hoped to cultivate good citizenship in American playgoers. She describes in detail the activities of the Drama League in support-

ing the Pasadena Community Playhouse, another setting that enabled women to transcend traditional gender roles. The book concludes with an absorbing chapter on the construction of clubhouse facilities for arts programs, the expense of which ultimately drained resources and energy from the club movement.

Blair is solely preoccupied with the institutional history of women's arts organizations, and with restoring the record of women's activities. She is not interested in the ways in which her material intersects with other issues of recent concern to scholars. As agencies of dissemination, for instance, the clubwomen's groups arguably constitute a counterexample to the process historians have identified as the "sacralization" of culture: witness the numerous commemorations popularizing Shakespeare during the tercentenary of his death in 1916. Likewise, the groups had an impact both on the spread of a modernist aesthetic and on the perpetuation of conventional cultural forms. In general, Blair does not devote much attention to analyzing the content of what the arts groups disseminated, nor what that content meant to the individuals involved.

Nevertheless, Blair's insistence on the significance of her subject and her skillfully researched treatment of it is welcome and useful.

JOAN SHELLEY RUBIN
University of Rochester

REENA SIGMAN FRIEDMAN. *These Are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880–1925*. (Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England for Brandeis University. 1994. Pp. xiv, 298. \$39.95.

This volume by Reena Sigman Friedman has both good and bad features. The good features include thorough documentation, clear writing, fine summaries at the end of each chapter, and a balanced viewpoint about the three orphanages in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and New York with which she is concerned. The bad features relate to the monotonous style (every point she makes is described separately for the three institutions she has investigated) and repetition. On succeeding pages, for example, she describes the efforts of the orphanage managers to give their charges agricultural training, using almost the same words (pp. 108, 109).

Among the strengths of the book is the author's emphasis on the goals of the largely German-Jewish organizers of the orphanages, goals that, she points out, also motivated their charitable activities in other areas of American-Jewish life during the period of heavy Eastern-European Jewish immigration. The established Jewish community wanted the inmates of the orphanages to become Americanized and to learn vocational skills to insure their ability to be self-supporting when they were adults.

The author provides detailed information on the activities of orphanages in all three cities, employing as sources the reports of the managers and the remembrances of the men and women who spent their childhoods in these institutions. From these sources, we see that the children were given at least a primary school education, vocational training, medical care if needed, and were probably safer and healthier than if they had remained with their very poor parents or, as was more likely, with only one parent. Yet Friedman makes clear that the youngsters were not treated as individuals, did not receive much affection, were isolated from their families, and had considerable difficulty adjusting to the outside world when they left the orphanage.

Friedman's book reinforces much of the scholarly work that has been done on the relationships between the "uptown" German Jews and the "downtown" Russian and Polish immigrants. In her chapter titled "In Their Image," for example, she discusses the desire of the established Jewish community to make the newcomers into people like themselves. This portion of the book should have explained that their efforts were motivated by their desire to reduce increasing anti-Semitism as much as their wish to keep the orphans from the missionary Protestant agencies such as the Children's Aid Society in New York City.

As time passed, the older Jewish community changed its goals and methods because of opposition from the increasingly solvent and outspoken Eastern-European Jews and, even more, by overall changes in social-welfare practices and theories. Friedman's discussion of this point is an interesting and valuable part of the work, as is her excellent summary that ends her useful book.

SELMA BERROL
Baruch College

RUTH JACKNOW MARKOWITZ. *My Daughter, the Teacher: Jewish Teachers in the New York City Schools*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 224. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.00.

There are surprisingly few studies of the working lives of American teachers. The occupation has little glamour, not being considered elite, exotic, or politically consequential. For all that, no one can deny its importance as the premier professional occupation for women and as an avenue of upward mobility for America's second-generation immigrants.

Ruth Jacknow Markowitz focuses on one very particular group of American teachers, Jewish women who began teaching in the New York City public schools between 1920 and 1940. These women had eventful work lives. After the relative serenity of the 1920s, they endured the economic collapse of the public schools in the Depression, the disruption of World War II, the hysteria of McCarthyite attacks on left-wing teachers in the 1950s, and racial tensions in

the schools in the 1960s. They went from being outsiders, striving to overcome the dominance of Irish and Yankee teachers, to being the majority of the city's teachers. With majority status came attacks; as they ended their working lives, some of these women found themselves collectively criticized for racial insensitivity toward African-American and Latino students.

Markowitz bases her study on sixty-one oral histories, board of education records, and newspaper accounts. Well researched and written, the book describes a relative "golden age" of New York City public education, when teaching was a sought-after career. Job candidates endured endless hurdles en route to teaching appointments, with only the dedicated and lucky surviving. Once they obtained jobs, they did not give them up easily. Markowitz shows that women teachers customarily stayed on their jobs until retirement. When they had children, they took mandatory maternity leaves, but most came back as soon as allowed by the board of education. Jewish women did not see teaching as an alternative to motherhood, as did some Irish teachers before them, but as something they could combine with it.

A history of one ethnic group in the teaching force of one city could seem parochial. Markowitz does sometimes face the problem of saying what is specifically Jewish about the teachers' experiences. This question arises during her discussion of the teachers' classroom lives, where all teachers faced similarly harsh work environments in New York's overcrowded and underfunded schools. Markowitz does show, however, that there were distinctive aspects to the Jewish teachers' experiences outside the classroom. Many were activists; the teachers' union was sometimes referred to by hostile teachers and administrators as a "Jewish union." Jewish teachers were targeted by conservatives and McCarthyites in the 1950s, when roughly 450 teachers were forced out of the school system.

Markowitz's book provides a window on twentieth-century urban schooling and on the rise of the women of one ethnic group via school employment. It is carefully researched and Markowitz makes good use of her interviews and of school system records on teachers' careers. The book might have benefited from a broader approach; although there are discussions of anti-Semitic reactions to the growing numbers of Jewish teachers, there is little sense of the extent of interethnic hostility within the teaching force. The book has modest aims, but those interested in urban education, women's employment, or Jewish history will find it a valuable and interesting resource.

JULIA WRIGLEY
*Graduate Center,
City University of New York*

SUSAN SMULYAN. *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920-1934*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1994. Pp. viii, 223. \$24.95.

This book succeeds nicely as a straightforward history of how broadcasting and advertising discovered one another. But when it moves to the matter of causation—arguing that the triumph of commercial radio resulted from a hegemonic process—its evidence falls short. The struggle detailed here just as convincingly fits a more traditional model of the politics of policy making.

In one of her best chapters, Susan Smulyan recounts the emergence of national radio networks using AT&T for station interconnection. The high cost of this wired network crystallized formerly vague concerns about radio's financial footing. Paradoxically, the proponents of a decentralized radio system ended up abetting the emergence of the networks. Policies that dispersed radio licenses throughout the nation left individual stations unable to fund much of their own programming, and they turned to New York to fill their air time.

Prominent broadcasters and government officials had initially—and publicly—dismissed the use of radio for direct advertising appeals. By the mid-1920s, however, broadcasters labored to establish radio advertising by aiming contradictory messages at two audiences. For advertisers, broadcasters promised that direct commercial appeals would be powerful and effective; for radio listeners, broadcasters promised that advertising would remain unobtrusive and harmless. Smulyan reconstructs the campaign to sell radio advertising by carefully mining trade journals, popular magazines for radio enthusiasts, and the first textbooks on broadcast marketing. National marketers only slowly embraced the new selling medium; most early advertisers were regional firms willing to take risks because their products were losing market share.

As Congress moved toward adoption of the Communications Act of 1934, opponents of advertising-dominated radio fought to legislatively reserve frequencies for nonprofit licensees. By the 1930s, however, the firmly entrenched commercial broadcasters presented a united front and effectively lobbied lawmakers. Most important to Smulyan's hegemony argument, broadcasters deployed their considerable resources to convince the public that radio advertising was natural, comported with American values, and presented the only viable option to finance the costly network programming that listeners seemed to favor. Nonprofit broadcasters, in contrast, lacked cohesion and resources, and even proposed selling advertising themselves to finance the programming they envisioned.

The Communications Act ratified the ascendancy of commercial radio. But the evidence Smulyan presents supports more than one explanation for this outcome. It could have resulted from better lobbying or from the informed choice of the public and their representatives just as plausibly as it marked the success of an ideology cultivated by elites. A study published while this work was probably in press—

Robert W. McChesney's *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928–1935* (1993)—closely parallels Smulyan's argument and made a better case, through more incisive research, for the conclusion she advances.

Lucidly and economically written, this book recounts the origins of American broadcasting's most distinctive features. Its fascinating story, enlivened by twenty-four pages of illustrations, is easily accessible to nonspecialists while offering considerable substance to communication historians.

RICHARD B. KIELBOWICZ
University of Washington

VINCENT VINIKAS. *Soft Soap, Hard Sell: American Hygiene in an Age of Advertisment*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 168.

A curious and characteristic phenomenon of the 1920s was the rise to dominance of the personal grooming craze that now has become a fixture of American life. In this book, Vincent Vinikas provides a useful introduction to this subject as well as to the promotional advertising that was to it both cause and effect. Mining well-known sources in advertising history, such as magazine and newspaper ads, and utilizing previously unresearched sources, such as the records of the National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists Association, Vinikas focuses on four areas of the craze: deodorants, cosmetics, hairdressing, and soap.

The manipulative power of a psychologized advertising over a consumption-crazed public is not Vinikas's only explanatory paradigm. The success of Lambert Pharmaceuticals' invention of the false medical condition known as "halitosis" to sell Listerine as a cure for "bad breath," he points out, was actually unusual in advertising history. In this regard Vinikas moves beyond institutions to draw on familiar cultural interpretations to explain body behavior. The successful sanitization of body odor through the use of deodorants, he argues, drew on the new cult of personality and the accompanying notion of popularity, which increased both sensitivity to others and common fears of failure. The new use of cosmetics permitted a feminization of women to counter the gender threat of the "New Woman" who not only held employment outside the home but who also voted.

Yet more calculating and business-oriented forces were also at work in molding the contours of the fixation with personal grooming. In most states the National Hairdressers' Association was able to secure passage into law regulations defining "beauty parlors" that effectively kept women away from male barbers and furthered a feminine definition of beauty for women. The Association of American Soap and Glycerine Producers, through its Cleanliness Institute, launched a successful cleanliness campaign based on soap to counter the growing incursions of

cosmetic products into its market and to expand that market. The Institute even bombarded schools with books, posters, and teachers' guides warning of potential disease and lack of popularity if standards of strict cleanliness were not observed throughout life.

Given the protean character of body behavior, arriving at causative explanations is never easy, and they can hardly be encompassed in a work of only 168 pages. Thus, Vinikas fails to discuss fully issues of generational rebellion and of class and race. Separating his subjects into four discrete categories hampers the establishment of the kinds of linkages that might have overcome the discontinuities between his discussions of business history, advertising psychology, and cultural and gender modalities. He misses the possible influences of personalities like Coco Chanel and Josephine Baker on mass behavior, and he seems unaware of the "masculine" elements in female body styles in the 1920s as well as the corresponding "feminization" of male styles. Vinikas adds useful information to works like Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream* (1985), but the definitive work on the intersection between advertising and the body remains to be written.

LOIS W. BANNER

University of Southern California

VALERIE J. MATSUMOTO. *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 262. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.95.

Shortly after the conclusion of World War I, thirty Japanese farming families settled in Cortez in California's San Joaquin Valley as a result of the efforts of Japanese-American community leader Abiko Kyutaro. Despite the Alien Land Law of 1913, which prevented Asians from purchasing land or leasing it for more than three years, most of these families were able to establish fruit orchards that ranged in size from twenty to forty acres. The history of this community, spanning sixty years and three generations, is skillfully reconstructed using oral history into a finely textured narrative that looks both outward in a comparison with the larger Japanese-American experience and inward to reveal the dynamics of this individual community.

Valerie J. Matsumoto is fully conversant with the literature and shows how the Cortez Japanese, like the larger Japanese-American community, endured hostility and hardships, including recurrent anti-Asian legislation and prejudice in the 1920s, the Depression of the 1930s, and internment in the 1940s. Similar also to the larger Japanese-American experience were the generational differences which developed between *issei* and *nisei* and between *nisei* and *sansei*. For example, the empowerment of women and *nisei* during internment was also mirrored in the Cortez community. One significant difference between the Cortez community and most Japanese Americans was

that while few Japanese were able to retain their property after Executive Order 9066 forced their evacuation, the Cortez Japanese were able to reconstitute themselves as a community because they had placed their farms in the hands of a Caucasian manager for the duration of the war.

Matsumoto also reveals a community that created institutions such as the Cortez Growers Association (the institution responsible for safekeeping farm property during internment) and the language school for maintaining solidarity in the face of prejudice and economic competition. At the same time, this inward look reveals divisions: between Buddhists and Presbyterians, between Cortez and another largely Methodist and better-off Japanese community nearby, between males and females, and between friendly and unfriendly Caucasian neighbors. As time passed, however, many of these divisions became muted.

Also as time passed, values changed as generational succession took place. Expectations that children would marry other Japanese, that the oldest son would take over the farm and care for the elders, that divorce and female assertiveness would remain in abeyance, and that succeeding generations would stay in Cortez, gave way to newer attitudes. That is, there was more attention paid to individual happiness and less to familial obligation; interracial marriage, divorce, and outmigration increased; even dancing became acceptable.

This study is notable for several reasons. First, the oral history sources are well-integrated with the existing secondary literature. Second, this study focuses on the rural sector, a relatively underdeveloped area in the literature on Asian America. Third, by highlighting diversity within the community this study serves as a much-needed corrective in the *nihonjinron* debate. Fourth, by covering a relatively long time period, the reader gets a good sense of the dynamic of change.

If, as Matsumoto fears, Cortez is swept up in the same demographic and economic trends as other rural communities in America, and therefore its days as a Japanese-American community are numbered, then this book will preserve its legacy.

WAYNE PATTERSON
St. Norbert College

PETER DRUCKER. *Max Shachtman and His Left: A Socialist's Odyssey through the "American Century."* (Revolutionary Studies.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1994. Pp. xxi, 346. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.50.

Among students of American radicalism, Max Shachtman has enjoyed something of the status of a cult figure in recent years. The leader of a succession of minuscule Trotskyist sects in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and the *eminence grise* of a moribund Socialist Party in the 1960s, Shachtman died in 1972 in obscurity and apparent failure. And yet as historians have

taken a closer look at such varied phenomena as labor militancy in World War II, the early years of the New Left, and the origins of neo-conservatism, Shachtman's name keeps cropping up. He played an honorable role in exposing the fraudulent Moscow trials in the 1930s; in the 1940s he developed an influential theory of the nature of Soviet society, which he labeled "bureaucratic collectivist." And he always kept interesting company. Among those who at one time or another were influenced by or allied with Shachtman were such estimable figures as James Burnham, Dwight Macdonald, Irving Howe, Irving Kristol, Seymour Martin Lipset, Philip Selznick, C. L. R. James, Michael Harrington, Bayard Rustin, and Midge Decter. Shachtman himself served as political assistant and literary executor for Leon Trotsky; following in his tradition (and without any apparent sense of the ironies involved), his disciples became aides and speechwriters to Al Shanker, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, George Meany, and Jeanne Kirkpatrick.

It is unlikely that Peter Drucker's biography will make Shachtman a household name. As Drucker drily notes in his introduction, "In [Shachtman's] papers, the two times in his life when a central relationship with one woman ended and another began are marked, if at all, by a note indicating that his address had changed . . . In contrast, the sources contain thousands of pages about faction fights, which are nowhere near as interesting to most people now as they were to the participants" (p. viii). Drucker, who dedicates the book to his "comrades in the Fourth International," does not always help matters by taking time out to scold Shachtman for this or that deviation from Drucker's own revolutionary agenda.

But Drucker is an honest chronicler of Shachtman's life and times; he has sifted through the relevant sources and keeps his argument tied closely to his evidence. And he raises some interesting questions along the way, including one about the "homosexual undertones" bonding Shachtman and "Max's boys" (the phrase is Irving Howe's), his mostly male, mostly youthful followers (p. 83). The dynamics of the political sect, with its patriarchal hierarchies, punitive rituals of self-discipline and self-abasement, and internal rivalries, deserve closer attention than they have been paid in the past, and here Drucker's biography provides a useful starting point. More broadly, for those twentieth-century historians interested in the question of how small groups operating on the margins of American politics were sometimes able to influence the development of important ideas and significant movements, this book is certainly worth reading.

MAURICE ISSERMAN
Hamilton College

GARY MAY. *Un-American Activities: The Trials of William Remington*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 393. \$30.00.

On November 22, 1954, at the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, three conventional inmates gathered around the cot of a most unconventional one. Two of the three fractured the skull of the fourth with an anticommunist brick stuffed into a sock; their victim had strength enough only to scream and drag himself into a stairwell. In deference to the McCarthyite forces that conspired against William Walter Remington, former Commerce Department official and supposed card-carrying communist-in-government, Gary May calls his book *Un-American Activities*. But Remington bled to death on those Lewisburg steps precisely because he engaged in the most American activity of all. Namely, he sued the woman who began his nightmare back in 1948 by naming him a member of a secret Soviet cell.

Remington filed after Elizabeth Bentley, self-styled spy queen and lonely lover of everybody's top-ten spy guy, Jacob Golos, repeated her charge on "Meet the Press" without benefit of congressional immunity. He won an out-of-court settlement from NBC and the program's sponsor, then a clearance from the Loyalty Review Board and a non-indictment from a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C. That Remington made Bentley out to be a liar did not sit well with the queen's benefactors in the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The rolls of the un-pleased also included the foreman of a federal grand jury in New York who happened to be collaborating with Bentley on her memoirs and serving more or less as her literary agent; and Ann Moos Remington, who demonstrated a fierce determination to see that the state had its way with her ex-husband after some prodding from that foreman/agent. Remington was indicted for perjury and convicted, with the trial jury deliberating a mere four hours and twenty-five minutes. The courts threw out the conviction on appeal without quashing the original indictment, citing principally the trial judge's failure to specify to the jury exactly what constituted Communist Party membership. At a second trial, Remington was found guilty on two counts of perjury: lying about passing information to Bentley and lying about his knowledge of the Young Communist League in the 1930s when enrolled at Dartmouth College.

If this case never quite captured Cold War America's imagination in the manner of the Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers or the Rosenberg cases, it was equally important to the security apparatus, given Remington's initially successful challenge of Bentley's credibility. To vindicate its informant, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI launched a special investigation that involved agents in forty-four cities at home and seven abroad. The crimes, misdemeanors, and assorted un-American activities of those bug-and-phone-tap-happy men and their McCarthyite allies is the real story of this book, and May tells it well (although he shares Bentley's habit of inventing dialogue; to be fair, he omits quotation marks when doing so to

indicate what must have been said as opposed to an absolute claim of what was said). May demonstrates, almost literally, that there was an assembly line of anticommunist interests stuffing bricks into socks long before Remington lay down on his prison cot for the last time.

On the question of whether Remington belonged to Bentley's murky world of wartime espionage, the author remains something of an agnostic. He points out that not even the FBI considered Remington a spy while adding that the perjury conviction "seems justified" and quoting Murray Kempton on this "least fortunate [man] . . . the small sinner who paid capital penalties" (p. 321).

KENNETH O'REILLY
University of Alaska,
Anchorage

JAMES GOODMAN. *Stories of Scottsboro*. New York: Pantheon. 1994. Pp. xiii, 465. \$27.50.

The search for alternative ways of presenting the past has led to a revival of narrative history and storytelling. In this book, James Goodman brilliantly uses narrative to reconstruct the multiple versions of reality surrounding the Scottsboro case, in which eight African-American teenagers were sentenced to death in Alabama on charges of raping two white women in 1931. Appeals led to two U.S. Supreme Court decisions and seven retrials, all ending in verdicts of guilty, during the 1930s. It was 1950 before the last of the original nine defendants won his freedom. Inside and outside the courtroom, this cause célèbre pitted whites against blacks, blacks against blacks, northerners against southerners, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the Communist Party (in a battle over who could best defend the Scottsboro boys, and how).

Rather than imposing a single narrative line on these various conflicts, Goodman creates a fascinating form that resembles a "Rashomon" approach. In a long series of short chapters, he shifts the focus from one point of view to another. In addition to examining individuals, including accusers, defendants, prosecutors, and defense attorneys, Goodman presents the perspectives of many different subgroups among African Americans and southern and northern whites, each of which had its own version of the facts. This multivocal narrative reveals the complex and conflicted nature of the past. Avoiding easy generalizations, Goodman emphasizes differences of opinion that were subject to change over time. Most importantly, he explores the experiences that "informed" opinion and action: "memories, ideas, and experiences of family, work, community, religion, economics, politics, and history" (pp. 80–81). Goodman's analysis demonstrates that the case divided people along lines of not only region and race but also class and gender. This multiple reality comes alive through

extensive quotations that allow the actors to speak for themselves.

The voice of the author is also present for, as Goodman admits, this is his story of Scottsboro. In addition to deciding "whose stories to tell and how to tell them" (p. xiii), Goodman offers explicit judgments, but in an effort to explain, not condemn. Thus, he says that the charge of rape came from two women who "knew that the black youths had not raped them" (p. 21), but who "were victims of the ideas that gave the accusation its power" (p. 192). One problem with Goodman's multivocal approach is that he sometimes fails to make clear who is speaking. For example, he writes that Communist organizers in Alabama's Black Belt "rounded up some gullible sharecroppers . . . and duped them into joining a sharecroppers union" (p. 51). He probably means that this was the view of white Alabamians, but he does not say that.

This volume invites comparison with Dan T. Carter's masterpiece, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (1969). Carter's book, winner of numerous awards, focused on the legal proceedings and the role of the Communist Party. Although covering much of the same ground, Goodman's rendition complements Carter's work because it tells a different story in a different way. Goodman employs both new sources and his innovative approach to provide fresh insights into the case and the many people it engulfed. Above all, Goodman's account helps explain why nine African Americans collectively spent over 100 years in prison for a crime they did not commit.

The significance of Goodman's contribution transcends the Scottsboro case. His deliberate "experimentation in the writing of history" is enormously successful in creating a form that does "justice to the richness and irresistible power of the past" (p. xiii). Other historians would do well to consider Goodman's study as a model for how to construct their own stories about the past.

ROBERT P. INGALLS
University of South Florida

ROGER BILES. *The South and the New Deal*. (New Perspectives on the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. x, 205. \$23.00.

Even before the Great Depression, the isolation and backwardness of the South was appalling. Then, during the 1930s, the region's economy, educational system, and race relations plunged to even lower levels. New Deal agencies had to challenge a social and political structure that was not only isolated and backward but also self-righteous and determined not to change. In this book, Roger Biles argues that the South's entrenched values and institutions blunted the New Deal's short-term impact, but federal programs sparked the long-term economic, racial, and political transformation that culminated in the Sunbelt South. This work fleshes out similar studies by

James C. Cobb and Michael V. Namorato in crediting the New Deal with laying the basis of the contemporary South.

In southern agriculture Biles shows how the infusion of federal dollars enabled planters to invest money in tractors and reduce their dependence on sharecroppers. Thus, the mechanization of southern agriculture began the dismantling of the old plantation system, the first major step on the road to modernization. In other areas New Deal changes met substantial opposition. For example, southern states only begrudgingly accepted a role in relief and welfare. The New Deal's support for labor unions also met stiff resistance, and "the South remained an antiunion stronghold" (p. 102), but again, Biles argues, the New Deal had laid the foundation for future progress. Although New Deal agencies supported discriminatory practices, black southerners gave Franklin Roosevelt overwhelming support; but as they did so, white southerners began to drift away from the Democratic Party. As the Democratic Party moved left, the Republican Party was able to reap major electoral gains in the postwar era, ending the Solid South. The New Deal therefore had no single, across-the-board impact in the South. In some areas, such as plantation agriculture, southerners were unable to resist change, but other areas remained largely unaffected. Biles helps us appreciate the overwhelming obstacles—personal, institutional, and traditional—that New Deal reforms faced in the South.

Biles's work should become the standard view of the New Deal's legacy to the South, but it also raises obvious questions. How much credit can the New Deal take for changes that went far beyond the scope of any program and were never intended? What would be our view of the New Deal's legacy if it had not been immediately followed by World War II? In trying to assess the legacy of the New Deal, however, we may be on the wrong track. We know too much about the New Deal and its limitations, thereby insuring that its achievements will always be discounted, a kind of fallen idol. In other words, the emotional investment of some historians in the New Deal as an agent for change is too great. The crux of the problem is not the New Deal's inevitable flaws but in our unrealistic expectations of what it could achieve.

DONALD HOLLEY
*University of Arkansas,
Monticello*

JAMES J. LORENCE. *Gerald J. Boileau and the Progressive Farmer-Labor Alliance: Politics of the New Deal*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 324. \$44.95.

James J. Lorence undertakes several tasks and completes them very well. First, he rescues, and justly so, Gerald J. Boileau from obscurity and places him in the role of significant liberal leader during the 1930s. Second, he clearly explains the complicated, and

often contradictory and confusing, story of Wisconsin progressive politics before, during, and after the New Deal. Third, he skillfully discusses the formation, workings, and collapse of the congressional Progressive Group and the Liberal Bloc and their relationships to the New Deal.

The heart of the work deals with Boileau's congressional career. He came to office as a La Follette Progressive Republican in 1930, representing a large central Wisconsin district that was experiencing the sting of agricultural depression. The conservative tidal wave of 1938 swept him, by then a third-party Progressive Party candidate, out of office. For eight years he took an active part in organizing and holding together first the Progressive Group, a bloc of Minnesotan and Wisconsin liberal representatives, and later the Liberal Bloc, legislators from the Great Plains and adjacent prairie country to the east. Both groups sought to move the New Deal to the Left.

Boileau supported the New Deal, but, like others to its left, believed that Franklin Roosevelt was too timid in helping the have-nots and expanding federal programs, especially those that would assist the dairy interests of his constituency. Rooted in traditional progressivism, he was an outspoken isolationist who attacked expansion of the navy and supported the Ludlow war referendum amendment.

Those who are looking for a biography of Boileau will not be disappointed. The first chapter deals with his family and precongressional career and the concluding chapter covers his life from 1939 until 1981. The significance of this study, however, lies with the bloc politics and the frustration that leftist members of Congress suffered during the New Deal. Lorence's discussion of the organization and operation of bloc groups is exceptionally lucid: a primer on success and failure of coalitions. Boileau represents the inner turmoil that those to the left of the New Deal experienced. His many bills to expand programs or to rein in the military ended in failure.

Boileau's congressional career is cast within the framework of grass-roots activity. The workings of Wisconsin politics is very much a part of the Boileau study. He did not operate in a Washington vacuum.

The author's bibliography and footnotes reveal a depth of research that is all too uncommon in New Deal political biography and monographs. Any student of the New Deal or the politics of the 1930s must consult this work.

The narrative generally moves along in a readable way. Now and then the complexities of the Wisconsin political world necessitates a rereading, but the time is worth it. I would have liked to have heard more of Boileau in his own words. The author depicts the Wisconsin politico as one who spoke boldly and eloquently. The usually brief Boileau quotations left me with the desire to hear more. This, however, is indeed a small matter in a masterful work.

D. JEROME TWETON
University of North Dakota

SIDNEY M. MILKIS. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 404. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This bold and important book contributes to the literature on the building of the American state. It is also an essay on the discouraging condition of American politics today. Devoting nearly half of his pages to the New Deal and the rest to its legacy, Sidney M. Milkis emphasizes its giant role in the construction of the state and politics that the United States now has.

Milkis portrays the New Deal as seriously weakening the established political parties and greatly strengthening the executive branch and argues for the great, long-term importance of the change. The traditional parties decentralized and limited power and encouraged political participation, while the new system, which continued to develop after Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, in Republican as well as Democratic administrations, concentrated and enlarged power and discouraged participation. The old system, he writes, featured "valued representative institutions that helped cultivate a connection between government and society"; the change "eroded the fabric of republican government"; it resulted in "a distressing deterioration of representative democracy" (pp. ix, 253, 255).

Furthermore, the new system, which Milkis labels the administrative state, does not work well: "the 'modern' presidency is characterized by an 'extraordinary isolation,' . . . which provides great opportunity for presidents to leave their mark upon the nation, but subjects them to a volatile political process that makes popular and enduring achievement unlikely" (p. 12).

There are obvious questions to be raised about this view of things. Perhaps the old system was not as good as the argument implies. Milkis admits, in passing, that "parties inhibited the development of a national government capable of undertaking the arduous domestic and international responsibilities that must be assumed by all advanced industrial democracies" (p. 12). Two other forces—the corporations and the American role in the world—may deserve at least as much attention as the New Deal. The corporations influenced the development of the modern state by both calling on it for help and behaving in ways that convinced others they needed its assistance, whereas the pressures for and from a large role in the world forced a vast expansion of the state's national security component and its demands for secrecy.

One could also propose that a smaller book with a less-elaborate style might have developed the argument more persuasively, but I should insist that what the author gives us deserves much attention. It is impressively researched. Milkis builds on the relevant scholarship, including the work of Theda Skocpol, Barry Karl, Ellis Hawley, and other students of the state, debates with that scholarship, and moves be-

yond it to manuscripts and other basic sources. Benefiting from that research, he offers many brilliant suggestions, a challenging theme, and an explanation for the current difficulties of the American state.

RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL
University of Washington

JOEL L. ALVIS, JR. *Religion and Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946–1983*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 197. \$19.95.

Joel L. Alvis, Jr., explains how the southern Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) "bounded by its tradition and geography and controlled by white men moved from paternalism toward a more inclusive posture" in racial matters (p. vii). After World War II, the church's Division of Negro Work stressed evangelism, Christian education, and higher education, but it "did not promote the cause of the civil rights movement per se" (p. 22). A particularly illuminating chapter demonstrates that conservative Presbyterians believed that the church should attend to spiritual affairs only, whereas liberals contended it should address contemporary social issues. To explore the ramifications of the split for racial concerns, ecumenism, and union with the northern church, Alvis effectively employs the unofficial conservative *Presbyterian Journal* and the liberal *Presbyterian Outlook*. Liberals may have succeeded in having the General Assembly in 1954 condemn segregation, but Alvis presents several examples of conservatives expelling liberal ministers.

The PCUS did not end segregated presbyteries until 1968 "because of segregationist recalcitrance and the ambivalence of moderate white Southerners"; according to Alvis, the "reception of black churches into these remaining church courts was a traumatic experience" (pp. 77, 96). At the same time the church had a limited response to the civil rights movement. The General Assembly opposed segregated private schools in the churches, but its representatives also opposed the National Council of Churches' participation in the march on Washington in 1963. When Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke to a PCUS conference in 1965, and when the General Assembly granted funds to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1968, many Presbyterians protested. In 1972, according to Alvis, racial issues played a central role in the formation of the conservative Presbyterian church in America, which was strongest in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Without the racial issue, the southern and northern churches reunited in 1983.

Alvis concludes that, even after World War II, the church's nineteenth-century paternalistic evangelism continued to affect racial policies. PCUS attempts at ecumenism and union were closely related to racial attitudes; opponents generally supported segregation. Alvis also finds that women and young people supplied much of the impetus for integration. Even-

tual desegregation did not spell an end to black Presbyterians, however, because the church's Negro Work Program had strengthened the black membership.

Drawing on a dozen interviews and extensive research in church records ranging from the General Assembly to the local presbyteries, Alvis has written an avowedly institutional history. Told largely from the top down, his brief book seldom delves into local conditions and, therefore, tells little about the involvement of individual churches or Presbyterians in the civil rights movement. Wider research in newspapers, local church records, and interviews could have yielded important insights about the (un)involvement of Presbyterians in the movement. Alvis's work is, nonetheless, valuable because it explores for the first time how one denomination reacted to changes in race relations; despite its limitations, it should stimulate companion volumes on other denominations and more scholarship generally on southern churches in the movement.

CHARLES W. EAGLES
University of Mississippi

SUSAN J. DOUGLAS. *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*. (Times Books.) New York: Random House. 1994. Pp. 340. \$23.00.

In this study, Susan J. Douglas provides us with a cultural history of the second women's movement in the United States. Although the book is laugh-out-loud funny, presents a strong point of view, and made *Entertainment Weekly's* list of best books of 1994, historians should recognize that Douglas has written a theoretically sophisticated and historically astute treatise. This is a book for historians who complain that cultural theorists can not communicate in clear prose and for everyone else who complains that real historians do not write accessible history.

This volume appears just when we had gotten smug about how well women's history has opened our eyes to new sources of evidence and new paradigms. Douglas pushes us to go further, rescuing often maligned parts of American women's culture, including the Marvellettes, perkiness, and "Bewitched," as historical texts that help explain the successes of the women's liberation movement. Describing the creation of niche marketing after World War II, Douglas writes, "because young women became critically important economically, as a market, the suspicion began to percolate among them, over time, that they might be important culturally, and then politically, as a generation. Instead of co-opting rebellion, the media actually helped promote it" (p. 14).

Douglas uses the insights of feminist film theory to show how female audiences used and were abused by pop music, movies, television programs, magazines, and advertising from the 1950s to the 1990s. Douglas paints a nuanced picture of the mass media that reveals female listeners and viewers as both agents

and manipulated masses, receiving messages that portrayed women in contradictory ways, as, for example, at once narcissistic and masochistic. The author also examines news reports about the women's liberation movement and, by including news and entertainment as parts of the same project, Douglas illuminates the intertwined and hegemonic nature of the mass media.

Although Douglas's readings of television programs and girl groups are wonderful, her analysis of news reports about the women's liberation movement trenchant, and her personal insights into the history she lived telling, her book makes its strongest contribution as a model of cultural history and an examination of the importance of history to ordinary people. Douglas writes that "our pop culture past isn't *all* embarrassing, and it's not irrelevant to how we feel or what we face today. Some of it was pretty goofy—I mean, identical cousins, get real—but much of it requires a second look. History, including this history, matters. It may help to explain why American women are both mad as hell and yet resigned, at times even happy, to leave things the way they are. This history also helps to explain why so many women are ambivalent about feminism, shunning the label but embracing so many of the precepts. And in the end it reveals why the mass media are both our best allies and our most lethal enemies" (p. 20). Douglas teaches historians about the crucial interaction between women and the mass media around gender roles in the United States after World War II and gives their students insight into the second women's movement and into their own lives through the experiences of their teachers, mothers, and aunts.

SUSAN SMULYAN
Brown University

JOHN R. THELIN. *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 252.

John R. Thelin's book is a study of failure: the failure of American universities to maintain a proper balance between athletics and academics, despite periodic eruptions of scandal, followed inevitably by calls for reform. He addresses his book to policy makers as well as scholars. Scholars will prefer the sections that draw on archival material (on the dissolution of the Pacific Coast Conference in 1959, for example) to those that depend entirely on secondary works (including most of the case studies of individual institutions). Policy makers may or may not find the book useful. Two kinds of blindness continually cloud discussions of intercollegiate athletics: an assumption that the current crisis is unprecedented and a contrary assumption that things have always been the same. Thelin's book provides a useful and coherent alternative narrative of scandal and reform in intercollegiate athletics, over distinctive periods. Following the more or less unregulated boom of the 1920s

(the author's relative unfamiliarity with sport history before the 1930s is apparent but not finally damaging to his subject), the Carnegie Foundation Report in 1929 led to a few years of reform efforts, both real and rhetorical, then a return to business as usual by the late 1930s. During the period following World War II—"the closest that organized college sports came to a collapse of safeguards and standards" (p. 200)—emphasis on reform disappeared altogether as the competing needs to generate revenues and regulate the resulting growth became the dominant concerns. The "commercialism" of college sport, which had been denied or at least rhetorically resisted in earlier years, was now fully accepted. The relatively scandal-free 1960s gave way by the 1980s to seemingly continuous front-page exposés of distorted priorities, culminating in 1985 with college presidents stepping forward at last to take control of their often independently administered athletic programs. Throughout this history Thelin finds two recurring patterns: scandal, followed by acknowledgment of the criticism by university authorities and at best token reform, followed inevitably by new scandals; and "reforms" that ironically codify and regulate practices that were previously criticized as abuses.

Thelin tells this story chiefly through analysis of particular episodes and case studies, centered on four major commission reports—in 1929, 1952, 1974, and 1991—and selective universities' responses to them. The heart of the book focuses on the period 1929–60, grounded unevenly in archival and secondary material; the account of the thirty years after 1960 is very general and based entirely on secondary works. Thelin properly emphasizes the importance of local and regional identity—for American higher education generally and for intercollegiate athletics in particular—as the larger cultural and social context within which athletic and academic policy are made. The fundamental question—whether American universities would have been better off without football (or would be better off now); whether, that is, the assumption that public-relations benefits from intercollegiate athletics are real or only imagined—unfortunately remains unanswered, because of incomplete historical evidence and other data. The secretive practices of athletic officials, until forced into the open in recent years, have left a most dimly marked trail for historians to follow. On balance, this is a welcome book on an important subject that also points toward further historical research to be done.

MICHAEL ORIARD
Oregon State University

EARL M. MALTZ. *Rethinking Constitutional Law: Originalism, Interventionism, and the Politics of Judicial Review*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. ix, 148. \$27.50.

Ever since the aggressive attack on "conventional wisdom" in constitutional lawmaking by the Ronald

Reagan administration, there has been a sustained discussion among academics, politicians, and legal practitioners about how the Constitution is to be interpreted. As Earl M. Maltz points out, much of the debate has been driven by the political preferences of the debaters with little consideration of whether one would want judges of the opposite ilk to behave in the manner prescribed for judges of one's own ilk. In addition, argues Maltz, the debate over originalism sometimes depends on unconvincing historical analysis. Living up to the promise of its title, this book encourages us to rethink the debate, challenging what Maltz sees as the two dominant themes in contemporary constitutional theory: "the association of interventionism with liberalism and the decline of deference as an independent value" (p. 2).

Through the use of case law, historical evidence, and logic, Maltz carefully considers the various justifications offered for originalism and for interventionism in constitutional lawmaking. He demonstrates that one of the fallacies in the current debate is that originalism is necessarily compatible with noninterventionism. On the contrary, argues Maltz, it is possible under some forms of originalism to have a quite interventionist conservative judiciary (for example, in defense of property rights) and liberals seeking to support interventionism ought to keep this in mind.

Maltz seems to prefer a jurisprudence built on the concept of deference and justified by a narrow understanding of originalism based on a negative idea of intent: We may not be able to prove what the framers wanted in a positive sense but we can figure out what they did not want. Maltz views the Constitution as having originated in a compact among the states and argues that such an understanding requires "significant limitations" on federal power and "far greater freedom of action" for the states (p. 36).

This volume is a brief, yet helpful, addition to the now burgeoning literature on constitutional interpretation and is useful to students and scholars exploring the interpretation debate. It clearly and concisely lays out the various positions in the debate and points out the blind spots that can develop when partisanship drives one's interpretation of the Constitution. Maltz does a better job of pointing out the problems with others' views than with supporting his own position, and I was left wishing for more evidence to support an interpretation that Maltz admits would "turn contemporary constitutional jurisprudence on its head" (p. 35). We might ask why his approach is either desirable or feasible. Whether or not the state compact theory can be justified as an original understanding, historical events and social changes since that time surely call it into question now. And as he so accurately describes at the start of his book, the debate about constitutional interpretation has been largely a political one driven by historical forces. The depoliticizing of con-

stitutional law may be simply the pipe dream of academics.

KATY J. HARRIGER
Wake Forest University

JACE WEAVER. *Then to the Rock Let Me Fly: Luther Bohanon and Judicial Activism*. Foreword by ROBERT H. HENRY. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 212. \$27.95.

This study by Jace Weaver gives us insight into an important segment of the American judicial process, and it is a substantial addition to the literature about contemporary American jurisprudence at the Federal District Court level. While we have a plethora of studies about the Supreme Court and its justices, there is a dearth of scholarship about judges at the U.S. District Court level. This biography seeks to fill that void and portrays Luther Bohanon as one of the most assertive, creative, and intellectually honest judges ever to serve on the federal bench. Bohanon's major decisions forced the integration of Oklahoma City schools, parceled out American Indian title to the bed of the Arkansas River, reformed the penal system of Oklahoma, and attempted to give terminally ill cancer patients the right to import the unproven drug Laetrile, despite the Food and Drug Administration's prohibitions.

Hence, Weaver contends that Bohanon confronted most of the major social and legal issues of the latter half of the twentieth century with courage and aplomb. He also points out that Bohanon's humble roots (his attending an integrated school with Native Americans) and his traditional religious values helped him understand that the U.S. Constitution was also a document designed to protect the rights of minorities and the downtrodden.

While Weaver's treatment is "friendly" and can be characterized as an "authorized" biography, the author does point out some inconsistencies in Bohanon's judicial career (as in the issue of implementing school integration). Weaver is also quite effective in giving us insights into the legal philosophy of Bohanon. For instance, Bohanon is a strong supporter of legal positivism (*stare decisis*) and thus in opposition to the "natural law" theories of Justice Clarence Thomas and other neoconservatives. The author also states that while Bohanon perceives himself to be apolitical, he has taken some of the most activist positions in the history of the federal judiciary and is an "inadvertent civil libertarian" (p. 158). In concluding his analysis, Weaver observes that Bohanon's perception of the role of a judge is one that involves not only the delineation of what the Constitution "is" but also whether it is being "violated" (p. 158). In essence, Bohanon believes that the Constitution should not only serve the will of the majority but also protect the rights of minorities. Balancing these countervailing and sometimes paradoxical interests is

an integral component of Bohanon's judicial philosophy.

This book is well written and a handy work for the general and specialized reader interested in the law, as it is interpreted and implemented, at the U.S. District Court level. Too often, legal studies offer us a faceless, elitist, and institutionalized analysis of legal change over time. In contrast, Weaver's book offers valuable biographical information and scholarly insights into a segment of the legal community often ignored by historians.

DONALD A. GRINDE
University of Vermont

CORNELL W. CLAYTON. *The Politics of Justice: The Attorney General and the Making of Legal Policy*. (American Political Institutions and Public Policy.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1992. Pp. xvii, 274. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.00.

Although the office of the attorney general of the United States had its origins in medieval England, it differed radically from its transatlantic cousin. In the case of the British, the attorney general's office has remained that of an elite barrister, removed from direct political influence. In the United States, however, the attorney general has always had strong political connections, especially beginning with the establishment of the Department of Justice in 1870. As Cornell W. Clayton explains, the differences in the same office in the two countries reflect their constitutional cultures. The British commitment to parliamentary sovereignty leaves relatively little room for politicization of the office; the American ideal of separation of powers has produced exactly the opposite result. In America the attorney general has emerged as an arbiter of interbranch relations, usually in such a way as to favor the executive over the legislative. Much of this book is not historical, although Clayton nonetheless offers a sound, if incomplete, narrative of the evolution of the government's chief legal office. Instead, he concentrates on explaining the place of the office in contemporary politics, especially the period following World War II and notably the period of President Ronald Reagan's administration. To do so, he relies on published materials and undocumented oral interviews. As a result, the book, while well enough written, has an almost journalistic urgency to it. Nowhere is this tone more evident than in Clayton's argument that Reagan and his attorney general, Edwin Meese, used the Department of Justice to reshape American law and legal institutions. Meese not only worked to redefine the boundaries of the federal judicial selection process but he also invoked the nation's legal machinery to relax enforcement of antitrust laws, to restrict affirmative action, to chisel away at the rights of the accused, and to return, in full or in part, many areas of social policy, such as abortion, homosexual conduct, and student speech, to the states.

The most important contribution of Clayton's work is the clear link that it draws between the politicization of legal administration and the growth of tension in interbranch relations. Ironically, while the Reagan administration was committed to reducing the role of law and courts in American life, it actually succeeded in doing just the opposite. More, not fewer, areas of public policy became judicialized and subject to ongoing administrative oversight by the Department of Justice. Reagan and Meese, Clayton concludes, were committed to strong presidential leadership, which resulted in controversy with Congress, a pattern that continued during the administration of George Bush. All too frequently, according to Clayton, first Reagan and then Bush employed the Department of Justice to achieve short-term goals, the success of which threatened, over the long haul, the executive branch's control over the untamed federal bureaucracy. The solution in the future, according to Clayton, is a spirit of comity between the two branches enforced by a truly independent attorney general.

Students of federal law, the office of attorney general, and the Reagan administration will find Clayton's study a welcome addition to the literature. Its sometimes apocalyptic vision of the imminent collapse of faith in democratic government is hardly justified, however, either by the evidence it presents or the limited history that it recounts.

KERMIT L. HALL
Ohio State University,
Columbus

RONALD KAHN. *The Supreme Court and Constitutional Theory, 1953–1993*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. x, 316. \$35.00.

Ronald Kahn intertwines within one volume what is arguably three books. One book is a careful account of the Warren Burger and Earl Warren courts' output as both law and public policy. In this part Kahn takes on a variety of political scientists who have insisted that the best way to make sense of the Supreme Court justices of the last half-century is to view them as merely legislating their policy wants and reflecting one or another version of dominant elite opinion. In this reading of the Court, which Kahn attacks, precedent and legal doctrine and constitutional text are not independent forces that influence justices sincerely guided by preexisting principles of law but rather are tools that judges manipulate to reach whatever policy outcome they want to establish.

Kahn argues the contrary position, and although I agree with him for the most part, I confess that this section will not persuade its opponents; Kahn takes the judges at their word, whereas his opponents would argue that he is naive to do so. Nonetheless, Kahn does provide the salutary reminder that, at least sometimes, some justices certainly claim to be voting against their own policy preferences. He cites the opinions by Potter Stewart and Hugo Black for *Gris-*

wold v. Connecticut (1965), the three-justice plurality in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (p. 59), and several others (p. 275, n. 69). Kahn points out that the scholarly apparatus of his opponents cannot even begin to explain such cases.

Kahn maintains that for one to gain a full understanding of the Supreme Court, one needs to recognize that the justices frequently indicate how much they care about constitutional principles, and that those principles that shape their thinking can best be explained as a mixture of views about both polity or regime (for example, federalism, representative democracy) and individual rights (rights of free expression, privacy, and so on). This point, reiterated throughout the book, is its unifying theme.

One of the corollaries to this argument is that analysts have focused on only one or the other side of this mixture, and that this error has shaped misperceptions of both courts. Kahn insists that the Warren Court was less innovative in terms of legal doctrine, and the Burger Court more innovative as to doctrine and more progressive as to public policy, than is commonly acknowledged. This argument is important and deserves scholarly attention.

Indeed, the groundwork for the "fundamental rights" jurisprudence of the Warren Court was laid first in the *Lochner* (1905) era and continued under Chief Justices Charles Evan Hughes and Fred Vinson. First Amendment freedoms as well as family related privacy rights were declared "fundamental" before 1937; the Hughes Court foreshadowed *Shapiro v. Thompson* (1969) with *Edwards v. California* (1941) (both concern the right of indigents to move to new states without penalty), and *Griswold v. Connecticut* (freedom for contraception) with *Skinner v. Oklahoma* (1942) (freedom from sterilization); similarly, both the criminal due process and the racial desegregation cases trace their roots to precedents from 1930 to 1950.

Likewise, the policy innovation of the Burger Court, much of it in a strikingly liberal direction, has been grossly underestimated. Some examples make the point: the Burger Court gave America busing for desegregation; an extension of desegregation orders to the (covertly segregating) North; a constitutional revolution on behalf of gender equity; abortion freedom; new procedural protections for indigents facing a loss of government benefits; legitimacy for some affirmative action; and the "excessive entanglement" doctrine for church-state relations. The fact that the Burger Court did not do all it was asked to do has caused scholars to underappreciate all it did. As Kahn reminds us, the Burger Court was facing more complex questions than did the Warren Court.

The second book in this volume presents a fascinating argument that political science scholarship of the 1960s and early 1970s influenced doctrinal developments on the Warren and Burger courts. This was scholarship criticizing the apologetic paradigm of the 1950s that had described the United States as a

well-functioning pluralist democracy. Kahn argues that the critical scholarship of E. E. Schattschneider (*The Semi-Sovereign People* [1960]), Ted Lowi (articles and books from the mid-1960s through the early 1970s), and Grant McConnell (*Private Power and American Democracy* [1966]) helped the Court to see that the American regime needed to be pushed to become more truly democratic (by such techniques as the reapportionment decisions). This is a remarkably interesting argument (after all, more lawyers-to-be major in political science than any other field), and I wish Kahn had encountered a tougher editor, one who would have forced him to devote a whole volume to making this case. It is one of the most intriguing ideas I have come across in public law scholarship, worthy of its own book.

Finally, this volume also contains enough material for a separate study evaluating recent legal (as distinguished from political science) scholarship as inadequate in failing to blend rights principles with polity principles.

LESLIE F. GOLDSTEIN
University of Delaware

AMY KAPLAN and DONALD E. PEASE, editors. *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1993. Pp. vi, 672. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

This collection of essays spans the fields of U.S. cultural history and foreign relations by focusing on the centrality of imperialism to the American experience. In her introductory essay, Amy Kaplan states that the book has three goals: to bring culture into the study of U.S. imperialism, to make empire a central feature in the study of American culture, and to introduce material on the United States into the growing field of postcolonial studies, which has been dominated by the paradigms and periodization of European imperialism. Most of the essays are original, but even those that are adapted from previously published work, such as Donna Haraway's and Michael Rogin's, take on new significance when grouped with the others in this collection.

A number of the essays investigate the ways in which America's imperial domination worked, culturally, to consolidate national identity. The "frontier," Priscilla Wald suggests, provided a site for delineating both geographic and cultural boundaries. The constant reconstitution of the lines between what was "inside" and "outside" helped construct and stabilize a definition of "American" at a time when dominant groups feared that immigration and miscegenation might threaten the social order. This theme is especially well elaborated in Kaplan's own essay on the racial politics and cultural symbolism of the Battle of San Juan Hill. The connections between nation-building at home and empire-building abroad also emerge in Richard Slotkin's interpretation of Buffalo Bill's "Wild West" show, in Haraway's examination of the

American Museum of Natural History in New York, and in Bill Brown's analysis of the connections between empire and representations of the body in science fiction. All of these essays, and others, probe the ways in which discourses of race, gender, and nation delineate "foreign" cultures, both inside and outside of U.S. borders.

Other essays address the construction of trans-cultural, resistant, or oppositional identities. They suggest that imperialism, seen in cultural terms, is no one-way process between the powerful and the passive, the namer and the voiceless. It is a more fluid interaction among multiple subjects, all of whom struggle for the power to shape meaning. Essays by Myra Jehlen on the European conquest of the New World, José David Saldívar on Américo Paredes, Vicente M. Diaz on Guam, Christopher P. Wilson on John Reed and Pancho Villa, and Mary Yoko Brannen on Tokyo's Disneyland all, in different ways, interrogate the complexities of particular moments of trans-cultural exchange, exploring how identities get both assigned and asserted. These essays effectively explore the issue of subjectivity (that is, who is granted the status of "subject" in any story), an issue that lies, whether it is acknowledged or not, at the heart of all historical analysis.

Several fine essays also examine issues related to racial difference. Kevin Gaines, in a particularly thought-provoking article, investigates the contradictions that beset African-American journalist Pauline Hopkins. Hopkins endorsed imperialism as a cultural "civilizing mission" at the same time that she tried to divorce imperialist discourses from the biological, racial underpinnings that they often carried in the dominant culture. Walter Benn Michaels also explores imperialism and racism by showing, through an analysis of novels, what historians of foreign relations have long noted: that anti-imperialists tended to be more virulent racists than imperialists. Michaels elaborates how the logic of anti-imperialism re-enforced a cultural Americanism that, by defining itself against domestic racial minorities, worked to strengthen the color line at home.

Finally, the "spectacles" of the military actions staged by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush (especially the Gulf War) are analyzed, in a variety of ways, in essays by Rogin, Susan Jeffords, Donald E. Pease, and Lynda Boose. Displays of techno-military toughness reformulated and re-enforced America's imperial culture for a post-post-Vietnam era. (These essays were written before a Vietnam protester was elected president.)

As in many edited collections, the essays in this volume are disparate in their approaches and somewhat uneven in style and quality. Nearly all of the contributors come from literature rather than history departments, and some of the essays primarily address literary works and are written in the specialized language of literary criticism. Pease's introduction, for example, may be inaccessible to many history

students. Still, most of these essays will be valuable to historians interested in cultural studies and in inter (and intra) national relations. They will also be significant for those scholars of colonialism and post-colonialism who have not heretofore had much material available on the cultural consequences of the American empire. This volume confirms the advantages of blurring disciplinary lines, as well as the boundaries of race, gender, class, and nation that these authors collectively interrogate. In this suggestive and pathbreaking book the conventional categories of "domestic" history and "international relations" no longer work as separate areas of investigation.

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RICHARD G. DAVIS. *Carl A. Spaatz and the Air War in Europe*. (General Histories; Smithsonian History of Aviation Series.) Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1992. Pp. xxii, 808.

Richard G. Davis critically assesses in this volume the leadership of General Carl A. Spaatz as commander of the U.S. Army Air Force's combat operations in Europe and the Mediterranean during World War II. In sponsoring this excellent work of scholarship, the U.S. Air Force demonstrates its maturity and self-confidence as it approaches its fiftieth birthday in 1997. This publication marks as well the professional progress of its history program, guided by an advisory committee that has consistently included leading academic historians.

This work immediately evokes comparisons with the pertinent parts of the official seven-volume account of World War II air operations, ably co-edited and written by veterans of that conflict, but with the disadvantages of closeness in time to the events described and of a sense of urgency to justify the status of a separate Air Force. Now, in a different time and with the benefit of more recent scholarship, Davis adds the very human dimensions of Spaatz's leadership to the story conveyed in the sober narrative of the first official account.

Davis devotes just enough space to Spaatz's previous career to show the logic behind his selection in May 1942 for the top air command in Europe, the Eighth Air Force. None of his contemporaries could match his record in combat and peacetime flying activities. His demonstrated commitment to eventual independence for the Air Force and the confidence of his long-time associate and friend, General Henry H. Arnold, the Army Air Forces Chief, rounded out the case for his appointment.

His immediate superior in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, quickly came to value the taciturn airman's operational leadership and cooperativeness, despite differences in their styles and personal habits. Fortunately for Spaatz, Eisenhower summoned him from England to the North African campaign as his

top air advisor when the difficulties of the poorly prepared Eighth Air Force in sustaining daylight bombing operations threatened his career. Davis notes that his return to England with Eisenhower to get ready for the Normandy invasion was just as fortunate. By that time, much stronger aerial resources permitted Spaatz to employ the Eighth and the new Fifteenth Air Forces in drawing the German Air Force into battles that would eliminate it as a serious factor in resistance to the invasion.

As important as the air battles were, Davis focuses his account on strategic bombing. He gives Spaatz the highest marks for persisting in attacks that crippled the German oil industry and, ultimately, the mobility of its war machine. Yet he criticizes Spaatz for failures of strategic vision and recognizes his responsibility for air attacks against transportation targets, usually obscured by weather, that cost civilian lives. Convincingly, in my opinion, Davis explains these attacks as part of the dynamics of a horrible total war whose end was the only way to save lives on both sides. Thirty appendixes illustrate the scope of Spaatz's command and the enormity of his burdens as a commander. His air operations cost some 90,000 killed, wounded, and missing American airmen.

In summing up Spaatz's contributions to the Allied victory, Davis had already developed the evidence to credit him and his forces with shortening the war through their successes against Germany's air force before the Normandy invasion and its oil industry. The author offers no evidence for asserting that the victory would have occurred without those successes. That shortcoming aside, Davis has contributed significantly to our understanding of the aerial dimension to World War II.

ALFRED F. HURLEY
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JONATHAN M. WEISGALL. *Operation Crossroads: The Atomic Tests at Bikini Atoll*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 415. \$31.95.

Perhaps the most enduring cultural legacy of the United States' first postwar atomic bomb test is a two-piece bathing suit, named for the coral atoll closest to ground zero. The other, less well-known consequence of the bombs at Bikini was the displacement of some 176 inhabitants of that atoll, who only returned to their home in 1968, after the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) deemed it radiologically safe. The AEC, it turned out, had misplaced a decimal point, and the hapless Bikinians were forced to move once again a decade later.

A few years ago, the Bikinians accepted a \$75 million settlement from the U.S. government, which earmarked another \$110 million for eventual cleanup of their atoll. "We've learned to dry our tears of sorrow with dollar bills," said the Bikinian spokesman on the occasion. "But money will never take the place of Bikini." He was speaking literally, not lyrically. A

number of the twenty-three atolls in the Bikini chain were vaporized by the subsequent test of even more powerful bombs.

Jonathan Weisgall, the attorney who successfully represented the Bikinians in their suit against the government, has written a fascinating and thoroughly researched account of their plight, and the place that it occupies in the broader scheme of the Cold War. Weisgall's history is not only of the people and the place but also, and just as importantly, of the times.

"Operation Crossroads," the name given the two bombs exploded in a harbor full of war-surplus ships in the summer of 1946, was, the author makes clear, more an artifact of ongoing interservice rivalry than a turning point of the atomic age. Like Billy Mitchell's bombing of the *Ostfriesland* twenty-five years before, "Crossroads" was really a struggle between air power enthusiasts and the Navy's battleship admirals. Also like that earlier contest, both sides predictably claimed victory once the smoke cleared.

Ironically, the results of the first test hardly inspired awe. Dropped two miles off target by an Army Air Force B-29, the bomb used in "Able" was so unimpressive it prompted a visiting Russian observer to sneer, "Not so much."

The second test, of a bomb exploded underwater, was a different story, however. Probably the most photographed explosion in history, "Baker" shot a half-million-ton column of water into a mile-high mushroom cloud over Bikini harbor. An aircraft carrier and several battleships were tossed about like bathtub toys. Yet the most destructive part of "Baker" remained unseen. Collapsing back into the harbor and over the surviving ships was a witch's brew of fission products, which transformed the vessels into what a post-"Crossroads" secret report described as "radioactive stoves."

The Navy—"contemptuous of anything that isn't big and noisy and that refuses to come out in the open and fight," wagged E. B. White—initially wanted to reboard the floating deathtraps, to prove that not even the atomic bomb could sink that service. Fortunately for its sailors, wiser heads prevailed. Even so, many servicemen received radiation doses that may be linked to the incidence of cancer among "Crossroads" veterans, Weisgall argues. "Baker," he writes, was "America's Chernobyl."

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RICHARD NED LEBOW and JANICE GROSS STEIN. *We All Lost the Cold War*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 542. \$35.00.

This is a terrific book. Nearly all of its 376 pages of text and 144 pages of notes address two important episodes in the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War. These

are the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and the superpowers' relations during the Middle East war in 1973. Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, two political scientists and experts on bargaining and conflict management, show that in both instances deterrence did not work. Indeed, whenever U.S. officials, who believed more strongly in the theories of deterrence developed by academic experts and civilian military planners than did their Soviet counterparts, actually used deterrence, they caused these two crises to escalate to nearly uncontrollable points rather than approach resolution. Deterrence failed to compel the Soviets to back down (or, more rarely, the United States to retreat) when the relative strength of the two powers was asymmetrical (1962) or when the strength of the two was more evenly balanced, as it was in 1973. In each case, top officials found the behavior of the other side almost literally inexplicable. In the end, war was averted not because of carefully honed theories of bargaining and deterrence, but through occasional flashes of insight into what the leaders' counterparts were thinking, a healthy aversion to the risks of all-out war, events in the rest of the world (especially during the crisis in 1973), and good fortune.

Lebow and Stein lay out the events of each crisis with precision, clarity, and detail. Their writing is sober, even somber, as befits a subject that is both important and could have led to catastrophe. Their research is enormous in scope. They have read, and they refer to, virtually everything published on each episode. They interviewed as many of the principals as they could find on both sides over a span of ten years.

Virtually everything about this book is superb, with the exception of the blurb on the cover by Mikhail Gorbachev (he praises the "scientific conclusion" that "the argument that one side won the Cold War is mistaken. We all lost the Cold War") and the title. Gorbachev's "scientific conclusions" went out with the Soviet Union. His comment almost completely misses the point of the book and the end of the Cold War. In only six sentences he demonstrates why so many of his compatriots thought he talked too much.

The title presents a more serious problem. In these six words the authors perfectly encapsulate one pole of the conventional wisdom regarding the end of the Cold War. The title is a good one and since titles cannot be copyrighted someone is bound to use it again. It is simply not right for this book. There is very little here about the costs of the Cold War to both the United States and the Soviet Union. Except for a final chapter about how leaders should behave to avoid crises (it has a somewhat preachy "children play nice" quality about it), the authors do not draw lessons from these two episodes. They argue that the two sides did not play the Cold War well, and the efforts of each to force their will on their adversary actually prolonged the Cold War and made it costlier than it should have been. These are sensible ideas, but they do not add up to a loss for everyone in the Cold War.

From Thucydides to Michael Oakeshott, political analysts have argued a basic theory of international relations: it is not possible to set down clear formulae for successful statesmanship. Some leaders have the touch, others do not. Even those who have it do not keep it forever. Politics is an art. Luck matters.

Just like mathematicians who have tried for hundreds of years to prove Pierre Fermat's last theorem (reports indicate that a mathematician at Princeton may have done so), historians and political scientists want to validate these old truths. So far they have not done so, but books such as Lebow's and Stein's add to the pile of evidence that these conclusions are valid.

Here are three better titles for this book: *Deterrence Failed: Studies in the Cuban Missile Crisis and the 1973 Middle East War* (like the book, sober and academic—moreover, it is what the book is about); *Experts, Feh, Whadda They Know: How Deterrence Failed*; *The Skin of Our Teeth: Luck in the Cold War*.

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JAMES WILLIAM GIBSON. *Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1994. Pp. viii, 357. \$23.00.

In his opening chapter, James William Gibson echoes the well-established premise that American identity was profoundly ruptured with the failure of the Vietnam War to adhere to the frontier myth. He then locates the return of the frontier hero, although in new form, in the films *Dirty Harry* (1971), *Death Wish* (1974), and *First Blood* (1982). Gibson chronicles the subsequent history of post-Vietnam mutations of America's old frontier-warrior culture. Moving from popular culture to the subculture surrounding *Soldier of Fortune* magazine to national politics, he examines two decades of violent action-adventure films, Tom Clancy's popular novels of the Cold War and international terrorism, mercenary advertisements and life-stories, killing games such as "paintball," and gratuitous military interventions.

In noting the excessive savagery and pervasive contempt for authority found in paramilitary novels and films, Gibson is particularly insightful in relating the new heroes to the violent gods of ancient creation myths. As he ominously states at the end of his first chapter, "Two hundred years after the ratification of the Constitution, the American mythology of war and the warrior was no longer connected to any idea of founding a sacred order" (p. 22).

When he is working as a critic, primarily in the first section of his book, Gibson is best at labeling such broad significance, for he rarely acknowledges contradictions within texts or even periods. As a journalist, Gibson is more consistently satisfying. He has done a great deal of work, and his book is packed with precise documentation and compelling anecdote. In the middle section of his narrative Gibson even

adopts the role of participatory journalist. After reporting on his observations at the *Soldier of Fortune* convention in Las Vegas, he dramatizes his experience as a student in a combat shooting course at Gunsite Ranch.

In his third section Gibson denigrates both the Gulf War and the attempt to ban assault weapons as symbolic politics evading the issue of what America has become and what is needed to change it. In terms of the rhetorical purposes to which these issues have been put, Gibson is persuasive. But he is a bit simplistic in accounting for the Gulf War simply as the "holy war" President George Bush needed (p. 292).

Yet Gibson's provocative and penetrating book succeeds in showing that post-Vietnam paramilitary culture is a perverse response to a legitimate need for heroes and rites of initiation. In his moving conclusion, Gibson points toward the realm of wilderness sport and ecological consciousness to suggest the basis for a possible new mythology in which men "would not have to renounce the pleasures of physical power and the risks of danger, or shun the comradeship of male groups, but instead find ways to use them to grow, rather than regress" (p. 309). Gibson adds a compelling voice to the argument for a post-Vietnam myth of America.

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CANADA

GEORGE SHEPPARD. *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 334. \$39.95.

"Mr. Madison's War" was far from universally popular in the United States. New Englanders' dissatisfaction with the outbreak of hostilities, the unwillingness of the New York state militia to participate in the Battle of Queenston Heights in October 1812, and the widespread trading carried on by inhabitants of the border states with the residents of neighboring British colonies throughout the conflict have long been known to historians. George Sheppard's book sets out to demonstrate that the war was far from universally popular in Upper Canada (modern southern Ontario), too.

Before the war, Sheppard notes, Upper Canada was a highly divided society, riven by divisions of class, origin, language, religion, and region. At war's outbreak few settlers rushed to the province's defense. The British regulars saved the day. Most militiamen who served did so unwillingly and in highly secondary capacities; thousands anxiously sought paroles excusing them from combat with invading American forces. Many inhabitants took advantage of the war. Merchants profiteered; Archdeacon John Strachan (Sheppard's *bête noir*) used the events to aggrandize

himself; and the citizens of York (modern Toronto), the provincial capital, similarly grabbed whatever plums they could. The war had few beneficial effects. Prosperity came to some, but many, especially those west of York, were ruined, or nearly so. Issues arising from the conflict, notably those concerning aliens and wartime losses, troubled the province for years. In the 1830s, however, the propaganda arguing that Upper Canadians had risen virtually as one to vanquish the foe began to foster an Upper Canadian identity.

There is much here that is useful and new: Sheppard's work on the degree of paroling among those disinclined to serve the province, his use of the militia returns to calculate the province's population (which he estimates declined over the life of the conflict), and his exploration of the war-losses issue, including his observation that the province's residents were as likely to have suffered losses to British troops and their native allies as to the official enemy. Still, I would not argue as he and the enthusiastic comments carried on the dust jacket do that this is a strongly revisionist work. Ernest Cruikshank and William Riddell published studies of disaffection in the colony in 1912 and 1923 respectively. In the 1950s and 1960s C. P. Stacey and George Stanley set out to revise the militia myth, which held the militiamen responsible for preserving the province. More recently, Jane Errington, Donald Graves, Donald Akenson, and Shirley Spragge have suggested the divided nature of provincial society and the highly attenuated loyalty of some or all of its citizens during the war. This is not to direct Sheppard to authors of whom he is unaware—he uses most of their contributions, revising or adding to them in important particulars—but to remind him that others first pointed the way.

This is a good book. Despite the fact that Sheppard forsook the opportunity to retell a remarkable tale (see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII, 919–20), it is lively and well written. Its publisher can take pride in a handsome tome, one sprinkled with appropriate illustrations and, *mirabile dictu* (Canada's other leading university press should take note), adorned with a bibliography.

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ALLAN GREER. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. (Social History of Canada, number 49.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 385. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$18.95.

Compared to other revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century, the peasant uprising of 1837 in Lower Canada appears modest. Yet it was critical for the peasantry as well as for the political establishment, marking the beginning of a modernization process of the state in colonial British North America that would

lead to confederation in 1867. Traditional interpretations of the rebellion have stressed the economic circumstances of the peasantry as a way to understand how a group of demagogues with a rather incoherent platform of reform could mobilize several thousand peasants to rise against the foremost imperial power of the time. Allan Greer offers a refreshing departure from this well-worn path by looking at the political consciousness of the peasants and the forces in the local community that gave them the necessary experience and organization to defy the might of the British empire. Central to his study is the premise that without a "culture of solidarity" defined as "habits, attitudes, traditions, and institutions of cooperation" (p. 11), groups are condemned to political impotence. The book is divided into two parts: the first sets the stage; the second provides a narrative and analysis of the events.

After a review of the economic situation of the peasantry in the first third of the nineteenth century, Greer argues that the peasantry possessed the necessary attributes of solidarity to take effective action. At the parish level peasants had successfully resisted clerical encroachment and retained control of local administration. The charivari, a boisterous gathering aimed at exacting a symbolic punishment from people who broke community norms concerning marriage, was an expression of local popular authority. The militia, led by popularly approved militia captains, provided an administrative structure that could be turned against the state.

If the peasantry possessed the means for collective action, leadership came largely from outside its ranks. In his analysis of the Patriote movement, Greer draws useful parallels with other revolutionary movements, from the American experience to contemporary European uprisings. Greer tends, however, to downplay the ambiguities in the Patriote's program, portraying them as liberal democratic nationalists.

The second part of the book deals with the events in a more or less chronological order, using specific events to stress different themes. Ethnicity was a potent force in Lower Canada, and Greer illustrates its importance by focusing on the county of Two Mountains, where francophone Patriotes confronted the British and Irish minority in July 1837. Although they shared common social and economic backgrounds, anglophones and francophones were sharply divided along ethnic lines even before the outbreak of violence.

Opposition to celebrating the coronation of Queen Victoria affords Greer the opportunity to analyze gender issues. Misogyny was not peculiar to the Patriotes; it was a characteristic of other contemporary republican movements. In Lower Canada, however, it served to further discredit authority. The authorities' attempts to dismiss disloyal militia officers provoked widespread resistance and led to the establishment of "village republics" refusing to obey any but their popularly chosen leaders.

Given the ambivalence of the Patriote leadership on the question, the abolition of seigneurialism was not high on the initial agenda. Popular resentment quickly pitted seigneurs against their tenants, and ending the seigneurial system became a major goal of peasant resistance. The failure of the rebellion Greer attributes to lack of centralized authority and the lack of coordination between the village republics, each of which pursued local objectives. This facilitated the brutal repression by the British army.

This book's main strength comes from the original analysis of peasant communities, stressing the solidarities that made collective action possible and gave the movement a truly revolutionary potential. Placing the events in the context of international liberal-democratic movements also provides an interesting perspective. Greer perhaps exaggerates the absence of authority in the countryside, and he does not really answer the question of why the movement was restricted to the Montreal district. Nevertheless, this is an important contribution to our understanding of the rebellion, of the political process, and, more importantly, of the peasantry.

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Université de Montréal

BRIAN P. CLARKE. *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850–1895*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 12.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 340. \$39.95.

Over the last generation many scholars have stressed the need to examine the relationship between ethnicity and religion. Few, however, have done as fine and thorough a job as Brian P. Clarke in this monograph on the development of an Irish-Catholic community in nineteenth-century Toronto. We take for granted that Irish Catholics in North America in this period were religious and aware of their ethnic identity, but Clarke takes us through the processes that led to a distinct Irish-Catholic identity in Protestant Toronto.

Clarke argues that the tension between the clergy and the laity, particularly regarding control of voluntary associations, as well as the "gendering" of those associations led to an Irish-Catholic identity. His argument goes like this: in the 1850s Bishop Armand de Charbonnel, as an Ultramontane, launched a movement of spiritual renewal in the diocese in the wake of the vast Irish immigration following the famine. With few clergy, the bishop had to depend on the laity and voluntary associations to help him carry out his program. The most significant of these associations were devotional and made up almost exclusively of women. Women were restricted in the public forum but with the help of the clergy they carved out a space for themselves and a strong link developed between Catholic piety and female sociability. Men tended to join less devotional organizations, in par-

ticular the St. Vincent de Paul Society. They received strong support from the clergy yet, at the same time, maintained control over their organizations. The end result, for both men and women, was to develop an effective network that reached out into the everyday life of larger society and made popular the new forms of piety, which in turn created an ethnoreligious identity distinct from that of mainstream Protestant Toronto.

By the 1860s women continued to participate in devotional or other organizations devoted to the parish, whereas men associated with nationalist societies outside the parish and free from clerical control. This posed a challenge to the clergy, which had had a strong influence on nationalist matters and did not wish to lose it. The clergy attempted to meet the challenge by introducing lay voluntary groups (Clarke gives us a chapter on temperance societies, for example), but they left little scope for the laity; thus, these attempts were not that successful in encouraging lay initiative. In any case, the nationalist societies did not turn out to be that great a challenge in the long run. They sought an accommodation with the church and vice-versa. The effect of this accommodation was to give the local church "cultural hegemony" over the Irish-Catholic community.

How did this state of affairs come about? The devotional revolution of the 1850s and 1860s, led by the hierarchy and followed particularly by women, ensured that the next generation of Irish-Catholic Torontonians, including men, would define themselves by their ethnicity and religion. The nationalist societies, in particular the National League, could not exist without stressing the Catholic part of the Irish-Catholic definition, and consequently deferred to the clergy. For its part, the church expanded devotional associations at the parish level, and even men subscribed to them: after all, they had been brought up by their pious mothers and had attended Separate Catholic schools. Whereas the National League became a significant nationalist group, the church corresponded more completely to this ethnic group's desire for a "complete way of life" (p. 259).

The argument is neat, although it would have helped to have a few more guideposts along the way. Clarke has carefully honed numerous newspapers, parish and episcopal records of Archdiocesan records, friendly society papers, and census material. At times the sample sizes seem small, as is the case for the occupational breakdown of various devotional organizations (pp. 104–05, for example). This is, however, to quibble. Clarke's book is one of the most original statements in a long time to help us to understand the relationship between religion and ethnicity.

JOHN ZUCCHI
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GEORGE EMERY. *Facts of Life: The Social Construction of Vital Statistics, Ontario 1869–1952*. Buffalo, N.Y.:

McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 243. \$39.95.

George Emery argues that, from the implementation of Ontario's first Registration Act in 1869 until at least 1930, the vital statistics published by Ontario's registrars-general were seriously flawed. The underenumeration of births and deaths, the attribution of maternal deaths to inappropriate causes, and the misapplication of residential locators resulted from the interplay of two related sets of factors. External factors such as the social agendas that the publication of Ontario's vital statistics were intended to promote and the rapidly transforming social context in which vital events took place inevitably skewed the process of collection and analysis. In addition, internal factors—administrative policies and debates over substantive scientific and methodological questions—influenced reporting procedures and statistical outcomes. The result, Emery claims, was vital statistics that were social constructs, requiring "social interpretation before one can use them in research" (p. 18).

Emery first provides an overview of the history of Ontario's registrar-general's department and of successive revisions of its role before the Registration Act of 1869. He argues that from 1869 to about 1920 the driving force behind the recording of vital events was middle-class preoccupation with urban public health as the principal threat to national vitality and productivity. This bias, together with still primitive social and administrative conditions in some areas of the province, the indifference of physicians to compulsory and medically accurate reporting, and even unique circumstances (for example, Windsor and Niagara Falls reported disproportionately large numbers of marriages because they served as Victorian Renos for Americans seeking quick, out-of-state marriages) produced vital statistics regarded as unreliable even by their collectors until at least 1900. The standardization that resulted from the creation of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1918 ameliorated the most serious problems. After 1920 the registration of vital events was largely driven by the need for social statistics that could be used to estimate the costs of programs in Canada's emerging social safety net.

In five subsequent case studies employing a variety of combinations of records and analytical techniques, Emery documents some of the principal sources of error in the registrars-generals' published data of deaths, births, infant deaths and stillbirths, and maternal deaths. In the nineteenth century, for example, when only about two-thirds of deaths were reported, deaths in the households of the unskilled working class were most notably underreported. Both infant and adult male mortality may have been significantly underenumerated. More recently, between 1900 and 1930, births were underreported by as much as 15 percent, the largest omissions representing northern Ontario, births to parents of continental European origin, female births, and working-class births. Be-

tween 1926 and 1951, the accuracy of reported numbers of infant deaths and stillbirths was clouded by a continuing in-house controversy over fetal viability and the definition of life, exacerbated by both religious and scientific biases. Similarly, before 1935, lack of direction and/or confusion over the attribution of maternal deaths to direct and indirect causes associated with pregnancy probably led to the misclassification of 17 percent to 27 percent of annual pregnancy-related maternal deaths. Finally, by examining the relationship between the locus of vital events and the actual residence of the persons involved, Emery concludes that the advent of rapid transportation and the centralization of medical care in hospitals after 1900 resulted in the statistical inflation of urban vital events and the underestimation of these occurrences among the rural population.

This book is partly administrative history, partly a study of historical methodology, partly historical demography, and partly social history. Historians who read it will treat Ontario's historical vital statistics with new caution. They may wish to apply some of Emery's corrective techniques to their own community-based vital data, and they will certainly want to revise their thinking about such matters as cohort life-cycle analysis, rural-urban dichotomies, women and medicine, and above all virtually anything connected with historical rates of reproduction. They may be disappointed, however, by Emery's failure to substantiate his insistence that civil registration in Ontario was intended to promote "coercive" government intervention in society under the guise of "disinterested" information gathering (p. 154), that civil registration largely reflected and promoted the self-interest of middle-class male professionals, and that in a rapidly urbanizing, industrializing, immigrant society nativism, pronatalism, and the promotion of family formation account for the biases and resulting errors in the documentation of the population's facts of life.

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LATIN AMERICA

ADAM VERSÉNYI. *Theatre in Latin America: Religion, Politics, and Culture from Cortés to the 1980s*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 229. \$44.95.

This monograph surveys theater in Spanish America from pre-Columbian times to the present. Adam Versényi, professor of dramaturgy, focuses on the theatrical mixtures of religious and political themes that have been played on the stages of the Hispanic-dominated portions of this hemisphere. He delves into these spectacles, discerning and then analyzing the "how" of the theatrical intertwining of political and religious (in more recent times read "ideological") themes. He also asks the question "why" did this

occur; what were the motivations of authors, producers, actors, and directors?

The contents of the author's theses are arrayed basically in chronological order. The dramatic beginning of the argument occurs in 1524 when Hernán Cortés led his soldiers and the Indian caciques of newly founded Mexico City to greet the first twelve Franciscan friars arriving to convert the Amerindians. Cortés knelt and kissed each monk's hand, each soldier did the same, and the Indians followed suit. To Versényi this theatrical display is the essence of the cultural manifestations he is chronicling and examining in this work.

Descriptions of the theatrical displays of the Amerindians, both religious and political, are available in the chronicles of the conquerors. The Dominican friar Diego Durán, for example, provided a vivid description of the festival of Quetzalcoatl. Versényi then argues that acculturation occurred, and "what the subsequent evangelical theater retained and developed were the spectacular and transformational aspects of ritual performance, wedding them to Christian theological and political concepts" (p. 11).

The middle parts of the argument are the least convincing. The late-colonial era, the independence period, and the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encompass a period that is too vast to be successfully described in an overview. The reader, however, will encounter provocative insights into such varied topics as Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, the first permanent theater in Chile, popular theater such as *costumbrista*, Gaúcho, Cuba's *Teatro Bufo*, and the circuses.

Versényi does somewhat literally "break a leg" when he argues that the eighteenth-century Jesuits were expelled for promoting Mexican independence. Not only is this statement incorrect but he also has placed the expulsion of the order in 1769 rather than in 1767. These errors bring into question much of the historical validity of the middle section of the book and Versényi's command of the non-theatrical history of Spanish America into this century. Moreover, the book's title is misleading. Only Spanish America is reviewed; Brazil is absent. Although the author mentions this in the final lines of the preface (an alert editor at work?), the publisher should have corrected the title to avoid this major misrepresentation.

These complaints aside, one can probably assert that this book contains an imaginative and convincing article, to use a phrase related to its subject, "worth the price of admission." In the fifth and final chapter, Versényi discusses Latin America's Liberation Theology movement, focusing on the emergence of an artistic activity that the author dubs "liberation theater." He contends that a special intertwining of religion and politics in the second half of this century has produced a Latin American drama that is indigenuous and unique.

Liberation theater "enables the audience to speak for itself through theatrical forms rather than using

theater as a means of speaking to the people in the audience in a patronizing way" (p. 159). Brazilian Augusto Boal serves as an example of the producer of theater who promotes political consciousness. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire was an influence on Boal, as was Germany's Bertolt Brecht. Versényi explains how Boal calls for the creation of a unique theatrical language in which all in the theater, audience very much included, should be an actor. The traditional role of the author is subverted, the spectator becomes active. The goal is to put the means of producing theater into the hands of the Latin American people themselves.

This monograph argues successfully that there exists a peculiarly Spanish American revolutionary theater at the present time. The author could use some additional help from historians in developing the history of this artistic phenomenon.

CHARLES J. FLEENER
Saint Louis University

CHARLES R. HALE. *Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 296. \$42.50.

In this fascinating monograph Charles R. Hale, an anthropologist by training, crafts a fine history of a people who have remained obscure and elusive for centuries to even their most ardent would-be defenders, first English geopoliticians and traders and then U.S.-based Moravian missionaries. At the same time he engages many questions central to contemporary anthropological theory, but without succumbing to the temptation of turning his own personal predicament as researcher and writer into a substitute story line for the history of people whose lives and aspirations he insists on keeping at the center of the work.

At first glance this would seem an ideal site for traditional anthropological inquiry. Two peoples—the subordinate and minoritarian Miskitu in their Atlantic watershed home and the Pacific slope Hispanic majority of Nicaragua—are engaged in bitter and bloody conflict based on profound misperceptions and misunderstandings. The "outside" expert or authority, however, cannot indulge any illusion of externality or impartiality in this case. While he or she is not part of either culture, neither culture can possibly be understood apart from their pervasive and profound contact with the researcher's own (U.S.) culture and citizens, "facts" that are considered self-evidently critical by both local groups. Moreover, Hale's early research and residence identification with the Miskitu is seemingly compromised or contradicted by a no less obvious political identification with the goals of the Hispanic, Sandinista revolution and state. Turning such a hall-of-mirrors context into a subtle analysis of topics ranging from ethnic identity, militancy, and nationalism, to subaltern and revolutionary consciousness, to the personal and ethical dilemmas of scholarly dispassion and political com-

mitment is Hale's great achievement. No less admirable is his insistence on focusing on the whole lives of his neighbors/informants, however much his own internal, contradictory life remains a revealing subtext.

Hale's study is a particularly fine development of Gramscian theory to account for both ethnic identity/militancy and hegemonic versus subaltern consciousness. Yet, rather than looking at such questions in a narrow, functionalist framework, or as binary, mirror-image opposites, he breaks each side (as well as his own experience) down into patterns of "dual consciousness." Thus, any eventual outcome—pacification and autonomy negotiations prior to 1987 in this case—is the product of not only formally opposed positions but also views that themselves are internally contradictory.

On the Miskitu side a centuries-old experience with powerful outside "protectors" led to a freely expressed "Anglo affinity," or identification with and perhaps unrealistic expectations of British and U.S. actors and their culture. Such a position suggested nothing more than treasonous primitivism to Hispanic, Sandinista forces, further reinforcing their virulently negative image of "uncivilized Indians" among whom they must work. Both Miskitu and Sandinista, however, built more attractive self-identities and consciousness out of such seemingly irreconcilable images. For the Miskitu, the implicit self-denigration of their Anglo affinity remains invisible. Rather, it is a source of great pride, since the identification with non-Hispanic cultural values has served as the primary means by which they have defended their rights as a people against the Hispanic national governments of Pacific Coast Nicaragua. Likewise, Sandinista consciousness, while disdainful of Indian "backwardness" and deeply suspicious of Anglo affinity, also presumes a radical egalitarianism and patriotism open to Miskitu participation, forged in the same century or more of Anglo interventionism which produced Atlantic coastal society as well.

The end result of this torturous process, at least before 1990, was a slow, negotiated demilitarization and growing Sandinista ideological hegemony, based on both their greater ideological flexibility and vastly superior material resources. But Hale avoids both the romanticism of some forms of subaltern studies and the more mechanical treatments of hegemony as false consciousness. In effect, his ethnic heroes "lose the battle" and espouse a self-identity both self-deprecatory and so anti-statist as to be virtually guaranteed no more than regional autonomy status in any possible negotiation with or resistance to the state. Moreover, the Sandinista position emerges as only a bit more introspective, certainly no more heroic, in that its conception of society grudgingly admits a multiculturalism that its conception of the revolutionary state just as surely denies.

From this stimulating treatment several points emerge with great clarity. Any broadly based under-

standing of ethnic identity, state formation, and revolutionary consciousness requires not only an analysis of conflict itself but also of the dual or contradictory consciousness of the groups in conflict. Such an analysis requires a deep understanding of the historical experiences of a people, a record that Hale adds to very substantially for the Miskitu. Finally, the story to be told can be enriched by a transparent discussion of the motives and positionality of the author. Hale's version of writing the culture of the other(s) offers a model of how to engage the autobiographical dual consciousness without denying similar duality, contingency, and agency to its creators.

LOWELL GUDMUNDSON
Mount Holyoke College

WAYNE M. CLEGERN. *Origins of Liberal Dictatorship in Central America: Guatemala, 1865–1873*. Niwot: University Press of Colorado. 1994. Pp. xiv, 166. \$24.95.

Whereas we know little about the basic facts of Guatemala's political life in the nineteenth century, we have excellent recent research on its economy and society. This timely book, together with Ralph Lee Woodward's recent (and more ambitious) monograph on Rafael Carrera (*Raphael Carrera and the Emergence of the Republic of Guatemala, 1821–1871* [1993]), helps to correct the imbalance.

Wayne M. Clegern has chosen to study the regimes of the moderate-conservative Vicente Cerna (1865–71) and the moderate-liberal Miguel García Granados (1871–73), who, taken together, represent the transition between the epitome of Guatemalan conservatism (Carrera) and his liberal counterpart (Justo Rufino Barrios). For Clegern, studying this period is a way of understanding "the specific context that spawned a liberal dictatorship in Spanish America" (p. xiv).

Given the gaps in our knowledge of the period, we can be grateful that Clegern chose to focus on political events and ideas, although his sources (newspapers, magazines, diplomatic despatches, political pamphlets, and the like) limit the discussion to what elites in Guatemala City were thinking and doing, and do not permit the text to go much further. Important issues such as the link between politics at the national and the local level, which could have been explored by doing research in municipal documents and correspondence with local officials, are left unexamined.

Nonetheless, a greater knowledge of politics in the capital enriches and modifies our understanding of the second half of the nineteenth century. Thanks to this study, Cerna and García Granados cease to be the pale versions of Carrera and Barrios that traditional histories describe. In Clegern's view, the success of the liberals becomes the victory of strategic skill against long odds rather than the predetermined demise of an anachronistic social group. "García Granados's ninety-day campaign in 1871," says Clegern, referring to the revolution that brought the

liberals to power, had "all the elements of a desperate adventure story with a triumphant conclusion" (p. 111). At the same time, some of the suggestions of the most recent historiography are confirmed. Cerna's interest in roads, wharfs, telegraphs, and even railroads, together with his effort to revamp economic institutions to adapt to the expansion of export agriculture, is consistent with recent work asserting that the liberal reforms in Central America were the culmination of a process and not a radical turning point. What made Cerna different from the liberals were his ideas on the pace and strategy to bring about change.

When the liberals finally obtained power, their main interest was to consolidate state institutions by fighting off rivals (such as the church) and modernizing the army. Yet García Granados shared with Cerna not only a gradualistic approach to modernization but also a style of governing that Clegern aptly describes as "semiparliamentary government." When Barrios came to power in 1876, issues of constitutional government and freedom of the press, dear to liberals of the García Granados variety, were set aside, and a style of "coercive innovation" was introduced. The consolidation of the state and the lack of interest in constitutional niceties permitted an accelerated modernization using the "order and progress" approach familiar to Latin American historians of this period.

Despite its brevity, this book does an excellent job filling a vacuum in our knowledge of Guatemalan political history. Historians interested in connecting politics with larger economic and social changes now have a solid point of departure.

HÉCTOR LINDO-FUENTES
Fordham University

DEBORAH LEVENSON-ESTRADA. *Trade Unionists against Terror: Guatemala City 1954–1985*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 288. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Deborah Levenson-Estrada has written an extraordinary book. Whereas our knowledge of developments in rural Guatemala since the overthrow of the government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in 1954 has benefited from an increasing number of scholarly works detailing the repression and genocide of successive military regimes, little attention has been paid to urban workers. This book goes a long way toward filling that gap. Written in eloquent and impassioned prose, Levenson-Estrada's work operates at several levels. It is an institutional history of the urban labor movement in Guatemala City since 1944. It is also a history of capitalist industrial development in contemporary Guatemala and its impact on the daily lives of Guatemala City's growing urban population; chapter 2, "City Life," is a brilliant evocation of the social, cultural, and psychological implications of urban growth in contemporary Latin America. Woven into

this history is also a lucid telling of the complex relationship between a variety of revolutionary organizations and Guatemalan workers.

Above all this book is dedicated to addressing a fundamental question: what resources did Guatemalan workers draw on to enable them to persevere in their quest for basic rights when confronted with the Kafkaesque nightmare of the Guatemalan terror state? The obstacles faced by workers were numbing; the list of kidnappings and tortures is at times palpably painful to confront in the text. The fear that accompanied the workers at all times is also present in the narrative. Yet the measure of Levenson-Estrada's achievement is that she succeeds in helping us understand in the end how fear did not always stifle organization and agency. She does this by giving us a unique vision of rank-and-file trade unionism, based on a wide array of oral testimonies and her own intimate knowledge of the labor movement. Her narrative draws the reader into an almost philosophical inquiry into the meaning of commitment and activism, the sense of life and death, the purpose of martyrdom, the necessity of will. She also addresses a number of theoretical issues of crucial concern for labor historians and sociologists, making us confront as she does so the inadequacy of some of our more cherished paradigms when applied to a context such as that of Guatemala. But she wears her theory lightly. It never obscures the central focus of her narrative: to help us understand the world view of these ordinary yet extraordinary workers without recourse to romanticism or idealized caricature. I found her analysis of the role of Catholic thought and its appropriation by Guatemalan unionists particularly fascinating and persuasive.

In sum, this is a book to be read and debated and used. I have but two small criticisms. An afterword summing up the situation since the late 1980s would have been helpful. And, although the University of North Carolina Press is to be congratulated for publishing this and other recent Latin American titles, when will they see fit to include something as basic for academic publishing as a bibliography? Given the current cost of books, it does not seem too much to ask.

DANIEL JAMES
Duke University

HUGH THOMAS. *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993. Pp. xx, 812. \$30.00.

This book is narrative history at its best: vivid characters, grand events, and their important consequences all set forth in engaging prose. Narrative history currently is out of fashion, and the conquest of Mexico as a topic particularly has been so for many years. There is much to be said, however, in favor of history that tells a story, particularly one that is generally recognized as a turning point. There has

been the tendency in recent scholarship to downplay both the importance of events and the significance of individual actors (most often men), but the historiography is enriched by periodic reevaluations of constructed historical narrative.

In Mexico the conquest is viewed with mixed emotions at best. Whereas the memory of the Mexican ruler Cuauhtémoc is publicly celebrated for his organized resistance to the Spaniards, the names of Montezuma and Hernán Cortés receive no such honor. Should a general reader in Mexico or elsewhere seek out a Spaniard's account of the events, most often they are handed Bernal Díaz del Castillo's "true history," the "common soldier's" view of the conquest, rather than Cortés's contemporary letters to Charles V.

Hugh Thomas returns the focus to Montezuma and Cortés, as the subtitle reflects, but to the fullest extent possible he also richly details the actions of other participants, both native and European. This book is a welcome reinterpretation of the conquest for the current era, inevitably to be compared to William Hickling Prescott's best-selling classic (*History of the Conquest of Mexico* [1843]), which it parallels in structure and scope.

Thomas's book meets all the tests of good scholarship: careful reading of the standard primary sources; new archival work bringing to light previously unknown information; insights drawn from wide reading in recent scholarship in social history and anthropology; and, in what is essential as well, clear and graceful prose. This book appears in the wake of the Columbus Quincentennial, the wave that focused public attention on events of the late fifteenth century. Much of that literature rightly emphasizes cultural encounter rather than discovery, colonialism rather than conquest. Thomas's book also takes the current stance toward cultural encounter, but it is unabashedly about conquest, entailing a lengthy military campaign with major battles and organized military forces on both sides (in contrast to the situation in the Caribbean).

In his discussion of the European side, Thomas, like Prescott, focuses on the key figure of Cortés. Exactly 150 years apart, the two historians paint a recognizably similar picture of the conqueror as a bold, shrewd, pragmatic, ruthless, well-educated, pious leader of men. Thomas's treatment of this historical figure is first rate (although his frequent reference to him as the "Caudillo" can be distracting). There is considerable new information about Cortés's legal activities in Spain after the conquest, and insights into Cortés's private life (such as the mysterious death of his second wife, one of several deaths under murky circumstances which benefited Cortés). Most of all, however, Thomas makes clear why Cortés succeeded in the conquest where others might have faltered or failed. Cortés's resolution of the Spaniards' factional disputes, the intricacies of forming alliances with natives, the hardships of the campaign,

and Cortés's tenacity in achieving his goal all come alive. Some might argue that Cortés was a social type, acting in predictable ways, which is true to an extent, but not the whole story.

In the final portion of the book, Thomas discusses Cortés's efforts to maintain his position and power after the fall of Tenochtitlán. It is in some sense anticlimactic, but crucial for understanding the conquest era. What is not as amply delineated as it could be is the immediate aftermath of conquest in the indigenous world.

Thomas's assessment of early sixteenth-century indigenous culture is where his narrative most sharply differs from Prescott's. The Mexica are not just worthy opponents, having a more complex culture than that of the Caribbean, but a civilization with value in its own terms. Thomas also gives due attention to the specific roles that particular indigenous polities played in the conquest; but to a certain extent, the reader must piece together the more general scheme of political organization and inherent instability of the Triple Alliance.

Understandably though regrettably, the figure of Montezuma is less vivid than that of Cortés in Thomas's account. There are limitations in the sources, even the ones written by the defeated natives themselves in the Nahuatl language; and it is difficult for a twentieth-century European to assess the motives and actions of a sixteenth-century Nahua monarch. For these reasons, Thomas's portrait of Montezuma is more akin to a simple line-drawing of a native codex than his highly detailed depiction of Cortés. This book clearly deserves a place on Latin Americanists' bookshelves, for it is a fine contribution to the historical literature; but it also has the potential to be found on the bedside table of the general reader.

SARAH CLINE
University of California,
Santa Barbara

ELINOR G. K. MELVILLE. *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 203. \$54.95.

Latin American history has a long tradition of concern for environmental issues. Although not usually expressed in the scientific terminology that is becoming more common in the literature, the interplay between New and Old World plants and animals and the consequent impact on indigenous societies have been keys to interpreting Latin American society. Mexico, one of the central areas of this drama, has an especially strong historiographical tradition that emphasizes the interplay of human and biological forces. Elinor G. K. Melville makes a significant contribution to that tradition.

Her analysis centers on the sixteenth-century spread of disease (virgin soil epidemics) and sheep (ungulate irruptions) in the Valle del Mezquital, a

highland valley in central Mexico. The valley went through a process of transformation from an intensive agricultural economy to an extensive pastoral one, which caused severe environmental degradation.

She argues that the Mezquital was densely populated, fertile, wooded, and well-watered in the early sixteenth century. This was not a pristine environment, but one in which there was supposedly some balance between social and economic needs and the environment. Lack of adequate evidence makes it difficult to describe with precision the extent to which this environment had been altered before the conquest. By the end of the century, there is little doubt that the valley had become a semi-arid, eroded landscape that was economically and socially marginal. This was not simply a continuation of environmental changes already taking place, but a new, far more damaging development. To analyze the post-conquest landscape, she sorts through and categorizes much descriptive data. Despite the problems of the evidence, she presents a coherent and believable picture of environmental change in the sixteenth century. Her discussion of the ungulate irruption—the cause of the problems—is precise in its claims, but not entirely convincing. She goes to great lengths to develop data on sheep lands and estimates of grazing rates and the number of sheep. There is much room for discussion over these estimates. An analysis of sheep ranching as an economic activity, with information on contracts, prices, meat, and wool, and how these factors changed as the century progressed would have given more support to her contentions about numbers and grazing rates. Without more attention to the market dynamics of sheep, she is not able to go far enough in discussing the human factor in the environmental changes.

An interesting feature of the book is the comparative chapter on the Australian experience. Although this chapter is useful, one cannot help but think that a comparison of pastoralism in the U.S. Southwest, the Pampas, or Castile would have been more useful. In addition to providing a cultural and political context for her analysis of pastoralism in Mexico, more attention to Castile would have led to a more realistic description of the way that pastoralism damaged Spanish agriculture.

In the end, Melville effectively demonstrates that the environment was one of the changing variables in the process of colonization, much like markets, labor, and political institutions. In so doing, she presents evidence and arguments that take environmental history an important step forward.

JOHN C. SUPER
West Virginia University

R. DOUGLAS COPE. *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 220. Cloth \$48.50, paper \$17.95.

This book is the latest addition to a steadily expanding body of research on the significance of race in colonial Mexican cities. Although much of this work relies on quantitative analysis of census and parish records, R. Douglas Cope employs a greater variety of documentation—including wills, civil and criminal cases, inquisition records, and notarial records—and is more successful than his predecessors in portraying how real individuals behaved in particular circumstances. During the period studied, the *sistema de castas*—the hierarchy of racial and ethnic categories encoded in Spanish law—was in full flower. The author's findings, however, indicate that it never functioned well in practice because the racial hierarchy was at odds with the socioeconomic structure of society.

In chapter 1 Cope sets the stage by tracing the rise of cultural models of racial and class divisions in the seventeenth century. He then vividly describes the housing and living conditions of Mexico City's poor, noting that in the central part of the city segregation was more by class than by race (wealthier families lived upstairs, poorer ones downstairs) and that ethnic differences played no role in conflicts within two large, multiracial households. In the marketplace as well, both stand owners and clientele were racially mixed. Inquisition and court cases are skillfully employed in chapter 3 to examine the ambiguity and inconsistency of the various criteria for racial identity. On the basis of naming conventions, Cope observes that whereas parentage was the most important determinant of racial status, the *castas* (people of mixed ancestry) were little concerned with lineage in the broader sense.

In chapter 4, the author links marriage and burial records to argue that, despite significant racial variability, the three sectors of Spaniards (including Creoles), Indians (including *castizos* and *mestizos*), and Africans (including *mulattos* and *Moriscos*) were largely endogamous. He sees little evidence that *castas* attempted to "improve" their racial status and, in chapter 6, notes that few of the poor ever escaped their economic position. In chapter 5 he explores employer-employee relations, emphasizing patronage (a significant, but often overlooked dimension in studies of race relations), while in chapter 7 he concludes with a treatment of the riot of 1692, triggered by a grain shortage.

In all, this is an insightful study that makes a case for a multiracial subculture of the urban poor, who "rejected or modified the *sistema de castas* and even appropriated its racial categories for their own use" (p. 163). The volume's one shortcoming is that the lengthy and somewhat tedious chapter on the riot of 1692 is not well integrated with, or as compelling as, the rest of the book. Indeed, if it were omitted entirely, the volume's conclusions would scarcely be affected. Some might also question the theoretical basis for Cope's "subculture of poverty," since a similar idea popularized by Oscar Lewis three decades

ago proved ultimately to be unsuccessful. But then, there is a big gap between seventeenth-century Mexico and twentieth-century capitalist society, to which Lewis's concept was meant to apply.

The strong suit of this study, however, lies not in method or theory (the author studiously avoids the estate versus class debate, for example) but in its patient accumulation of details about the lives of ordinary people. Percentages and statistical measures are not absent, particularly in chapter 4, but they do not overwhelm. In sum, this is a significant contribution to Mexican social history that will also be of interest to specialists in Latin American race relations.

JOHN K. CHANCE
Arizona State University

SERGIO DE LA PEÑA and JAMES W. WILKIE. *La estadística económica en México: Los orígenes*. (Sociología y política.) Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores and the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco. 1994. Pp. xvii, 196.

Finding reliable serial statistical data is one of the most difficult problems confronting historians of any era in Mexico. The Program for Mexico at UCLA has for many years stood at the forefront of this research. James W. Wilkie in particular has pioneered the use of public records in economic and social analysis. This book is comprised of two essays, one that reviews the historiography of data gathering in Mexico (until 1910) and the other which reexamines the redistribution of lands during the period of the Reform (1853–76) and the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1877–1910).

In the first essay, Sergio de la Peña undertakes to write an overall history of the "compilation, publication, and analysis" (p. xiii) of statistical materials since the colonial period. He maintains that the scarcity of statistics about the colonial era owes to the disinterest of the Spanish colonial government in economic development; it cared only to collect its taxes. This changed under the Bourbons in the last century of colonial rule, because they required information about the operation of the economy in order to carry out their reform program. The unsettled conditions that prevailed in the first decades after independence in 1821 insured that little data collection was undertaken. When the central government requested statistics from the states, it was almost uniformly ignored. The states refused to cede even a small part of their autonomy. The struggle to gather information persisted. In 1825 the government founded the Archivo General de la Nación as a repository of official documents. The Instituto de Geografía y Estadística began in 1833 and the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística in 1851. Meanwhile, men such as Lucas Alamán and Antonio García Cubas toiled to compile data on a national scope. The Díaz regime, with its emphasis on eco-

nomie development and its success in centralizing authority in the national government, initiated the widespread collection of statistics with the formation of the Dirección General Estadística in 1882. The various *Anuarios* and *Memorias* of important government agencies under Díaz furnished the first serial data available for Mexico. National censuses followed in 1895, 1900, and 1910. These efforts were, of course, disrupted during the violent revolution from 1910 to 1920.

In the second essay, Wilkie takes a new look at the data compiled by Antonio Peñafiel in order to measure the quantity and change by region of property titles for land that were registered and transferred by the federal government. Wilkie maintains that the era from the end of Antonio López de Santa Anna's rule (1854) until the advent of Porfirio Díaz spawned the first agrarian reform. It was then that the federal government established the legal basis for its control over the registration of land and the principle that it could take land for the "good of the nation." His researches complement the recent investigations of Robert H. Holden, *Mexico and the Survey of Public Lands* (1994), on the surveying companies (*compañías deslindadoras*) whose work formed the basis of the massive transfer of landholdings from 1880 to 1910.

De la Peña and Wilkie have provided a useful volume from which to begin research on the economic and social history of the first century after Mexican independence.

MARK WASSERMAN
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

STANLEY F. SHADLE. *Andrés Molina Enríquez: Mexican Land Reformer of the Revolutionary Era*. (PROFMEX Series.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1994. Pp. 159. \$29.95.

The relevance to the Mexican Revolution of the agrarian intelligentsia that sprang up late in the *porfiriato* (1876–1911), denouncing the hacienda and defending the peasantry, would appear to be scant, judging by the historiography of the revolution. Modern historians of the revolution, even those who favor an agrarian interpretation, have largely ignored contemporary discourse by Mexican intellectuals about land reform, concentrating (logically enough) on popular grievances and mobilization, elite interests and strategy, and international influences.

Of all those who did write about the land question in Mexico at the time, undoubtedly the most prominent was Andrés Molina Enríquez. His *Los grandes problemas nacionales* (1909) is traditionally cited as a kind of intellectual precursor of Latin America's longest and bloodiest twentieth-century social revolution. In it, the country lawyer argued for the breakup of the country's huge haciendas (with compensation to their owners) in order to create a prosperous rural

middle class that would lead Mexico out of underdevelopment.

Yet Stanley F. Shadle's brief biography of Molina Enríquez oddly omits both the close analysis and the critical and comparative evaluation of *Los grandes problemas nacionales* that one might expect in an intellectual biography whose declared purpose "is to assess how the land-reform ideology of Andrés Molina Enríquez helped guide the process of land reform in twentieth-century Mexico" (p. 1). Shadle misses an opportunity to systematically compare Molina's perspective with contemporary thinkers on the subject either abroad or even in Mexico itself. He makes much of Molina's contribution to the framing of the revolution's two most consequential pieces of land reform legislation (those of 1915 and 1917), but it is difficult for the reader to shake the suspicion that Molina's role in the revolution was decidedly secondary, if not insignificant. Not enough is done, in any case, to place his activities in any kind of social or political context; Molina often seems to carry on in isolation from the momentous events and prominent personalities that surround him. Yet the impression is conveyed that all the land-reform schemes floated during the revolution owe their provenance in some measure to *Los grandes problemas nacionales*. Molina's abundant journalistic output is quoted frequently, but was anyone reading it? How, indeed, was Molina seen by the men who led the revolution and controlled its land policies?

Notwithstanding Shadle's conclusion that his subject "was an important intellectual of the Revolutionary era, deserving of national recognition in Mexico" (p. 111), Molina emerges from this book as a minor polemicist and opportunist who managed to ally himself with every major faction of the revolution (and even the brief counterrevolutionary government of General Victoriano Huerta!) except for the only one that was authentically agrarian—the peasant movement led by Emiliano Zapata.

ROBERT H. HOLDEN
Old Dominion University

NILS JACOBSEN. *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780–1930*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 481. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$25.00.

This important book makes a substantial contribution to central Andean history. Nils Jacobsen follows the pioneering works in this field with a focus on one region, here the province of Azángaro in the northern Peruvian altiplano near Lake Titicaca. His ambitious and painstaking study traces the relations between large landowners, peasants, and public officials in this highland zone with a sparse, mostly Indian population and pastoral economy from the late eighteenth century to the Great Depression.

Although the region had supplied livestock prod-

ucts to mining complexes during most of the colonial period, by the 1820s imperial reorganization, Indian rebellion, and independence had frayed these commercial links. After mid-century, however, the world wool trade sparked an economic revival there lasting through World War I. The author demonstrates that across the ebb and flow of connections to regional, national, and global economies, neither large estates nor Indian communities gained the upper hand in struggles over land, capital, access to markets, and labor; moreover, a fragile Peruvian state, unable to shepherd economic development, yielded to a predatory provincial bossism. For Jacobsen, this stalemate led fatally to an "incomplete and truncated transition to capitalism" (p. 353).

The comprehensive portrait of Azángaro's hispanized large proprietors and peasant communalists is a model of social history. The book reveals the manifold strategies by which the former assured the survival and viability of their enterprises in the face of difficult ecological, infrastructural, financial, and labor conditions. Rejecting the static view of the altiplano feudal latifundia, Jacobsen deftly shows the rationality of these pastoral estates as they expanded after the mid-nineteenth century, acquired credit, marketed their products, prevented dissolution through inheritance, and, most important, maintained control over Indian workers through service tenancies. The peasantry proved equally capable of defending itself against landowners and the state. Indeed, communalists and *colonos* alike are not passive victims of capitalism's stumble across the altiplano in Jacobsen's telling; rather, he regards them as astute, even if not always triumphant, players in a complex bargaining over pastures and sheep, money and markets, and political power.

Rich in detail and analysis, this fine work nevertheless falls short in its interpretive reach. Jacobsen claims that the social and ethnic hierarchies of Spanish rule were rescripted and fortified by an exclusionary elite conception of liberalism after independence. This polarized social vision—characterized as a "colonial legacy"—caused possessive individualism to be stillborn in the Peruvian Andes. Consequently, a capitalist transformation was blocked by the estate owners' failure to pursue profit-maximization and technological innovation, consistently coercive market relations, an incomplete transition to wage labor, and a disregard for property rights by elites, peasants, and state officials alike.

Jacobsen's notion of the "colonial legacy" engenders provocative insights into the behavior of both landowners and peasants at various junctures. Yet the concept remains theoretically undeveloped and indeed has a shadowy presence throughout his otherwise impressive description of the calculated efforts by all groups to protect themselves from and seize advantage of the economic perils and opportunities during Peru's "long nineteenth century."

The author's idealized view of capitalist develop-

ment proves to be more problematic; for him, the principal social actors in this corner of the Peruvian highlands did not use all their resources for profit-taking and intervened, often violently, in the economy, thereby denying the progress and prosperity purportedly generated by free-market regimes. In this, Jacobsen ignores the insights of Karl Polanyi, Robert Brenner, Eric Wolf, and others who have revealed historical capitalism in Europe and elsewhere as equally conflict-ridden and fractured as his

well-told story of Azángaro. Of greater cause for regret, however, is his near deafness to the voices of those who might have imagined alternatives to the here much vaunted liberal model of development, especially among Indian peasants who helped stymie a full-blown capitalism and suggested a different conception of society and economic life in their mountainous redoubt.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

John A. Phillips and Charles Wetherell have expounded a thoroughly anti-Gashite view of the First Reform Act in a recent article in this journal [*AHR*, 100 (April 1995): 411–36]. Contrary to Norman Gash's well-known emphasis on the continuity of electoral practices before and after 1832, Phillips and Wetherell argue that "the Reform Act could scarcely have caused a more drastic alteration in England's political fabric" (Norman Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830–1850* [London, 1953]; Phillips and Wetherell, 412). The main evidence that Phillips and Wetherell advance in support of their thesis concerns the voting behavior of eighteenth and nineteenth-century English electors. In their view, English voters often split their votes between Tories and Whigs prior to reform but then, caught up in the transformative tangle of reformist politics, rapidly realigned in a more partisan and more recognizably modern fashion. The Reform Act itself solidified and perpetuated the new partisan politics, so that thereafter the vast bulk of constituencies at any given time exhibited low and unfluctuating levels of split voting. Thus the picture they present is really of a one-time step-down in the rate at which English electors split their votes across party lines.

This view of the development over time of partisanship in the English electorate is in direct conflict with other views, including one I have previously expounded (Gary W. Cox, *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England* [Cambridge, 1987]). I wish here to take up the cudgels in defense of that previous view.

I should note before starting that my disagreement with Phillips and Wetherell does not concern the data on which we as a community of scholars base our conclusions about nineteenth-century electoral partisanship. They use a dataset that I compiled with only "two minor adjustments" (p. 417). (This dataset will soon be available at the Lijphart Elections Archive's web site: <http://ssdc.ucsd.edu/lij>. Until then, it is available upon request from the author.) I believe that their dataset, an impressive documentation of how individual electors in fourteen English boroughs voted over the period 1768–1868, is technically sound and substantively of immense value. Nor do I disagree with the use to which Phillips and Wetherell put their own data. I do, however, take issue with Phillips and Wetherell's claim that one of my figures "seriously distorts post-reform English political reality" (p. 418) and their subsequent attempt to provide a less distorted view.

Their reanalysis of my data takes the following steps. First, they take all the observations in my data collection for the years 1832–1880 (each observation documents the split voting rate in a particular constituency at a particular election) and note that they can be grouped into three categories. The first category, in which about two-thirds of all the observations fit, has an overall mean split voting rate of 6.2 percent: that is, the average contest in this first group was one at which only 6.2 percent of the voters split their votes. The second category, in which about a quarter of all the observations fit, has an overall mean split voting rate of 24.2 percent. Finally, the third category, in which less than a tenth of the observations fit, has an overall mean split voting rate of 48.5 percent.

Second, Phillips and Wetherell plot the average split voting rate over time for constituencies in the first group, observing that there is very little trend in the figures: they are essentially a flat line from 1832 to 1865, with a small one-time drop after the Second Reform Act (see their Figure 2). From this, they conclude that "the preponderant pattern of electoral behavior after 1832 was uniform, stable, and partisan" (p. 421).

Third, they present a picture of trends over time in split voting in which there is a substantial and abrupt

drop between 1830 and 1841 (documented primarily by their data on fourteen boroughs), followed by the flat line for "most constituencies" just noted (see their Figure 3). The reader is invited to see split voting as declining sharply during the decade of reform and remaining consistently low thereafter.

I am not convinced, nor do I think anyone should be convinced, by these reanalyses of my data. Consider first the three groups of constituencies on which Phillips and Wetherell focus. (Phillips and Wetherell found their three groups "based on a cluster analysis of the proportions of split voting in 896 elections" held in the period 1832–1880 [p. 418]. Cluster analysis as used here is simply a method of picking out groups of constituencies with similar split voting rates in a non-arbitrary manner.) Which constituencies fall into the first (low split voting) group? Since one knows that the first group constitutes about two-thirds of the total sample, one can find the constituencies in this group as follows. First, rank all observations in the 1832–1880 period, regardless of their date, in order of their split voting rate. Then take the two-thirds of the observations with the lowest split voting rates: this group is the same as Phillips and Wetherell's first group.

It is not at all surprising or illuminating to find that, if one plots the average split voting rate in the first group across time, there is little variation: after all, the only observations that get into this first group are those that rank in the two-thirds' lowest split voting rates in the sample. Technically, the problem here goes under the heading of "sampling on the dependent variable," and the particular sampling procedure will typically understate any trend over time there might be in split voting rates in the full dataset. (For a discussion of this problem, see Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* [Princeton, N.J., 1994].)

To put the point another way, Phillips and Wetherell's first group, which constitutes two-thirds of all observations in 1832–1880, does not constitute two-thirds of all observations in each year during this period. Instead, the first group is composed of lots of observations from the later years and only relatively few observations from the critical 1847–1859 period. For example, there are 79 observations from 1880 but only 19 from 1857. If one plots the percentage of the observations in each year that fall into the low group, one finds that nearly all the observations from the later years—92 percent of the 1868 observations, 100 percent of the 1874 observations, 98 percent of the 1880 observations—fall in Phillips and Wetherell's low split voting group, while only about half of the observations in 1847 (45 percent), 1852 (57 percent), and 1857 (46 percent) do. Thus split voting rates did not describe a flat line after reform, with about two-thirds of all constituencies in any given year averaging a low rate. Instead, there was an undeniable

increase in split voting after the Peelite/Protectionist break-up of the Conservative Party.

Lest the reader quibble with the grouped-data evidence just provided, it should be noted that there are more direct ways of showing the same thing. For example, I have previously presented a graph that shows the median split voting rate, along with the first and third quartile rates, for each year from the period 1832–1910 (see Cox, *Efficient Secret*, 111). There, one can see, for example, that in 1847 the median split voting rate was over 20 percent: in other words, in *fully half* of the constituencies documented for that year, over one out of every five electors split their votes. There is simply no way around the fact that split voting rates increased dramatically in the period 1847–1859. (This is not to mention the non-partisan plumping rate, which also went up substantially in this period. At one point [p. 419], Phillips and Wetherell equate the categories of votes that are "not splits" with votes that are partisan. I think this is misleading. In *Efficient Secret*, I count non-partisan plumpers as another species of non-partisan vote.)

Does the finding that split voting rates went up after the controversial Corn Laws rent Peel's party asunder conflict with any of Phillips and Wetherell's findings based on their own data? Not really. First, they do not present data for 1847–1859, so there can be no direct conflict. Second, if one uses my aggregate data to investigate voting behavior in their fourteen boroughs over this time period, one finds average split voting rates of 22 percent (1847), 16 percent (1852), 16 percent (1857), and 6 percent (1859). Although only six of the fourteen boroughs are documented in these years in my dataset, these boroughs do not seem to behave much differently than the rest of the constituencies.

If the upturn in split voting after the demise of Peel's Conservative Party is undeniable, how best to characterize the broader pattern over time in split voting? Political scientists usually point to the extension of the suffrage and the arrival of a politically free press as key events in producing "modern" or "mass" political parties (see, for example, Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development* [Princeton, N.J., 1966]). The sheer size of the electorate made mass appeals based on ideological, religious, or ethnic appeals potentially more effective than the traditional methods of mobilization based on local notables and their personal influence. The free press made such appeals less costly to implement. From this perspective, one expects *each* of the Reform Acts to have had a qualitatively similar impact, each making the new politics of mass appeal politically more attractive, because it was more and more cost-effective relative to the older styles of electoral campaigning. And one also expects that the removal of the Stamp Tax on newspapers in 1855 should have had an impact, again because it made mass appeals more cost-effective (compare J. R.

Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party* [New York, 1966], xx).

Broadly speaking, all these expectations—baldly stated due to space limitations—seem to be borne out by the data. If one simply averages the yearly split voting rates within the four periods demarcated by the Reform Acts and the removal of the Stamp Tax, one finds the following succession: 21.0 percent (1818–31), 15.3 percent (1832–52), 13.0 percent (1857–65), 4.9 percent (1868–80), 2.8 percent (1885–1910). These are simple averages, but the same pattern appears with weighted averages (in which larger constituencies count for more). If one fears that the averages are being pulled up too much by a few unusual cases, this fear can be allayed by looking at medians, first quartiles, and third quartiles, all of which tell a similar story. The only way the story changes is if one does not count a substantial portion of the data at all—which is what Phillips and Wetherell do when they insist that only their first group be considered.

Given that it makes sense that larger constituencies, purely as a matter of the economics of campaigning, ought to push politicians toward the creation and maintenance of party labels, just as mass markets push businesses toward the creation and maintenance of brand names, and given that the broad pattern of evidence is consistent with this view, why should we believe that the first Reform Act had the all-at-once effect that Phillips and Wetherell attribute to it? From the political-science perspective, it makes sense that the smaller constituencies ought to have continued to feature the older styles of electoral politics, whether we see these as a matter of corruption (Norman Gash), local pecking orders (J. R. Vincent), or a combination of the two (H. J. Hanham). (See Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel*; Vincent, *Formation of the British Liberal Party*; H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone* [1959; rpt. edn., London, 1978].) And the evidence on split voting is entirely consistent with this view. Thus I see modern (that is, stably low) rates of split voting as arriving in the 1857–1868 period rather than in the 1830–1841 period. This is *after* the first extension of the suffrage, *in tandem with* important developments in the partisan press, and—to cite another factor that I have emphasized greatly in previous work—*after* the procedural defanging of the private member in the House of Commons and the concomitant development of party government (see Cox, *Efficient Secret*, chaps. 6, 10; Gary W. Cox and James Ingram III, “Suffrage Expansion and Legislative Behavior in Nineteenth Century Britain,” *Social Science History*, 16 [1992]: 539–60; Gary W. Cox, “The Development of Collective Responsibility in the UK,” *Parliamentary History*, 13 [1993]: 32–47). I still think this is the correct view.

GARY W. COX
University of California, San Diego

JOHN PHILLIPS AND CHARLES WETHERELL REPLY:

We are not surprised that Gary Cox remains wedded to his view of electoral behavior in post-reform England, but we find his objections to our argument to be unfounded.

The impact of the Great Reform Act on English voters can be viewed from the perspective of elections, constituencies, or voters, and in individual years over time, or in one or more periods. We analyzed electoral behavior from each perspective, and each pointed to a profound transformation of popular politics after 1832. Cox's aggregate data, however, can only reveal that elections stopped being generally characterized by high levels of split voting after 1832. His data cannot be used to address the more critical question of whether or not voters “floated” from party to party. Only the individual level data that we collected from before and after 1831–1832, often involving the same men, demonstrated that prior to reform voters not only frequently split but also regularly switched parties. Following reform, voters rarely split or switched their support after making a partisan commitment to either the Tories or the Whigs. We believe that the evidence supporting our interpretation on this matter is unequivocal, and Cox questions neither the evidence nor the specific conclusions we drew from that data. He does, however, question our contention that, as he puts it, there was a “one-time step-down” in split voting. He believes that the way we treated his data and characterized his work is misleading and obscures the two-stage decline he argued for in *The Efficient Secret*.

Cox objects specifically to our claim that Figure 9.1 in *The Efficient Secret* “seriously distorts post-reform English political reality.” We still think it does for two reasons. The first involves two strong reservations we have about how Cox handled his data. One reservation involves the basic numbers. Cox's data contain all the information necessary to calculate the numbers of voters casting partisan and split votes in each of 896 elections, in 198 constituencies, between 1832 and 1880. But Cox excluded elections for several reasons that collectively reduced the size of the electorate by more than 317,000, or 11 percent, between 1832 and 1880, and also homogenized electoral behavior. For example, he excluded elections in which more than two candidates of the same party stood for office. Thus he did not consider the 1841 election in Windsor, Berkshire, where 42.1 percent of the 554 electors split their votes among three Whigs and a Tory. We included this and similar elections for the simple reason that they took place. Cox contended that none of his exclusions were “crucial to any of the conclusions” he drew (*Efficient Secret*, 102), but we question this.

To measure the extent of split voting in any given year or for the entire period, one can average the percentage of voters splitting in, say, the 105 elections in 1832, which we did, or add up all split votes cast in

all 105 elections and then divide that figure by the total number of votes cast, which Cox did (*Efficient Secret*, 101; Table 9.4, p. 103n). Our method yielded estimates of split voting that were higher than Cox's in ten of the twelve election years because it captured more variation than Cox's, such as the 1841 election in Windsor. We based our estimates on 50 to 100 elections each and every year, while Cox calculated split voting using essentially one case, the year. Because the totals we derived from Cox's data often differed substantially from those he published (*Efficient Secret*, Table 9.4), and because we included every election that took place between 1832 and 1880, our estimates of split voting deviated from his in ways that led us to fundamentally different conclusions.

The other reservation we have with the way Cox handled the data involves how he reckoned voting choices in the critical years of 1847 and 1852, when ex-Tory "Peelites" aligned themselves with Whig principles, positions, and candidates. Cox's decision to interpret votes cast simultaneously for Whigs and Peelites in 1847 and 1852 as splits simply fails to capture the political reality of the day. We indicated this in "The Great Reform Act" (pp. 417–18, n. 26), but the point bears repeating. For example, Cox labels Lewes's Henry Fitzroy a Tory in 1847 and a Liberal in 1859. Fitzroy was a Peelite and essentially changed parties in 1847, not in 1859. The nearly 60 percent of the borough's electorate who in 1847 doubled for Fitzroy and the Whig candidate knew that he had changed his political allegiance by voting with Peel. By considering voters who behaved in this fashion to be partisans, as they did themselves, we find the incidence of split voting in 1847 in Lewes and elsewhere to be lower than Cox did. His basic interpretation of a two-step decline rests in large part on increases and decreases in split voting that he calculated from data that understate the number of voters by more than 35 percent in 1847 and 1852, and in which Peelites are identified as Tories.

The second reason we still think Cox's Figure 9.1 distorts political reality concerns the scale he used. By plotting his figures on a scale that exaggerated differences, Cox mistook small changes for big ones. Our procedures yielded estimates of split voting that suggested a moderate decline after the dramatic drop in 1831–1832. This led us first to question and then to reject Cox's two-stage decline in split voting in favor of a one-time step-down in 1831–1832. Our estimates ("Great Reform Act," Figure 1) indicate a slower and steadier decline than Cox's Figure 9.1 depicts, even when viewed on a scale of 0–30 percent. When viewed on the appropriate scale of 0–100 percent—which we emphasize is the only proper scale because the data are percentages—split voting in post-reform England (*ibid.*, Figure 3) exhibits little change after 1832 and certainly not, as Cox contends, a "dramatic increase" between 1847 and 1859.

Yet because Cox made so much of what we saw as so little, we sought to clarify the nature of the variation

that did exist. Accordingly, we divided the incidence of split voting across all elections after 1832 into three statistically significant and interpretatively meaningful groups using cluster analysis, which, by definition, seeks to minimize differences within groups and to maximize differences between groups. Cox contends that all we did was sample on the dependent variable. We disagree. King, Keohane, and Verba's larger point was that sampling strategies should seek to retain as much variation as possible (*Designing Social Inquiry*, 129–46). Cox claims all one has to do to emulate our clustering is to order all the cases by the level of split voting and then draw a line two-thirds of the way down the list. He is technically correct but fails to note that he only knows where to separate the groups because of the clustering. We did not group on an *ad hoc* basis but, rather, employed procedures specifically designed to discriminate carefully and as fully as possible the variation in the numbers themselves.

Cox claims that our clustering minimized change over time, but time accounts for only 14 percent of the variation in split voting between 1832 and 1880 as compared with the 86 percent our clustering explains. Cox further claims that our Figure 2, which displays the average split vote in the cluster with the lowest levels of split voting, does not represent "most" elections in every single year from 1832 to 1880, and especially from 1847 to 1859. We actually wrote that the figure better visualized "the behavior of most voters, at most elections, in most places after 1832" ("Great Reform Act," 420). Since it was impossible to represent all of these views simultaneously, we used Figure 2 heuristically to capture the collective experience of the majority of elections, voters, and constituencies. And this it does. As the following Table reveals, only in 1835, and not in the supposedly volatile election years of 1847, 1852, and 1857, does our low split voting group not contain a majority of elections (cols. 5 and 6). More important, it seems to us, is that this group contains the electoral experience of most voters after the Great Reform Act (cols. 7 and 8); in every year from 1832 to 1880, most voters voted in elections in which the incidence of split voting averaged 6.2 percent ($s = 4.4$). In Cox's critical elections of 1847, 1852, and 1857, the percentages exceeded 60 percent.

The numbers that Cox marshals to support his criticisms of our interpretation differ from our numbers because we exploited all the information in the data and corrected the effective party affiliation of all Peelites. By plotting, in our view, erroneously higher and lower levels of split voting on an exaggerated scale, Cox saw a two-stage decline. By contrast, our calculations, which took advantage of the record of more voters and maximized variation in split voting across elections, led us to see a far more modest decline. We accordingly concluded that a one-time, not a two-time, step-down in split voting occurred after reform. What might have remained no more than a disagreement over what constituted meaning-

Year	All Clusters			Low Split-Vote Cluster			
	Elections	Voters	Mean Split Vote	Elections		Voters	
	N	N	%	N	%	N	%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1832	105	235,421	15.5	60	57.1	144,579	61.4
1835	91	141,205	22.7	40	44.0	82,843	58.7
1837	90	190,603	15.5	57	63.3	155,070	81.4
1841	84	155,775	11.4	62	73.8	130,816	84.0
1847	81	140,566	21.1	41	50.6	92,778	66.0
1852	68	129,759	18.1	39	57.4	80,458	62.0
1857	52	112,903	19.9	27	51.9	68,695	60.8
1859	54	97,346	13.6	35	64.8	72,157	74.1
1865	66	161,391	12.6	49	74.2	137,379	85.1
1868	61	335,945	8.5	52	85.2	289,096	86.1
1874	57	445,284	6.9	54	94.7	427,666	96.0
1880	87	744,480	5.8	83	95.4	717,595	96.4
Totals	896	2,890,678		599	66.9	2,399,132	83.0

ful variation in split voting turned decisively in our favor when the individual level data were examined. Here and nowhere else do we see the shift from thousands of individual English electors floating and splitting before reform to thousands consistently casting partisan ballots after reform. Some voters still split their votes after 1832 as the aggregate data suggest, but habitual splitting virtually disappeared as electors cast their lots with either the Tories or the Whigs.

As a political scientist, Cox appears primarily interested in voting behavior as it influenced policies and events in Westminster, and historians of English politics can benefit from his description of the complicated and occasionally perplexing interrelationships among the Cabinet, MPs, and voters in the middle of the nineteenth century. Cox's view from the rarefied atmosphere of Whitehall, however, fails to capture the reality in the provinces. Parliament's groping toward modern governmental forms may have come haltingly, but the political modernization of local voters did not come in fits and starts. Happy in their ignorance of the finer points of politics, English voters turned into partisans quickly and permanently during 1831 and 1832. We believe that "The Great Reform Act" revealed that transformation clearly and convincingly. Historians of English politics can now turn their attention to the complex relationship between policy and popular participation rather than debating whether Norman Gash was right or wrong.

JOHN A. PHILLIPS and CHARLES WETHERELL
University of California, Riverside

TO THE EDITOR:

For some reason, the editors of the June 1995 *AHR* saw fit to include the information that "R. David Edmunds is of Cherokee descent" [Contributors, p.

xi]. Why? Was this description supposed to lend verification to his article on Native Americans? Is it now your policy to include such material for future contributors? If one writes on, say, aging in America, will you indicate the author's age? Or if on feminism, the author's sex? And should your contributors henceforth include such information in their submissions? Please advise.

STANLEY SANDLER
Spring Lake, North Carolina

R. DAVID EDMUNDS REPLIES:

In reply to your inquiry over the inclusion of my tribal affiliation with the short biographical sketch in the June issue, I should inform you that the editors did not ask for such information, but I included it since part of my essay focused on the development of an "Indian voice" ["Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995"]. As you are probably aware, when Native American people write or comment on issues that currently affect Native American communities, it is common for us to include our tribal affiliations. Quite frankly, since most of my previous writing has focused on Native American history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I rarely have included information regarding my tribal affiliation for use in any biographical sketch that might accompany a publication. As to the issue of whether my tribal affiliation lends "verification" to the essay, I rather think that David L. Ransel, the editor of the *AHR*, asked me to write the essay because of my training, experience, and expertise, rather than my ethnic background.

Thank you for your interest in the essay.

R. DAVID EDMUNDS
*Indiana University,
Bloomington*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In reviewing my *Heretics and Hellraisers: Women Contributors to "The Masses," 1911-1917*, Leslie Fishbein appears so out of sympathy with the purpose of the book as to misunderstand it entirely [AHR, 100 (February 1995): 243].

In my study of "the women of *The Masses*" and of their subsequent careers, the nuances that interest me (as Fishbein correctly observes) are those of left-wing political allegiance—anarchist, socialist, social democrat, and so on—in the context of the frequent sad lack, in contemporary feminism, of any such responses to the interests of working-class women. (As one blasé young contributor at a conference I recently attended said—in regard to what does not interest her in the fiction of socialist women—"Workers together in struggle and all that—blah blah blah.")

My final chapter of *Heretics and Hellraisers* does pursue, in part, one of the questions Fishbein believes earlier writings about Greenwich Village and *The Masses* have addressed, and that I allegedly neglect: the integration of "personal lives" and "political concerns." However, it still focuses less on personal subjectivity than on the question of what happens to an individual's feminist/leftist political commitment when the original social context which sustained that commitment radically alters.

What would be the point (supposing the task interested me in the first place) in dissecting yet one more time the minutiae of Greenwich Village personalities and sexual affairs? As Fishbein quite rightly points out, that ground has already been most competently and thoroughly covered—not least in Fishbein's own *Rebels in Bohemia* [1982].

If I find a significance in Mary Heaton Vorse's war article "Milorad" different from (not necessarily in contradiction with) that assigned to it by Dee Garrison, it is because our ideological and critical interests, in the broadest sense, diverge. It is, however, critically naïve indeed for Fishbein to imagine a literary/journalistic text to be susceptible of only one possible "correct" reading!

It is a little irritating to be faulted for not doing, in *Heretics and Hellraisers* as a whole, something I had no wish to do in the first place. I hope that students of turn-of-the-century radical movements will read my book and Fishbein's side by side. Their divergent approaches should, ideally, not supplant but complement one another.

MARGARET C. JONES
Faculty of Humanities
St. Matthias Campus
University of the West of England

Leslie Fishbein does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

A. G. Roeber's review of my book, *A Distant Heritage: The Growth of Free Speech in Early America* (AHR, 100 [April 1995]: 577), was, to be sure, mean spirited. It requires a response, however, not because of its spirit but because it so badly misrepresents the work to your readers.

I am much concerned about Roeber's errors and distortions. He builds a key criticism, for example, on the claim that "'false news' prosecutions (pp. 63-66) declined" in the seventeenth-century colonies. Yet as I note on page 64 of the book, "false news prosecutions climbed steadily." Ignoring my own conclusion about the changes in such prosecutions (pp. 64-65), he invents one, ascribes it to me, then attacks it as "a sweeping subjunctive." More subtly, Roeber builds another key criticism on the supposed "terror" of bond forfeitures but hides from readers the rest of the page he cites (p. 119), in which I discuss how a range of mitigating factors worked to reduce in practice the theoretical fear that bonds could represent. He further distorts the issue by failing to note that, over time, bonds became smaller, thus reducing whatever fear they might have engendered, and that officials increasingly employed these small bonds in lieu of more severe penalties.

Worse, perhaps, Roeber uses his lesser deceptions to justify grand dismissals. He announces, for example, "The whole of chapter 6 ('A Growing Leniency') undermines Eldridge's thesis." The chapter explores ways in which colonial authorities became much more lenient in dealing with seditious speakers. Fines (when used at all) became dramatically smaller over time, use of moderate recognizances and simple admonitions grew substantially, the propensity for exacting multiple punishments declined markedly, officials increasingly remitted punishments and increasingly declined to prosecute seditious speech cases fully or at all. How, one may reasonably ask, does demonstrating such things undermine the book's thesis that colonists came to enjoy growing practical freedom to criticize government?

Roeber sees a sinister "Whiggishness" lurking everywhere, especially in what he denounces as the "extraordinarily opposite, and wrong" final chapter. Having demonstrated that by 1700 colonists were much freer to speak their minds than before, in a brief concluding essay I contemplated how that historical development occurred. I surmised that as colonial governments became more stable, they could afford to tolerate more criticism in quiet times; that revolutions and tumults, ironically, made it more difficult to punish seditious speech in times of crisis for fear of further inciting colonists; and that, in various areas, traditional authority had been undermined during the seventeenth century, especially by religious and political turmoil (leading at various points to outright rebellion), which helped lay a foundation for more open criticism of government.

Such musing about the broader flow of history invites discussion, which I heartily welcome. But the discussion can proceed much more profitably without the icy glare and long pointing finger of the inquisitor who, after all, already knows "the truth."

Roeber says "most scholars will scarcely recognize" the seventeenth century revealed in the book. He may be right about that, at least. Hundreds of thousands of cases are preserved in the court, council, and assembly records of the seventeenth-century colonies. Actually reading them, as I have, has a way of putting to rest tired old assumptions and bringing to life the experience of people otherwise largely hidden from us. I invite your readers to examine the book for themselves and to be fascinated—as I have been—by what the records reveal.

LARRY D. ELDRIDGE
Widener University

A. Gregg Roeber does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

ERRATUM

TO THE EDITOR:

A misprint crept into my review of Sven Steinmo's *Taxation and Democracy: Swedish, British and American Approaches to Financing the Modern State* (AHR, 100 [June 1995]: 879) that changes my meaning. The third sentence of the review as printed reads, "The United States has a 'fragmented' structure, Sweden a 'corporatist' structure, and Britain a parliamentary structure, and each system provides the government with near dictatorial but temporary power." What I wrote was "... and Britain a parliamentary structure which provides the government with near dictatorial but temporary power." In other words, the clause about near dictatorial but temporary power applied only to Britain, not the other two. This is what I and Sven Steinmo meant.

DANIEL LEVINE
Bowdoin College



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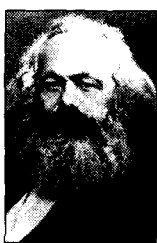
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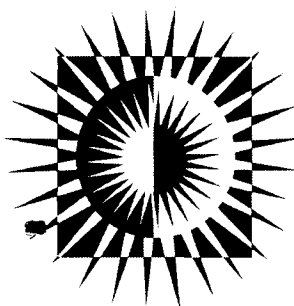
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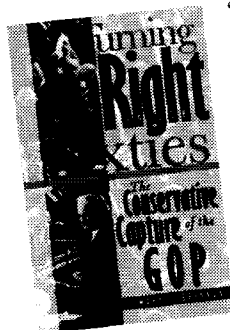
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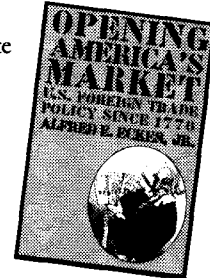
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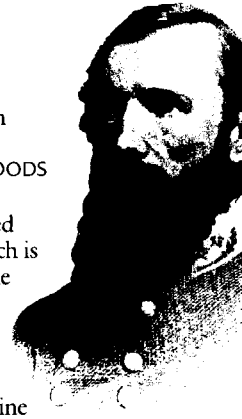
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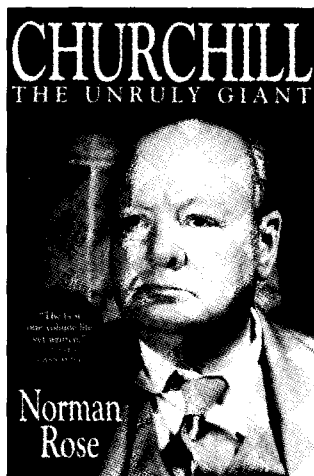
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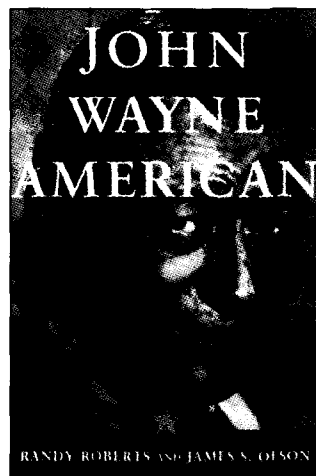
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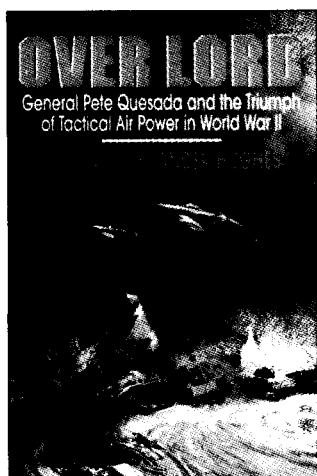
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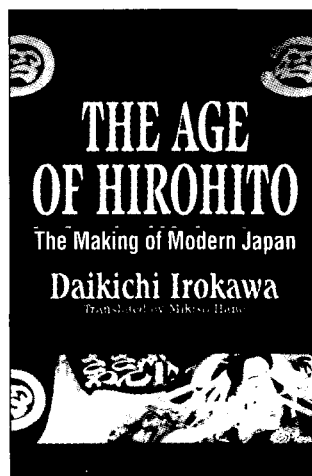
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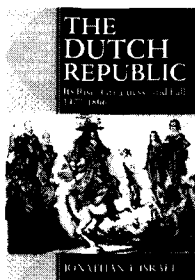
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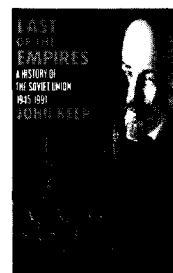
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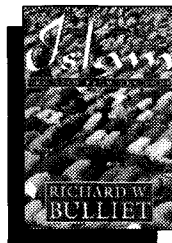
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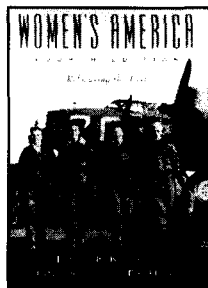
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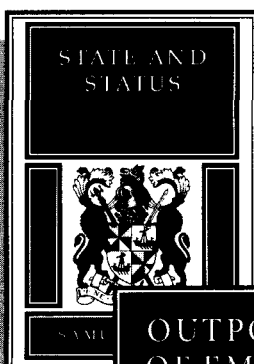
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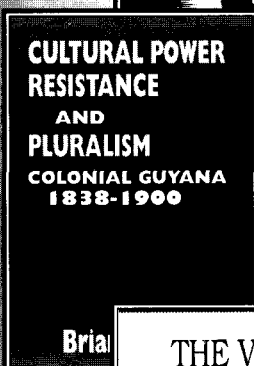
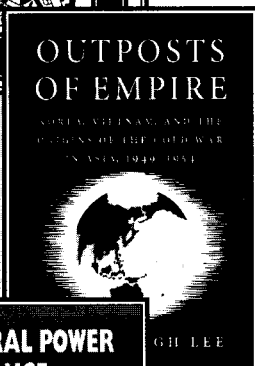
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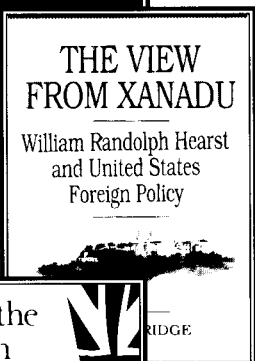
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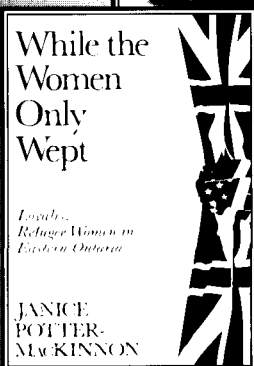
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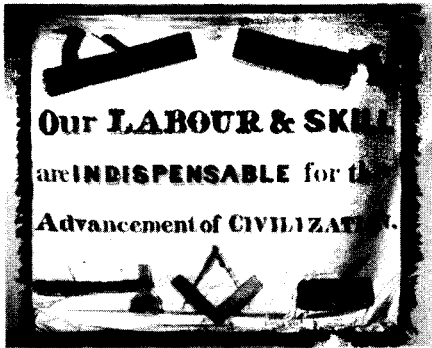
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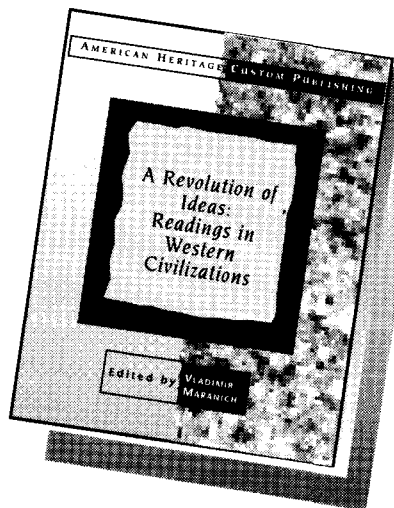
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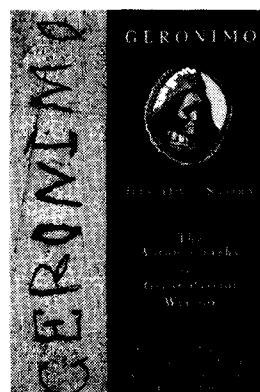
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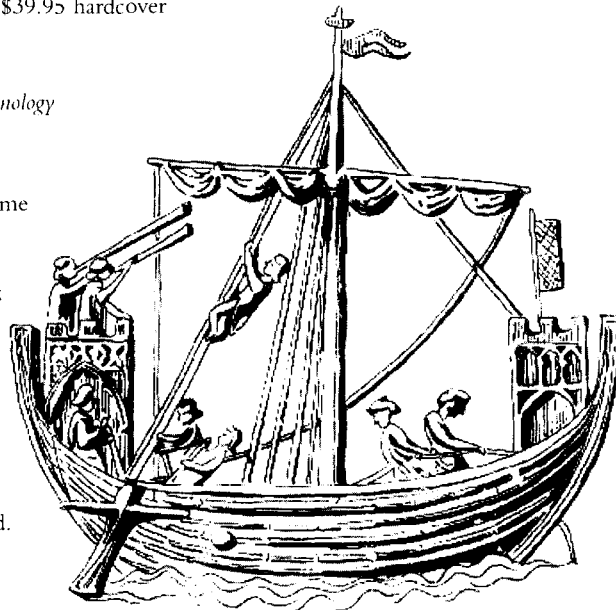
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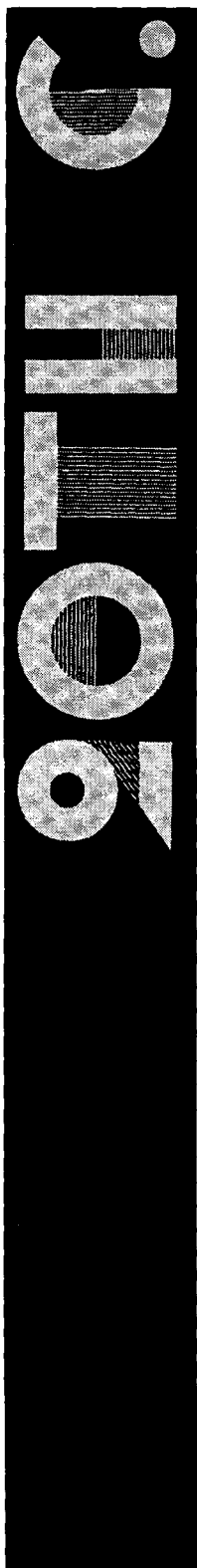
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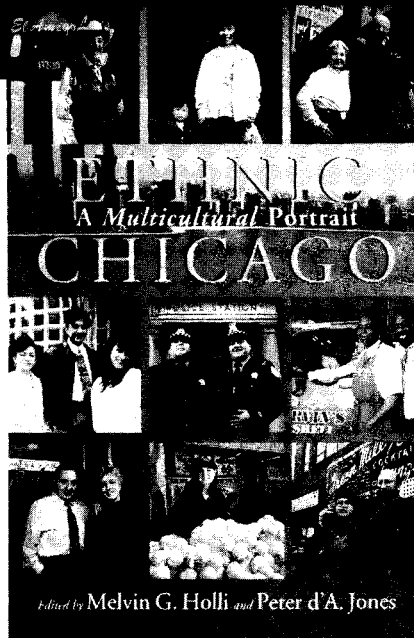
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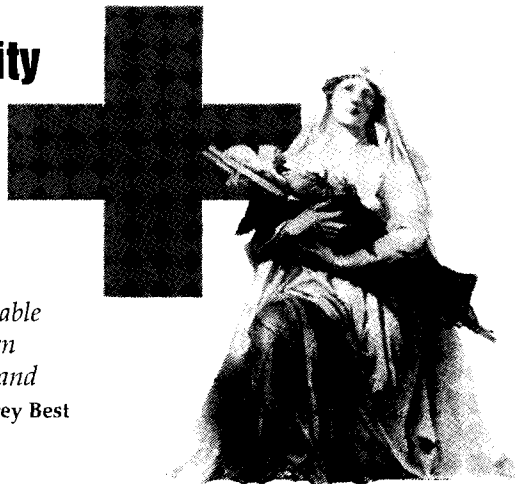
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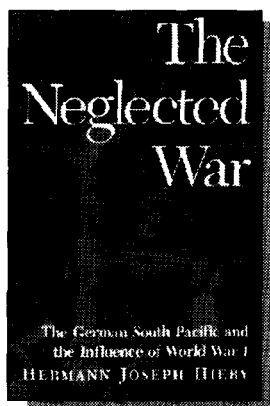
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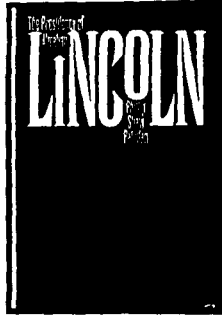
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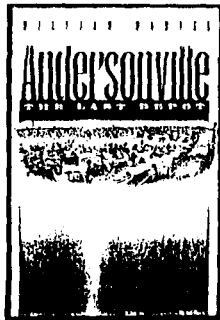
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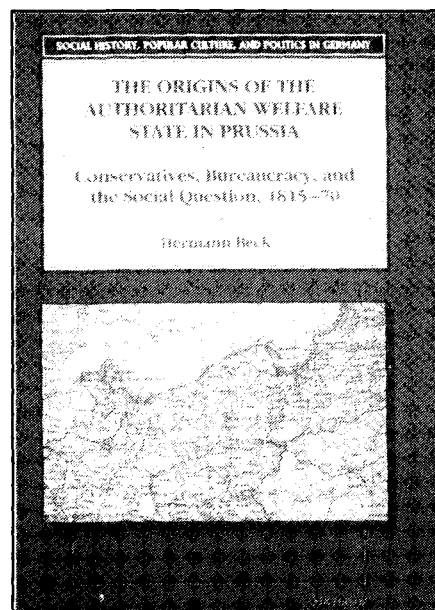
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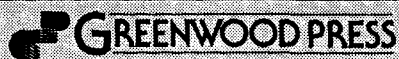
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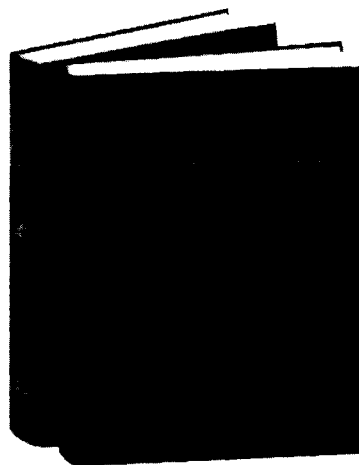
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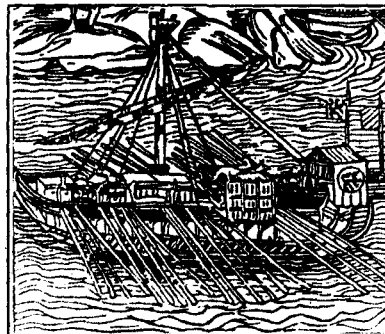
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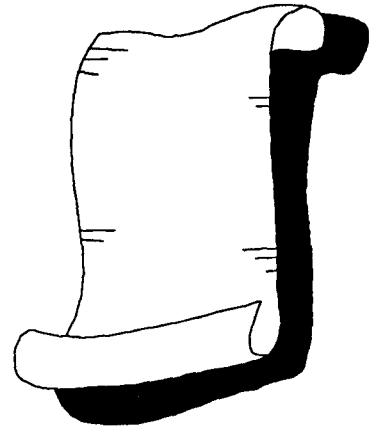
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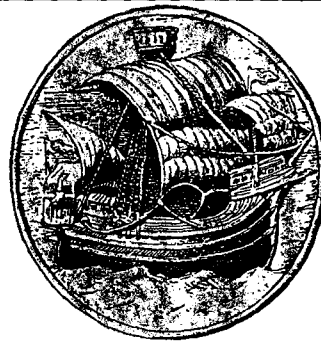
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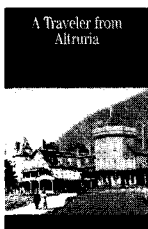
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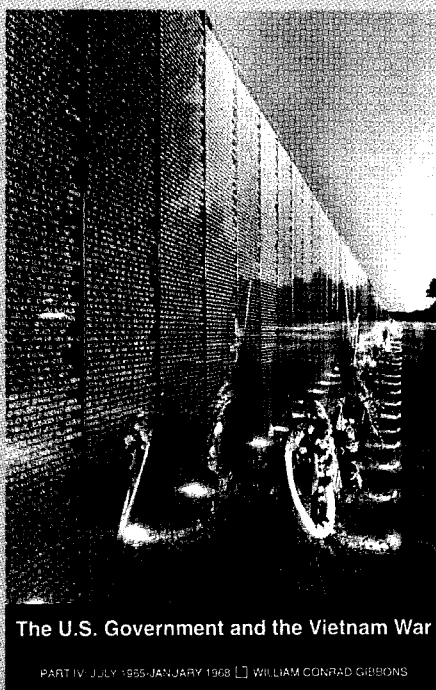
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